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THE  
MODERN PART  
OF THE  
UNIVERSAL HISTORY.

Compiled from

*ORIGINAL WRITERS;*

BY THE

AUTHORS of the *ANTIEN*T.

Which will perfect the *WORK*, and render it

A Complete Body of *HISTORY*,

FROM THE

*EARLIEST ACCOUNT* of Time, to the *PRESENT*.

Ἱστορίας ἀρχαίας ἐξέρχεσθαι μὴ κατανόει, ἐν αὐταῖς γὰρ εὐρήσεις ἀκόπως, ἅπερ ἕτεροι συνῆξαν  
ἐγκόπως.  
Basil. Imp. ad Leon. fil.

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# MODERN HISTORY:

BEING A

CONTINUATION

OF THE

UNIVERSAL HISTORY.

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HISTORY of the GERMAN EMPIRE.

CHAP. VI.

*The History continued to the Interregnum occasioned by the Death of Henry VII.*

RODOLPHUS I.

- R**ODOLPHUS, the first of that name, count of *Hapsburg*, was educated under *Frederic II.* who held him up to the baptismal font, but is afterwards said to have taken umbrage at the prediction of an astrologer, who prophesied that the count would ascend the imperial throne, on the failure of *Frederic's* issue, which, at that time, consisted of ten persons. *Rodolphus*, perceiving the emperor's favour sensibly cooled upon this account, dexterously withdrew himself from his court, on some plausible pretence, and afterwards retired to that of *Ottocarus* king of *Bohemia*, where he exercised the office of grand marshal with great reputation. From thence he returned to his own territories, where, by his prudent and gallant behaviour, he acquired authority among all his neighbours. He had, during the troubles in *Germany*, performed divers exploits, which augmented his fame and patrimony at the same time. His first military expedition was against *Hugo Trieffenstein*, who had said something to his prejudice. Him he slew in combat, and afterwards took possession of his lands; then he turned his arms against *Rodolphus* of *Loffenberg*, his own relation: but that war was terminated by an accommodation. He, in consequence of a quarrel with *Hartman* count of *Kyburg*, seized upon his succession for his own use, defeated the counts of *Toggenburg*, and ravaged their country; and putting himself at the head of a troop of gentlemen devoted to the emperor *Conrad IV.* pillaged the suburbs of *Basil*, and burnt a monastery; for which outrage, he and all his companions were excommunicated. The citizens of *Strasburg* having quarrelled with their bishop, and reflecting on the advantages they had derived from the protection of *Albert* of *Hapsburg*, they now solicited that of his son *Rodolphus*, chose him chief of their militia, and, under his conduct, took the fortrels of *Haldemburg*. They likewise surprised *Colmar* and *Mulhausen*, and at last obtained a complete victory over their bishop, who, in a few days, died of grief for this overthrow. His successor sued for peace, which was granted by *Rodolphus* and the citizens of *Strasburg*, who erected a stone statue in gratitude to their deliverer. But, two years before this event, the citizens of *Zurich*, harrassed by the nobles of their neighbourhood, had proposed to chuse *Ulrick* of *Regensburg* for their protector, and he refusing that office, unless they would yield to him the perpetual superiority of their town, they put themselves under the auspices of *Rodolphus*, who was his declared enemy, and three years were consumed in hostilities and mutual
- Some account of Rodolphus previous to his election.*
- Instances of his valour and success.*
- His protection solicited by sundry cities.*

Ed. 2d. Rev. 1st. Fac. 2d. Edit.



mutual incursions; but at length fortune declared in favour of *Rodolphus*, who reduced *Ulrick* to a dependence upon that very city, the government of which he had refused. Nor was the piety of *Rodolphus* inferior to his valour (O). When count *Werner* of *Falkestein* was chosen archbishop of *Mentz*, and set out on his journey to *Rome*, *Rodolphus* gave him a convey, with a strong body of troops, as far as the *Alps*, and, waiting for his return in the same place, reconducted him in safety to his see: an obligation for which the archbishop assured him he would take all occasions to express his gratitude; and he afterwards kept his word.

A. D. 1273.  
Pope Gregory  
X. presses the  
princes to a  
new election.

THE empire had been now fifteen years without a chief, that is, since the abdication of *Richard*; for though *Alphonso* took the title of emperor, and promised from time to time to repair into *Germany*, he never could find leisure for that expedition. The *German* princes, tired with his delays, and seeing the empire more and more involved in trouble and confusion, and being moreover pressed by pope *Gregory X.* who threatened, if they should longer delay an election, to provide for the necessities of the empire by his own authority; induced, I say, by these motives, the princes intreated the elector of *Mentz* to call a diet at *Frankfort*. There, notwithstanding the protestations which *Alphonso's* ambassadors made against all that should be done to the prejudice of their master, and the pretensions of the king of *Bohemia* and some other princes to the imperial crown, the archbishop of *Mentz* had such influence in the diet, as to engage a majority in favour of the count of *Hapsburg*, whose merit he did not fail to extol.

Rodolphus is  
chosen emperor.

THE beginning of this assembly was very tumultuous. The deputies of *Ottocarus* pretended that their master had two votes, as king of *Bohemia* and duke of *Austria*; but his pretensions were opposed by the count *Palatine*, who affirmed that he had usurped *Austria*, and that he could not justly avail himself of the investiture he had received from *Richard* of *England*, whom *Germany* had never acknowledged as emperor; besides this contest, which could not be determined, another dispute arose about the choice of a king of the *Romans*. *Menhard* count of *Tyrol* proposed three persons, namely, *Albert* count *de Goritz*, *Rodolphus* of *Hapsburg*, and *Bernard*, who called himself duke of *Carinthia*, though he was not in possession of that province. Each of the three had partizans at the assembly, but the strongest party declared for *Rodolphus*. Some of the electors, indeed, were of opinion, that they ought rather to chuse a prince of higher rank and greater power (P), who might be more enabled by his authority to retrieve the reputation of the empire; but the archbishop of *Mentz* replying, that this end would be better answered by a wise, valiant, and experienced prince, than by one who had nothing to recommend him but his riches and power, his brethren of *Cologne* and *Triers* favoured him with their votes, without further hesitation. The secular princes, and in particular *Lewis* duke of *Bavaria*, and *Albert* duke of *Saxony*, who were unmarried, reflecting that *Rodolphus* had six fair daughters, of whom they might have their choice in marriage, while, by means of the rest, he might make other advantageous alliances, assented to the opinion of the ecclesiastic electors, and unanimously gave their voices in favour of count *Rodolphus*. The news of his elevation was brought to him by *Frederic* burgrave of *Nuremberg*, while he was engaged in the siege of *Basil* (Q), in consequence of the protection he had granted to one of the factions of that city. He no sooner received this intimation, than he repaired to *Frankfort*, where, having accepted the imperial dignity, he was conducted by all the princes to *Aix-la-Chapelle*, and there crowned with the usual solemnity (R).

He repairs to  
Frankfort,  
and is crowned  
at Aix-la-  
Chapelle.

c Vide ARSTIR. Chron. Basil. BOCCLER. de Rod. Hapsb. Ann. Colmar. HEISS, liv. ii. c. 22. Ann. Boior. p. 567.

d AVENT.

(O) Being one day at the chace, it began to rain with such violence as rendered the road extremely dirty, when chancing to meet a poor curate on foot, carrying the host to a sick person, he was so much affected with the sight of this good priest labouring through the mud, that he immediately alighted, saying, it ill became him to ride on horseback, while the priest who carried our Saviour was walking on foot, and not only mounted the curate, but attended him bareheaded to the sick man's house, and afterwards reconducted him to his church, where the priest, amazed at such an extraordinary instance of zeal, gave him his benediction, and, being inspired by the Holy Ghost, prophesied that he and his descendants would sit upon the imperial throne (3).

(P) This seems to have been an unreasonable objection, when we consider the birth and fortune of *Rodolphus*. He was the son of *Albert* count of *Hapsburg* and *Itba*, daughter of the count of *Bregentz*, descended by

his father from the counts of *Thierstein*, near *Basil* in *Switzerland*, as may be proved by the antiquities of the monastery of *Mucy*; and by the mother, from the counts of *Hapsburg*. At the time of his election there was not a count in *Germany* who could vie with him in wealth and extent of dominion; besides the county of *Hapsburg*, which he inherited from his father, he possessed three more; namely, *Kybourg*, *Baden*, and *Lentzenbourg*, which last he enjoyed by his uncle *Hartman*, and by his wife he obtained the landgraviate of *Alsace* (4).

(Q) *Henry* of *Neufchatel*, bishop of *Basil*, was so confounded and chagrined at the news of this election, that he fell sick of mortification, and is said to have addressed himself to God in these words:

*Sede fortiter Domine Deus: alias, Rodolphus locum occupabit tuum* (5).

(R) At this coronation the princes making some scru-

(3) Heiss, ubi sup.

(4) Remarq. sur Heiss, ubi sup.

(5) Vide Memoir. sur l'Art. de Rodolph. I.



a HAVING thus taken possession of the imperial throne, his first care was to suppress the rapine, robberies, and murders, which had so long prevailed with impunity, and he succeeded so well in his endeavours, that, in a little time, peace and security were re-established; for he destroyed in *Thuringia* sixty castles, which were the retreat of banditti, and ordered ninety-nine highwaymen to be hanged at one time in the city of *Erfurt*. A certain *Hungarian* count, having for some years publicly murdered, robbed, and pillaged the country, the emperor, who then resided at *Vienna*, would not make war upon a whole country for the villainy of one man, and therefore employed the count's friends to reclaim him by remonstrance and admonition. They accordingly made such good use of their exhortations, that he was persuaded to wait upon the emperor in person, after he had been assured b that he had nothing to fear from his resentment. He was very kindly received by *Rodolphus*, had the honour to eat at his table, and even to drink out of his own glass (S). After this hospitable entertainment, the emperor having remonstrated to him the injury he did himself by his enormous actions, he swore by all that was sacred that he would reform his life, and upon that promise was suffered to retire towards his own habitation. But he was beset by his enemies on the road, and thrown into a river, where he perished. Thus was the country rid of a notorious thief, without any prejudice to the emperor's word of honour (T).

A. D. 1274.  
He suppresses robbery, and restores the security of the public roads.

c His son *Albert* having married *Elizabeth* daughter of the count *de Tyrol*, and uterine sister of *Conradin*, who was executed at *Naples*, he laid claim to the rich inheritance of that young prince, consisting of *Alsace* and part of *Suabia*, and, by force of arms, wrested them from several noblemen who had seized those fiefs, during the troubles of the inter-regnum, and now engaged in an association to defend their unjust acquisitions. The next step which *Rodolphus* took was to solicit the pope's confirmation of his imperial dignity, which he obtained, after his ambassadors had sworn in his name that he would assert and defend the holy see against all its enemies, and never make any attempts to the prejudice of its vassals, particularly of the illustrious *Charles* king of *Sicily* and his heirs.<sup>2</sup>

He lays claim to the inheritance of Conradin.

His election confirmed by the pope.

d THIS complaisance of the pope was owing to the hope he had entertained of engaging *Rodolphus* in a crusade for the relief of the Christians in *Palestine*, the expence of which was to be defrayed by the tythe of all church revenues, to be raised for that purpose for the space of six years, according to the decree of the council held at *Lyons*.

*ALPHONSO* of *Castile*, far from renouncing his pretensions to the imperial crown, loudly protested against these proceedings of the pope, whom he visited at *Beaucaire* in *Provence*, in order to engage him in his interest: but *Gregory* was deaf to all his remonstrances; and, tho' he returned to *Castile* very ill satisfied with the result of this interview, and even affected to re-assume the imperial ornaments, which he had for some time laid aside, he was at last, by the admonitions of the archbishop of *Seville*, prevailed upon to renounce his claim to the empire; and, in consideration of this self-denial, the pope permitted him to lay a tax upon the clergy, for the expence of the war against the *Moor*s, who threatened to attack him from all quarters.<sup>b</sup>

Alphonso renounces his claim to the empire.

e *RODOLPHUS* having in a great measure pacified the troubles of the empire, assembled a diet at *Mentz*, where he granted new privileges to *Goslar* and other cities, and confirmed those which had been conferred by his predecessors. Upon this occasion also the deliberations of the assembly turned upon certain noblemen, who had protested against the election of the count of *Hapsburg*, particularly *Ottocarus* king of *Bohemia*, against whom they had other causes of discontent; for the states of the duchy of *Austria*, which, after the death of *Frederic* their last duke, had been seized upon by *Ottocarus*, complained of the oppression they suffered under the government of the usurper, from which they begged to be delivered.

Ottocarus king of Bohemia protests against his election.

<sup>a</sup> Id. Ibid.

<sup>f</sup> HEISS, l. ii. c. 22.

<sup>g</sup> STRUV. period. ix. p. 518.

<sup>h</sup> MARIANA, lib. xiii. c. 22.

ple of taking the accustomed oaths, because the sceptre was wanting, without which they could neither give nor receive the investiture of their fiefs, *Rodolphus* took a crucifix from the altar, saying, "This is the representation and sign of him by whom we are saved, let us use it instead of a sceptre." They accordingly agreed to the expedient, and were invested with their fiefs with a crucifix (6).

(S) Upon this occasion, "I have now, said he, no reason to be afraid; for I have drank with the best man on earth (7)."

(T) Towards the end of the inter-regnum many of the princes and towns caused their peculiar laws to be reduced to a body, and published. The principal were those of *Magdeburg*, *Saxony*, and *Suabia*: the first of

these were adopted by the states of *Prussia*, and afterwards received in several provinces, that did not belong to *Germany*. The *Mirrou* of the *Saxon Law* was likewise composed during the anarchy, by one *Epko*, or *Repko*, who says he had collected the laws of *Constantine* and *Charlemagne*. This work, which first appeared in *Latin*, and was afterwards translated into the *German* language, though not recommended by any public authority, acquired great reputation through all the empire. Before its appearance the laws of *Charlemagne* and the *Othos* were very little known. The *Germans* had forgot the statutes enacted in the assemblies of their nation, and followed implicitly the codes of *Theodorus* and *Justinian* in all their tribunals and courts of justice (8).

(6) *Johan. Cuspinian.*

(7) *Heiss, ubi sup.*

(8) *Couring. de Orig. Jur. Germ.*



Insults the emperor and the diet.

A. D. 1257.

The emperor subdues divers princes of the empire, and makes peace with Henry of Bavaria.

A. D. 1276.

Ottocarus does homage to Rodolphus for Bohemia and Moravia.

Renounces his engagements at the instigation of his wife, but is defeated and slain.

Moved by these solicitations, *Rodolphus* convoked a diet at *Augsburg*, to which *Ottocarus* sent ambassadors, who, instead of doing homage in his name to the emperor, whom he had not yet acknowledged, one of them began a long harangue, in which he disavowed and declared void the election of *Rodolphus*. The members, incensed at this presumption, interrupted the discourse, and ordered the ambassadors to be turned out of the assembly; then they declared *Ottocarus* a rebel to the empire; and concluded, that as he had unjustly taken possession of *Austria*, *Stiria*, *Carniola*, and *Carinthia*, the emperor should divest him of these dominions. Ambassadors being sent to him with a notification of this sentence, he arrogantly answered, that as to *Rodolphus*, who was formerly his servant, he had already paid him his wages; that he possessed *Austria*, *Stiria*, and *Carniola*, as the dowry of his wife; and that as he had purchased *Carinthia* with ready money, he was resolved to maintain himself in his lawful possession. The ambassadors having made this report to the diet at *Augsburg*, it was decreed, that he should be chastised for his disobedience, and those lands re-united to the empire (U). *Rodolphus* undertook to execute this resolution, and raised a sufficient body of forces for the occasion; but, before he turned his arms against *Ottocarus*, he resolved to subdue and chastise all the other noblemen, who refused to acknowledge him as emperor. Accordingly he fell upon the marquis of *Baden*, and the counts of *Neuburg* and *Fribourg*, who were soon reduced, and compelled not only to do him homage for the lands they legally possessed, but also to restore some fiefs they had unjustly seized in the *Brisgaw*, *Suabia*, and on the banks of the *Rhine*. He afterwards attacked and defeated *Eberhard*, count of *Wurtemberg*, surnamed *the Quarrelsome*, and obliged *Henry* of *Bavaria* to sue for peace, which was granted by the intercession of his brother *Lewis* of *Bavaria*, count *Palatine*, on condition that *Henry's* son, *Otho*, should marry the emperor's daughter *Catherine*, on whom he should bestow, by way of dower, all the fiefs he possessed on the river *Ens*; that he should pay to *Rodolphus* forty thousand ounces of gold, and take the oath of allegiance to him for all the towns and territories in his possession<sup>1</sup>.

*RODOLPHUS*, having humbled those petty adventurers, marched into *Austria*, accompanied by the archbishops of *Mentz* and *Cologne*, the bishops of *Wurtsburg*, *Ratisbon*, and *Passau*, and *Lewis*, count palatine of the *Rhine*. But the prelates being sick of the war, and unwilling to see the king of *Bohemia* altogether reduced, mediated an accommodation in his favour, on condition that he should be contented with *Bohemia* and *Moravia*, and hold them as fiefs of the empire (X). *Ottocarus* was fain to comply with these terms, and to receive from his imperial majesty the investiture of his dominions, which was performed in the island of *Camberg* in the *Danube*, with great magnificence, under a pavilion which was close shut up, in order to spare *Ottocarus* the mortification of being seen in such an attitude of humility by more people than those whose presence was absolutely necessary; but, in the midst of the ceremony, the pavilion, either by accident or design, opening on both sides, discovered *Ottocarus* on his knees before the emperor; a circumstance which greatly mortified the king, and concurred, with the instigation of his wife, who was a *Russian* princess, and remarkably haughty, to induce him to renounce the treaty he had made, and have recourse again to arms for reducing *Austria* again to his obedience<sup>2</sup>. The emperor no sooner understood this breach of faith, than he assembled his army, and marching against *Ottocarus* as a perfidious infractor of the peace, a battle ensued, in which the king was slain (Y). After this victory, *Rodolphus* gave the government of *Austria*, *Stiria*, *Carinthia*, and *Carniola*, to his eldest son count *Albert*, whom he afterwards, in a diet at *Augsburg*, publicly invested with the dukedom of *Austria*, which was incorporated with the college of the princes; and at the same time he invested *Rodolphus*, another of his sons, with the county of *Suabia*, which belonged to him in right of his wife *Ann*, countess of that country (Z). He likewise resolved to adhere

<sup>1</sup> *ÆN. SYLV. Bohem. c. 27. DUBRARI. l. xvii. BONF. l. viii. KRANTZ. Wand. l. vii. c. 30. AVENT. ann. Boior. l. vii. p. 570.*

(U) One of the emperor's domestics offered, for a good recompence, to kill the king of *Bohemia* while he was hunting; but this proposal was rejected with disdain by *Rodolphus*, who said, that, altho' *Ottocarus* was his inveterate enemy, nothing should ever prevail upon him to transgress the bounds of justice and moderation (9).

(X) In this accommodation it was stipulated, that *Austria* should revert to the emperor, its lawful lord; that *Carinthia*, and the other provinces of *Ulrich*, should be given in dowry with *Agnes*, the daughter of *Ottocarus*, who should be married to *Rodolphus*, the emperor's fifth son; and, in order to strengthen this treaty, it was also agreed, that *Jutta*, one of the emperor's daughters, should marry *Wincelaus*, the son of *Ottocarus*, tho' he was at that time but seven years of age (10).

(9) *Idem ibid.* (10) *Avent. ann. Boior. l. vii. p. 570. sur Hefs, u. i sup. Avent. ann. Boior. p. 572.*

(Y) In this battle the emperor's horse being killed, he fought on foot with great gallantry, until he was remounted by *Bertold Capella*; then he furiously charged among the thickest of the foe, and, by his personal valour, contributed to the fortune of the day (11).

(Z) About this time appeared one *Tilo Collup*, a man of some eloquence, and undaunted effrontery. He pretended to be the real emperor *Frederic II.* who had, for thirty years, been obliged to be concealed in the *Holy Land*, to elude the fury of the infidels. He claimed the empire as his right; and altho' he was generally considered as a fanatic, he found means to engage some people in his cause: but he was apprehended at *Westzlar*, and, with all his adherents, condemned to the flames (12).

(11) *Idem ibid. p. 571.*

(12) *Remarq.*



a to the articles of the last treaty, and for that purpose put young *Winceslaus*, whom he had destined for his son-in-law, under the tutelage of *Otho*, marquis of *Brandenburg*. Rodolphus adheres to the treaty in favour of his son Winceslaus.

THEN he declared war against *Henry* of *Bavaria*, who had favoured *Ottocarus*, in hopes of sharing the spoils, should that prince be victorious. His brother *Lewis*, count *Palatine*, and son-in-law to the emperor, though he had hitherto been firmly attached to *Rodolphus*, in expectation of recovering the investiture of *Austria*, being by this time disappointed in his hope, was on the eve of declaring openly for his brother, that, by their united force, they might compel the emperor to bestow the duchy of *Austria* upon a *Bavarian* prince. But, before they could join, and take proper measures for maintaining the war, *Rodolphus* fell suddenly upon *Henry*, whom he entirely defeated; so that the project fell to the ground; and the emperor granted him peace, though upon conditions that were very hard upon his son *Otho*, who had married *Catherine*, the daughter of *Rodolphus*; for he obliged him to restore *Litz*, *Steyer*, and other towns above the river *Ens*, which he had given to that princess by way of dower.

RODOLPHUS, without going in person into *Italy*, terminated all his differences with the pope, by means of ambassadors. In the year of his coronation, *Gregory X.* having held a council at *Lyons*, at which *Alphonso*, king of *Castile*, and *Ottocarus*, king of *Bohemia*, had, by their ambassadors, demanded the imperial crown, *Rodolphus* sent thither his chancellor *Otho*, with full power to confirm all the privileges which his predecessors had granted to the holy see, provided the empire should in no shape be dismembered. Accordingly *Otho* agreed, and swore, in his master's name, to a certain number of articles concerning the defence of the lands belonging to the holy see; and *Gregory*, on his side, confirmed the imperial crown to *Rodolphus*, rejecting the claims of his competitors<sup>1</sup>. Next year there was an interview between the emperor and the pope, in the city of *Lausanne*, where the former promised to restore to the church all the countries between *Radicosani* and *Ceperano*, the exarchate of *Ravenna*, *Pentapolis*, the marquisate of *Ancona*, the duchy of *Spoleto*, the estate of the countess *Mathilda*, the county of *Bertinoro*, and all the lands mentioned in the different privileges granted by *Lewis* the emperor. On these conditions the crown was again confirmed to *Rodolphus*, who engaged not only to repair to *Rome*, at the feast of *Pentecost* next ensuing, to receive the crown from the hands of the pope, but likewise to set out for *Palestine*, immediately after the ceremony of his coronation<sup>m</sup>; and, as a mark of this his intention, he at that time took the cross. This last condition, in all probability, was stipulated by the pope, in order to hinder the emperor from enterprizing any thing in *Italy*. But *Rodolphus* made no preparations either to go to *Rome* or the *Holy Land*: on the contrary, he impowered ambassadors to receive the oath of allegiance from the inhabitants of the cities of *Romagnia*, and the neighbouring countries; an instance of disregard which provoked his holiness to such a degree, that he had recourse to a sentence of excommunication<sup>n</sup>. Has an interview with the pope at Lausanne, and promises to go to the Holy Land.

AFTER *Gregory's* death, *Innocent V.* wrote to the emperor, inviting him to send ambassadors to *Rome*, to negotiate an accommodation with the holy see, forbidding him at the same time to go thither in person, until the peace should be concluded, and the dispute terminated between him and *Charles* of *Anjou*, about the vicariate of *Tuscany*, and the county of *Provence*. The king of *Sicily* had obtained the vicariate during the inter-regnum, and still kept it after the election of an emperor, when he had no longer any just claim to that office. *Rodolphus*, at the same time, disputed with the son of *Charles* the possession of *Provence* and *Forcalquier*, which, he affirmed, had devolved to the empire, of which they were fiefs, by the death of *Raymond Berenger*, who left no male issue, and had no power to bequeath his dominions to heirs female, in right of whom they were claimed and possessed by *Charles* of *Anjou*.

POPE *John XXI.* had writ to the same purpose, and laid injunctions upon the archbishop of *Mentz* to persuade the emperor to perform his promises: finally, *Nicholas III.* pressed him to confirm the articles he had promised to *Gregory*, which he now willingly performed, not only in consideration of the vicariate of *Tuscany*, which was at length yielded to him by *Charles* king of *Sicily* (A), at the desire of the pope, but also because he was inclined to a reconciliation with the holy see. His ambassador therefore renewed and confirmed, in full consistory at *Rome*, all the promises which he had made; and the nuncio, whom the pope sent into Performs his articles with the pope. A. D. 1279.

<sup>1</sup> MARIAN. cum. Surit. Ind. lib. ii. BARON. Cart. i. tom. i. p. 352. <sup>m</sup> KRANTZ. Sax. l. viii. c. 30.  
<sup>n</sup> NAUCLER. vol. ii. gen. 48. p. 968. RECORD. MALESPIN. in Hist. Florent. c. 99. VILLAN. in Hist. Florent.  
TRITH. Chr. Hirsang. ad ann. 1273.

(A) By the mediation of the pope, a peace was concluded between the emperor and the king of *Sicily*, on condition that *Charles* should renounce the vicariate of *Tuscany*; that he and his heirs should possess the provinces of *Provence* and *Forcalquier*, as fiefs of the empire, and the accommodation was cemented by a match between *Charles Martel*, the grandson of his *Sicilian* majesty, and *Clementina*, the emperor's daughter (13).



Germany, obtained a full ratification of these articles, as well from the emperor as from the princes of the empire<sup>a</sup>. Notwithstanding this agreement, the pope, far from having any real friendship for *Charles* king of *Sicily*, wished for nothing so much as his destruction, and the expulsion of his family from the throne of *Naples*. *Charles* had affronted his pride in rejecting with disdain a match that he proposed between his nephew and one of the daughters of the prince of *Salerno*; and this slight operated so strongly upon his resentment, that he engaged in the conspiracy of *John di Procida*, which broke out in the massacre, known by the appellation of the *Sicilian Vespers*, and had well nigh terminated in the ruin of his *Sicilian* majesty<sup>p</sup>.

The emperor invests his son Albert with the duchy of Austria, &c. A. D. 1283.

THE emperor still resided in *Austria* or *Stiria*, insensibly preparing the people of these provinces for becoming subjects to his family: he granted privileges to the clergy, bestowed new dignities upon the noblemen, diminished the taxes, built and repaired public edifices, and, in a word, behaved with such generosity and moderation as won their hearts; and they unanimously demanded a prince of the imperial house. In consequence of this agreeable request, he founded the *German* princes, and finding them favourably disposed towards him and his family, convoked a diet at *Augsburg*, where his son *Albert* received the investiture of *Austria*, *Stiria*, *Carniola*, and the march of the *Vinides*: but this ceremony was not performed until *Rodolphus* had obtained the consent of *Albert*, duke of *Saxony*, who had more weight in the diet than any other nobleman of *Germany*. At the same assembly *Rodolphus*, the emperor's second son, was invested with *Suabia*, which had devolved to the emperor upon the death of *Conradin*, who left no issue; and *Carinthia*, with the march of *Trevifano*, was bestowed upon the count of *Tyrol*<sup>q</sup> (C).

IMMEDIATELY after the diet, the emperor marched into *Alsace*, to the assistance of the bishop of *Basil*, from whom the count *de Montbelliard* had taken the castle of *Porentrui*, which *Rodolphus* in person besieged, and restored to the right owner. Then he appeased some quarrels which had produced a civil war among the inhabitants of *Mulhausen*, and cost their neighbours abundance of blood. But, notwithstanding all the care and industry he exerted in re-establishing peace and tranquillity through the towns of *Germany*, the spirit of discord reigned in many cities, and even possessed the churches and religious communities: there was scarce a parish which did not feel the miseries of civil war; the different processions engaged each other in the streets; canons fought with their own bishops; and the burghers, as well as noblemen, decided the most trivial dispute by single combat; nay, this absurd custom prevailed with such rage and barbarity, that it contributed as much as all the other wars to the depopulation of the empire.

Diet at Wirtzburg.

ABOUT this period the pope used all his endeavours to execute the project for a crusade, which had been formed by *Gregory X.* and even began to levy, through all the countries of Christendom, the tythes which had been granted for this purpose by the council at *Lyons*. *Rodolphus* convoked a diet at *Wirtzburg*, to deliberate on this subject, and was not displeased to find all the princes, ecclesiastic as well as secular, averse to this imposition. Indeed his holiness could not have chosen a more improper season for carrying this design into execution: the emperor was intirely ingrossed by the measures he took to aggrandize his family, and establish his power. *Peter III.* of *Arragon* was employed in supporting his claim to *Sicily*; *Castile* was harrassed by a civil war on the death of *Alphonso*; *Italy* was divided

<sup>a</sup> RAIN. ad ann. 1279. n. 45. part. i. p. 247.

<sup>p</sup> See the History of Naples.

<sup>q</sup> DUMONT. Corp. Diplom. tom. i.

(C) The ceremonial of taking possession of this duchy is so singular, that we shall describe it for the entertainment of the reader. Near the town of *St. Voit*, in a pleasant valley, are the ruins of an old town, the name of which is not known. In the neighbourhood of these is a piece of marble set upright, and upon this stands a peasant of a certain family, which has an hereditary right to take that station. On his right hand is a black meagre bullock; on his left a lean mare, and all around him a crowd of peasants and other people. Then the prince, environed by his officers, advances with the standards and marks of principality. Count *Goritz*, who is marshal of the court, goes first, with twelve small standards, and is followed by all the magistrates in their formalities, while the prince himself appears in the habit of a shepherd. He is no sooner perceived by the peasant on the stone, than he exclaims in the *Sclavonian* tongue, "Who is he that comes with such a magnificent train?" He is answered, "It is the prince of the country." The peasant asks again, "Is he an equi-

table judge, zealous for the good of his country? Is he of a liberal disposition? Does he deserve to be honoured? Is he an observer and defender of the Catholic religion?" Being answered in the affirmative, "I desire to know, cries he, by what right he comes to take my place?" Then the count *de Goritz* exclaims, "The favour is purchased of thee for sixty deniers: these beasts are thine: thou shalt have the cloaths the prince now wears, and thy family shall be exempted from taxes." Then the prince approaching, receives a box on the ear from the peasant, who exhorts him to be a good judge. So saying, he gives him his place, and carries off the bullock and the mare. The prince mounts the stone, brandishes his sword, promises to judge equitably, goes to hear mass, quits his pastoral garb for apparel more suitable to his quality, entertains the company, and returns to the stone, where he hears some causes, and receives homage for the vacant fiefs (14).

(14) *Æn. Sylv. C. de Statu Europæ.*



- a by a quarrel that raged between the *Genoese* and *Pisans*; the pope himself could hardly contain the *Romans* and subjects of the ecclesiastical state within the bounds of their duty; and *Hungary* was laid waste by the *Cumani*, a savage people, inhabiting part of *Wallachia* and *Moldavia*, who poured every year like a deluge into *Hungary* precisely about the time of harvest, and lived with their families and flocks until they had consumed all the fruits of the earth, and all the substance the country afforded; then they retired to their own habitations. These incursions were repeated for several seasons, and the *Hungarians*, quite dispirited under the government of *Ladislaus III.* a weak effeminate prince, at length derived courage from despair, and prevailed upon their monarch to lead them against the enemy. He accordingly levied an army, and took possession of the hills of *Krapatz*, by which the *Cumani*
- b usually entered the kingdom: there waiting for a proper opportunity, attacked them while they were engaged in the defiles, with such fury and unexpected resolution, that the greatest part of them were cut in pieces, and their king *Oleto* obliged to retreat with the utmost precipitation. However, he soon returned with a reinforcement of *Tartars*, and penetrating as far as *Pesth*, destroyed the whole country with fire and sword<sup>a</sup>.

*Irruption of the Cumani into Hungary. A. D. 1285.*

- HONORIUS IV.* who about this time succeeded *Martin* in the papacy, began his reign by declaring one *Pinzivello Fleſca*, a *Genoese*, vicar of the empire in *Italy*; and his office was confirmed to him by the emperor, who had no inclination to quarrel with the *Roman* see: This vicar, however, behaved with such insolence and indiscretion, as attracted the hatred and contempt of the *Tuscans*; so that there was a necessity for divesting him of his dignity, and *Rodolphus* appointed in his room *Henry Crodcur*, bishop of *Basil*, his own chancellor; a nomination which was approved by the pope, in consideration of the emperor's relinquishing all the rights the empire still retained upon the exarchate of *Ravenna*<sup>c</sup>.

- ALTHOUGH *Martin* and his predecessors had often invited *Rodolphus* to come and receive the imperial crown, he would never go to *Rome*; but to those who pressed him to that journey, he used to repeat the fable of the fox, who refused to go and visit the sick lion, because he perceived the footsteps of a great many animals who went thither, but none of those who came back. In the same manner the emperor observed, that many of his predecessors had gone to *Italy*, but that they seldom, if ever, returned, without the loss either of their rights or authority<sup>d</sup>. He therefore contented himself with sending his chancellor into *Italy*, with power to receive, in his name, the homage and allegiance of the imperial towns; but they refused to take the oaths to a commissary, so that one would have thought *Rodolphus* should have reduced them to their duty by force: but being in no condition to take this step, he had recourse to the method of accommodation, and was the first emperor who sold these privileges and immunities which they have since enjoyed. The city of *Lucca* paid but twelve thousand crowns; those of *Florence*, *Genoa*, and *Bologna* paid but six thousand each, on condition, nevertheless, that they should still preserve their fidelity to the empire, of which they were members<sup>e</sup>. This conduct not a little tarnished the reputation of *Rodolphus*, who, in the sequel, was looked upon as an avaricious prince, who turned every thing to ready money (D).

*His reason for declining the journey to Rome.*

*A. D. 1286. Sells his jurisdiction over some of the Italian cities.*

- e He ordained, with the consent of the states, that the *German* language only should be used in all proceedings at law, and in the diets, that every person might understand in his mother-tongue the affairs in which his interest was concerned. In the same language also he ordered the first constitution of the empire to be published, relating to every thing that was to be mutually observed between the ecclesiastics and secular princes and states, as well as the administration of justice, and the policy and subordination established among the vassals and subjects of the empire<sup>f</sup>.

*Orders the German language to be used in law proceedings.*

- f THE emperor's chancellor, whom the pope had created archbishop of *Mentz*, returned to *Germany*, loaded with gold and silver, and accompanied by a legate called *John Buccamali*, bishop of *Tusculum*, who held a council at *Wirtzburg*, where he published regulations to prevent disorders among the clergy, and demanded, in the pope's name, one-fourth of the income of all benefices for the term of four years. This exaction was strenuously opposed by the archbishops of *Cologne* and *Triers*, and particularly by *Conrad*, bishop of *Toul*, who expatiated upon the mischiefs which had been entailed upon the empire by such legations, and

*The pope's legate holds a council at Wirtzburg. A. D. 1287.*

<sup>a</sup> BONFIN Dec. ii. l. viii.

<sup>c</sup> BARRE, tom. vi. p. 209.

<sup>e</sup> SPOND. Contin. BARRE, tom. i. p. 364.

<sup>f</sup> MACH. Hist. de Fir. lib. i. STON. de Regn. Ital. l. xx. in fin. ex Blondo. Plat. Sabell. Trith. KRANTZ. Nauc. Cuspin.

<sup>d</sup> AVENT. ann. Boior. p. 567, & seq. Ann. Suev. Cruf. part. iii. l. iii. c. 1.

(D) *Lucensis*, who was an eye-witness of these transactions, affirms in chronic. MS. that *Rodolphus*, in the year 1283, sent his vice-chancellor into *Italy*, of whom many *Tuscan* cities purchased their liberties; and that in 1288, another chancellor, called *Princevalles*, sold the

emperor's jurisdiction to the inhabitants of *Lucca*, for the sum specified above; and that several cities redeemed themselves: but there is no mention made of *Florence*; the citizens of which deny that their liberties were purchased either from *Princevalles* or the emperor (15).

(15) *Spond. cont. Bar. tom. i. p. 405.*



protested aloud, in the name of the *German* bishops, against every thing that should be done in the assembly in favour of the pope's demands. These remonstrances involved the council in such confusion and tumult, that the legate's nephew, and another *Roman* nobleman, lost their lives; and *Buccamali* himself, who escaped with great difficulty, excommunicated the bishop of *Toul*, as a person refractory to the orders of the holy see, and a perturbator of the public peace \*.

The abbot of  
St. Gall is  
humbled.

Lauterburg  
deprived of its  
privileges, and  
the troubles of  
Alsace ap-  
peased.

The emperor's  
daughter is  
married to the  
king of Bohe-  
mia.

A. D. 1290.  
Diet at Erfort.

Disputes about  
the succession to  
the crown of  
Hungary.

Rodolphus  
marches a-  
gainst Otho,  
count palatine  
of Burgundy.

THE council being finished, the emperor sent his son *Rodolphus* to reduce a number of freebooters, who had made an irruption into *Switzerland*; while his eldest son *Albert* besieged the town of *Weill*, which was supported in its rebellion by *William*, abbot of *St. Gall*. Both expeditions were attended with success; the banditti were destroyed; the town surrendered; and the abbot was obliged to submit to the emperor's decision touching the privileges of his abbey. Then the young *Rodolphus* turned his arms against the town of *Lauterburg*, which had revolted, in consequence of his endeavours to divest it of its antient privileges, and his father coming to his assistance, the place was besieged, and obliged to surrender at discretion. But he did not meet with the same success in his war with *Anselmo*, lord of *Rapoltstein*, against whom he sent a body of troops, because he refused to divide his lands with his brother and nephew, in obedience to the emperor's decree. The imperial troops were defeated, and *Anselmo* took several towns and fortresses, proceeding with such rapidity in his conquests, that the whole province of *Alsace* was filled with the terror of his name, until the emperor in person arrived with a strong body of forces, and put an end to the war by an accommodation <sup>1</sup>. *Rodolphus* having, in a great measure, quelled the troubles of the empire, enjoyed the satisfaction of seeing his daughter *Judith* married to *Winceslaus*, king of *Bohemia*, who, before the ceremony was performed, renounced, by a solemn oath, all his pretensions to the duchies of *Austria* and *Stiria*, as well as to the other fiefs belonging to the successors of *Frederic*, surnamed *the Warlike*; and the emperor, to whom this advantageous match could not but be very agreeable, confirmed, by patent, the honorary post of cup-bearer attached to the crown of *Bohemia*.

THIS affair being consummated, *Rodolphus* convoked a general assembly of the princes at *Erfort*, where the famous quarrel, touching the succession of the landgraviate of *Thuringia*, was terminated, to the satisfaction of all parties, by a division, in consequence of which *Thuringia*, properly so called, remained in the hands of *Albert*, son of *Henry the Illustrious*, marquis of *Misnia*, and the western part, distinguished by the name of *Hesse*, devolved to the posterity of *Henry*, duke of *Brabant* <sup>2</sup>. But the chief deliberations of this diet turned upon a dispute of much greater consequence. *Ladislaus III.* king of *Hungary*, having been killed by the *Cumani*, his kingdom was claimed by three competitors; namely, *Charles Martel* of *Sicily*, the nephew of *Ladislaus* by his sister *Mary*; *Andrew the Venetian*, grandson of king *Andrew*; and *Rodolphus*, who pretended that *Hungary* was a fief of the empire. *Nicholas IV.* who had succeeded *Honorius* in the papacy, sent a legate into *Germany*, to declare to the emperor, that *Hungary* belonged to the church of *Rome*, and to forbid all persons whatever to interfere in any shape with the pretensions of the holy see. Notwithstanding this prohibition, *Andrew the Venetian* took possession of the throne; and when the pope afterwards, by the hands of a legate, bestowed the crown upon *Charles Martel*, the emperor protested against the coronation, and bestowed the investiture of *Hungary* upon his own son *Albert*; but next year he renounced his pretensions in favour of *Charles*, who married his daughter *Clementia*, according to the treaty formerly concluded between him and the king of *Sicily* <sup>3</sup>.

AFTER the diet at *Erfort*, *Rodolphus* took the field against *Otho*, count palatine of *Burgundy*, the declared enemy of the empire, who had taken the oath of allegiance to *Philip the Fair*, king of *France*, and had formerly been put to the ban of the empire for that instance of apostacy. *Rodolphus* had defeated him in a pitched battle, and compelled him to sue for peace, which was granted: but now, being joined by the count *de Montbelliard*, he renewed the war; and the emperor marching against him at the head of twenty thousand men, made himself master of *Montbelliard*, ravaged the country, and undertook the siege of *Besançon* (E). But he was so hampered for want of provisions, that he listened to terms of accommodation, and a treaty was concluded at *Basil*, on condition that *Otho*, and his allies, should pay the

\* FUGG. l. i. c. 15.  
LANI. l. vii. c. 134.

<sup>1</sup> BARRE, tom. vi. p. 225.

<sup>2</sup> Apud MENEKEN. tom. ii. p. 491.

<sup>3</sup> VIL-

(E) While he was employed in the siege of *Besançon*, ambassadors arrived in his camp from the king of *France*, giving him to understand, that, if he would not raise the siege, he would march to the assistance of the duke of *Burgundy*. In answer to this message, *Rodolphus* said,

“ Let him come; we shall wait and receive him with open arms: he shall feel and own that we have not come hither to dance and make merry; and know by experience how easy it is to give law with the sword” (16).



a expence of the war, and do homage to the emperor, who, on his part, should discharge them of all sentences and decrees of proscription.

ALL the malecontent princes of the empire being reduced to order, *Rodolphus* resolved to extirpate some formidable bodies of banditti, who infested the provinces of *Franconia*, *Suabia*, and *Thuringia*; and with this view sent detachments of troops to dislodge them from their recesses and retreats: these in a little time freed the country from the oppression under which it had groaned for many years, and took nine and twenty of their chiefs, whom the emperor ordered to be tried and beheaded, although they belonged to the best families of the province. Nay, such was the zeal of this prince for the establishment of tranquility in the empire, that understanding justice was very partially administered in the remote provinces, he appointed extraordinary judges to make a minute inquiry into all malversations of that kind, and ordered them to punish the delinquents upon the spot, according to their demerits, of what rank and quality soever they might be. By this expedient he not only laid a restraint upon those who thought they could shelter themselves from justice, under the shadow of their wealth and interest, but at the same time filled his own coffers with the fines which were exacted from the guilty <sup>b</sup>.

*RODOLPHUS*, after having reigned eighteen years, finding himself exhausted and indisposed, convoked a diet at *Frankfort*, where he demanded, that the imperial crown should be secured to his son *Albert* duke of *Austria*, by creating him king of the *Romans*; but the princes excused themselves from complying with this request, on pretence that the empire could not maintain two kings at once. Chagrined at this refusal (F), he repaired to *Strasbourg*, from whence he set out for *Spire*, saying he would go and pay a visit to the deceased emperors. This he actually performed, sooner, perhaps, than he expected; for, being taken ill at *Germerheim*, he died in the 73d year of his age; and, his body being carried to *Spire*, was interred in the great church, together with the rest of the emperors <sup>c</sup>.

The princes refuse to elect his son king of the Romans.

He dies at Germerheim. A. D. 1291.

By his first wife *Ann*, daughter of *Albert* count *Hochberg*, whose dowry was the greatest part of the landgraviate of *Alsace*, he had seven sons and as many daughters; but of the first none remained, except *Albert* duke of *Austria*, and *Rodolphus* duke of *Suabia*, and landgrave of *Alsace*. The daughters were *Jutta*, or *Judith*, wife of *Winceslaus* king of *Bohemia*; *Clementia*, married to *Charles* king of *Hungary*; *Mathilda*, wife of *Lewis* count palatine; *Agnes*, espoused by *Albert* duke of *Saxony*; *Hedrige*, married to *Otho* marquis of *Brandenburg*; *Catherine*, wife of *Otho* duke of *Bavaria*, and *Eupheme*, who was a nun <sup>d</sup>.

His issue.

THUS died *Rodolphus*, on his birth-day, in the seventy-third year of his age, and the eighteenth of his reign, a prince renowned for his valour, sagacity, and love of justice, who, by his sole courage and conduct, extricated the empire from misery and confusion, and restored it to the fruition of peace, policy, and riches. He was extremely frank and obliging, plain in his dress, and very much addicted to pleasantries (G). His stature was tall and thin, his head small, his complexion pale, his nose remarkably long, and hair scanty. and character.

<sup>b</sup> Variloq. Erfardian. p. 490.

<sup>c</sup> BARRE, t. vi. p. 240. Annal. de l'Emp. t. i. p. 369.

<sup>d</sup> BARRE, ut sup.

(F) This chagrin co-operated with his grief for the death of his son *Rodolphus*, which happened a few months before this transaction. That prince left his wife big with child of a son, who was called *John*, and afterwards murdered his uncle *Albert* king of the *Romans*, to whom he owed his education (9).

(G) Two deputies of a certain town, having one day waited upon him to remonstrate upon the necessities of his fellow-citizens, he listened with great attention to what they said, and observing that the beard of one was black and his head grey, while the other's head was black and his beard grey, he asked the reason of these uncommon phenomena: when the first replied, "My beard is grown grey sooner than the hair of my head, because my chief concern hath always centered in my mouth." And the reason which the other gave, was, that as the hair of his head was older than that of his beard, so it was, of consequence, sooner grey (1).

A merchant having once complained to him of an inn-keeper of *Nuremberg*, who refused to refund a sum of money which he had deposited in his hands, the emperor, tho' the defendant could not be convicted, took an opportunity some days after, when he came with some

other deputies of the city upon business, to praise his hat, and propose an exchange; accordingly, he no sooner received the inn-keeper's hat, than he sent it as a token to his wife, with a message in her husband's name, desiring she would deliver the bearer the money which the merchant had left in his hands. The stratagem succeeded: the wife sent the purse, which was restored to the right owner, and the inn-keeper condemned to pay a large fine (2).

Such was his affability and obliging demeanour, that while he was no more than count of *Hapsburg*, and engaged in a war against the bishop and city of *Basil*, supported by the abbot of *St. Gall*, finding himself unequal to such powerful antagonists, he went one day to dine with the abbot, without giving the least previous notice of his intention, and found means over the glass, not only to detach the abbot from the adverse party, but also to engage him on his side (3).

With regard to his moderation in dress, it was so remarkable, that when *Ottocarus* king of *Bohemia* came to do him homage, in the most magnificent apparel, *Rodolphus* was clad in a coarse grey coat (4).

(9) *Struv. period.* 9.

(1) *Heiss, Hist.* l. ii.

(2) *Ibid.*

(3) *Cuspinian. de Imp.*

(4) *Ibid.*



The noblemen  
of Austria and  
Stiria revolt  
against duke  
Albert.

**D**URING the interregnum, which lasted nine months, the empire was exposed to several domestic disturbances. *Conrad*, bishop of *Strasburg*, by force of arms, reduced the town of *Colmar*, which set up for independency, and compelled the inhabitants to take the oath of allegiance to his brother *Frederic de Lichtemberg*. The noblemen of *Austria* and *Stiria* were extremely disgusted at the administration of duke *Albert*, who, instead of indulging them like his father, began to govern with great rigour, and lay them under such restrictions and impositions, that they exclaimed loudly against his conduct, and even taxed him with the design of enslaving his subjects. Nor was their resentment limited to complaints only: they entered into an association, which was supported by the kings of *Hungary* and *Bohemia*, *Otho* duke of *Bavaria*, and *Conrad* of *Salzburg*, on condition of their being rewarded with part of the spoil; and, having revolted openly, took the field with these their allies. *Albert*, finding it would be a difficult task to reduce them by force of arms, published a manifesto, in which he promised to re-establish the government upon the old footing, and put the noblemen and people in possession of their antient privileges, provided they would return to their duty. This declaration had great weight with the malecontents; and by the mediation of *Lewis* count palatine of the *Rhine*, first a truce was agreed to, and then peace was concluded, to the satisfaction of all parties<sup>c</sup>.

b

Disputes about  
the succession  
of the duchy of  
Limbourg.

**B**UT this difference did not produce such serious consequences as those that attended the dispute between the pretenders to the succession of *Valeran III.* duke of *Limbourg*, who had died in the reign of *Rodolphus*, leaving one only daughter, called *Hermenegarde*, married to *Renaud* count *Guelderland*. This lady likewise dying without issue, *Adolphus*, count *de Bergue*, who was her cousin, disputed the succession with her husband, who insisted upon keeping possession of *Limbourg* during his natural life. *Adolphus*, finding himself too weak to cope with such a powerful antagonist, ceded his right, in consideration of a large sum of money, to *John* duke of *Brabant*, who resolved to confirm his purchase by force of arms, and put himself at the head of an army for that purpose. *Renaud* was no sooner apprised of his design, than he engaged in an alliance with the archbishop of *Cologne*, the counts of *Luxemburg*, *Cleves*, *Juliers*, *Nassau*, and several other noblemen, who joined their forces near *Aix-la-Chapelle*, and both sides commenced hostilities without farther hesitation. When the armies were in sight of each other, and just ready to engage, some noblemen, who were neutral, proposed that the dispute should be decided by the arbitration of the counts of *Flanders* and *Hainault*. The proposal was embraced by the competitors, and the arbiters, having considered the case with due deliberation, pronounced, that the count of *Guelderland* should enjoy the duchy for his life, and that the reversion should be vested in the duke of *Brabant*.<sup>d</sup>

c

d

The duke of  
Brabant ob-  
tains a signal  
victory at  
Worringen.

**T**HIS sentence, equitable as it was, disgusted both parties; and before any other steps could be taken for an accommodation, the count of *Guelderland* made over his right to *Henry* of *Luxemburg*, who was descended from the dukes of *Limbourg*, and actually the next male heir of that duchy. Then both parties, with their allies, had recourse to arms. Several skirmishes were fought with various success, the friends of the count of *Guelderland* made an unsuccessful attempt upon *Maastricht*, and ravaged the territory of *Dalem*; the duke of *Brabant*, passing the *Meuse*, laid waste part of the duchy of *Limbourg*; and at length the two armies meeting at *Worringen*, a fortress between *Cologne* and *Nuits*, belonging to the archbishop of *Cologne*, a very obstinate battle ensued, in which *Henry* of *Luxemburg* and his brother lost their lives, after having performed miracles of courage. The archbishop of *Cologne*, the counts of *Nassau*, *Juliers*, and *Guelderland*, were taken prisoners, and the duke of *Brabant* obtained a complete victory, in consequence of which he got quiet possession of *Limbourg*. This acquisition was confirmed to him by *Henry IV.* of *Luxemburg*, afterwards emperor, who, soon after his father's untimely death, married the duke of *Brabant's* eldest daughter; and after this marriage the dukes of *Brabant* and the counts of *Luxemburg* always lived in the greatest harmony and friendship<sup>e</sup>.

e

f

#### A D O L P H U S.

**S**EVEN or eight months after the decease of *Rodolphus*, the princes of the empire assembled at *Frankfort*, in order to elect a new chief; and as it was grown into a custom, to give the preference to the family of the last emperor, their votes were solicited for *Albert* duke of *Austria*; but *Gerhard*, elector of *Mentz*, by artful insinuations to each of them in private, obtained their promises separately to adhere to his nomination, and were not a little astonished to hear him propose his own kinsman, *Adolphus* of *Nassau*<sup>g</sup>; whom, however, they could not in honour reject (H). He was accordingly proclaimed emperor, and tho' he

pos-

<sup>c</sup> BARRE, ubi sup.

<sup>d</sup> Hist. Luxemb. t. v. l. 43.

<sup>e</sup> CUSP. in Adol. AVEN. Ann. Boior. l. vii. p. 578.

(H) *Adolphus* was the son of *Walrab* count *de Nassau*, and the poorest prince that ever ascended the imperial throne;

for all his possessions were limited to the lordships of *Istein*, *Wiesbaden*, and *Weilbourg*, in the county of *Nassau*;



a possessed some of those qualities which constitute a great prince, he was not rich enough to support the imperial dignity.

THE beginnings of his reign were fortunate, inasmuch as he governed the empire by the advice of *Boemond*, archbishop of *Triers*, a prelate of great virtue and capacity, who persuaded the emperor to leave all those in possession of their employments, who had served his predecessor with fidelity, although some of them had connexions with his rival, *Albert* duke of *Austria*: nor had he the least cause to repent of the confidence he reposed in their honour.

As his natural genius inclined him to war, and he was desirous of employing those princes who were averse to his elevation, he convoked a diet at *Spire*, and proposed that war should be declared against *Otho* count palatine of *Burgundy*, who wanted to dismember *Franche*

b *Compte* from the empire, and become a vassal of the *French* king.

THIS proposal being embraced, the archbishops of *Cologne* and *Mentz*, and the bishops of *Spire* and *Basil*, furnished him with troops, which at first took the route of *Besançon*; but *Albert* of *Austria* refusing to contribute his proportion for this war, and being suspected of carrying on a correspondence with the king of *France*, *Adolphus* marched towards *Suabia*, with intention to seize the fiefs which belonged to *Albert* in that province. The duke, however, came to the assistance of his vassals, with a body of forces, and posted himself in such a manner, that the emperor could not act against him, while the boisterous weather that supervened effectually hindered him from executing his scheme against *Franche Compte*; besides, he did not at that time chuse to give umbrage to the king of *France*, so as to produce

A. D. 1292.  
His expedition  
against Otho,  
count palatine  
of Burgundy,  
proves abortive.

c an open rupture with that monarch.

THE miscarriage of this enterprize greatly diminished the reputation of *Adolphus*: moreover, being a better soldier than a politician, he was too much governed by the advice of his officers, and paid too little regard to that of the princes of the empire, many of whom, being disobliged at this neglect, attached themselves in the sequel to the duke of *Austria*'s party.

THE emperor no sooner quitted *Alsace*, than the bishop of *Strasburg* put a garrison in the fortrefs of *Ortemberg*, in order to preserve it for the duke of *Austria*; and an insurrection was raised in *Colmar*, by means of *Anselmo* lord of *Rapoltstein*, who took possession of the town with a body of troops, and renounced all allegiance to *Adolphus*. Information of

Several noblemen of Alsace revolt;

d this revolt being brought to the emperor, he marched into *Alsace*, ravaged the lands of *Rapoltstein*, and besieged the city of *Colmar*, which being reduced to great extremity, was obliged to surrender at discretion. *Anselmo* was imprisoned for life, and all his estate confiscated; and the provost of *Colmar*, who was his accomplice, punished in the most ignominious manner. After the reduction of this town, he took the route of *Lower Alsace*, in order to besiege the castle of *Erstein*, the lord of which had joined the bishop of *Strasburg* in his rebellion. The place was accordingly taken, as well as the castle of the count *de Wart*, remarkable for its strength and situation; and the inhabitants of *Strasburg*, fearing that his next visit would be to them, prevailed upon the bishop to go and ask pardon of the emperor, which he obtained for himself and his associates.

and are reduced.

ALTHOUGH *Albert* of *Austria* had taken the oath of fidelity to the emperor, it was very well known that he entertained an animosity against him; and *Adolphus* fearing his power and resentment, took all the opportunities in his power to engage the friendship and attachment of the duke. With this view he proposed a match between his own son *Gerlac* and *Albert*'s daughter; when the haughty *Austrian* replied, that he would consent to the marriage, provided it could raise his daughter to the rank of a princess: but, that being impossible, he said *Adolphus* might send his daughter to one of *Albert*'s sons, whom he intended to make a prince (H).

A. D. 1293.

A WAR

*sau*; but he was reckoned the greatest warrior of his time. He had defeated *John* I. duke of *Brabant*, in five pitched battles; but in the sixth, which was that of *Worringen*, he was taken prisoner, and carried before the duke, who asked him, with a contemptuous sneer, *who he was?* "I am (said he) the count *de Nassau*, a poor lord of the empire; but who art thou?" "*John* (replied the duke) against whom thou hast waged a most obstinate war, and slain five of his best generals in as many severe battles." "I wonder (cried *Adolphus*) how thou thyself hast escaped my sword, which was whetted for thee and thee only." The duke was so struck with his intrepidity, that he set him at liberty, overwhelmed him with presents, and solicited his friendship. Nor was *Adolphus* ungrateful in the sequel; for when he was raised to the imperial throne, he not only gave him the investiture of the fiefs, which the dukes of *Brabant* held of the empire, but also ap-

pointed him governor and supreme judge, in his name, thro' all the countries from the *Moselle* to the sea, and from the *Rhine* to *Westphalia* (1).

(H) In the *German* marriages, a maiden of the first nobility acquired the title of princess, by marrying a prince; but a maiden of the lower noblesse has not the same right: she does not even become a countess or baroness, by marrying a count or a baron. In case of such an alliance, the husband is obliged to have recourse to the emperor, and solicit for his wife the honours due to his rank. If the emperor consents, the diet of the empire must ratify his consent: then the prince's wife enjoys the honours due to her husband, and her children are declared capable of succeeding to the dignities and fiefs of their father. This was the case, in the beginning of the thirteenth century, with *John Adolphus* duke of *Saxe-Weissenfels*, *Albert* duke of *Saxe-Cobourg*, *George William* duke of *Zell*, and a prince of *Anhalt*.

(1) *Cusp. in Adolph. Cæs. Trophees du Brab. l. iv.*



A WAR breaking out about this time between *France* and *England*, on account of some a provinces claimed by each, *Edward* king of *England* sent ambassadors to *Adolphus*, to propose an alliance, and to promise, that, if he would reinforce him with troops against *France*, *Edward* would go in person to *Germany*, and assist him in his turn, with forces and money, to recover the kingdom of *Arles*, which *France* had wrested from the empire. His proposal was joyfully embraced, because it was accompanied with a good round sum of money, which enabled him to purchase the landgraviate of *Thuringia* and *Misnia*, from *Albert* surnamed *the Depraved*, who had disinherited his own sons *Frederic*, *Henry*, and *Dißmann*, out of hatred to their mother *Margaret*, daughter to *Frederic II.* <sup>z</sup>

His proposal treated with contempt by Philip, who engages the duke of Austria in his interest.

MEAN while he sent ambassadors to demand from *Philip* king of *France* the kingdom of *Arles*, and some other countries which he pretended were fiefs of the empire, together with b the crown of thorns that *Christ* wore; and to denounce war in case of a refusal. But *Philip*, despising his impotent arrogance, dismissed his ambassadors without an answer (I); and this contempt, in all probability, deterred him from prosecuting the enterprize which he had projected, for all his exploits were limited to a few skirmishes between *Theobald* count of *Pfirt*, governor of *Alsace*, and the troops of the king of *France* <sup>h</sup>. *Philip*, however, being informed of the league between the emperor and the king of *England*, made use of the same expedient, by engaging in his cause *Albert* duke of *Austria*, who upon this occasion observed, that there was at least as little dishonour in taking subsidies from the king of *France*, as in being pensioner to the king of *England*. The *English* money which *Adolphus* received, instead of advancing, contributed to the ruin of his affairs; for the purchase he c had made, entailed upon him the enmity of *Dißmann*, *Henry*, and his brother *Frederic*, who were gallant princes (K), and defeated his troops upon more occasions than one; and the count of *Pfirt* had, by his insolent behaviour to *Conrad*, bishop of *Strasburg*, wholly detached that prelate from his interest <sup>i</sup>. Besides, his best friends, and among the rest the elector of *Mentz*, who had raised him to the empire, were incensed, because he neither gave them a share of the *English* subsidy, nor had recourse to their advice in his most important affairs. These concurring motives induced the princes of the empire to engage in an association for the support of *Frederic*, *Dißmann*, and *Henry*, as well as for the preservation of their own liberty.

A. D. 1295. *Adolphus* disoblige his best friends;

wages war with *Frederic*, *Dißmann*, and *Henry*, princes of *Thuringia*;

*FREDERIC* having taken possession of the margraviate of *Misnia*, which he inherited d from his uncle, levied a body of troops, and entered *Thuringia*, in order to expel the emperor, who had already made himself master of several towns in that province; and *Adolphus*, by way of reprisal, made an irruption into *Misnia*, took the city of *Dresden*, together with twelve strong castles, and pillaged every place where he met with resistance. This cruel war continued for the space of three years; but justice at last prevailed in favour of *Frederic* and his brothers: for *Adolphus*, notwithstanding all his efforts, could never obtain possession of *Thuringia*.

A. D. 1297. renders himself odious to the nobles;

INSTEAD of endeavouring, by reforming his conduct, to efface the bad impressions he had made upon the minds of his people, by engaging in such an unequitable enterprize, his behaviour became more and more haughty and tyrannical. He bestowed employments e upon the unworthy and debauched ministers of his own pleasures; and ruled with a most

<sup>z</sup> Chron. Colm. l. ii. p. 55: <sup>i</sup> Paralip. UR SP. p. 342.

<sup>h</sup> Adol. Epist. Diff. ad Phil. & hujus Resp. apud LEIB. p. i. Cod. Dip. p. 32.

In these marriages, which are stiled *matches of the left hand*, it is usually stipulated, that the wife shall continue in her original condition and rank, and that the children she shall bear shall have no other rank or prerogative than that of their mother. *Rodolphus* duke of *Lunenburg* caused his wife to be called madame *Rodolphina*, because it was a *left-handed match*. *Henry* landgrave of *Thuringia*, *Ernest* and *Edward the Fortunate*, marquises of *Baden*, and *Frederic Lewis* elector palatine, did not raise their wives to the dignity of princess, or demand the consent of the emperor or diet to declare the children of these marriages capable of succeeding them in their honours and estates. They never make such a request, except when they have no children by a former match with a lady of the first quality, or have not made an alliance of confraternity with some princes of the empire (1).

(I) *Philip* is said to have answered him in these two words, *Trap Allemund*, i. e. too much of a *German* (2).

(K) *Albert the Depraved* had married *Margaret* daughter of the emperor *Frederic II.* by whom he had three

sons, namely, *Frederic*, *Dißmann*, and *Henry*; but conceiving a disgust for this prince, he attached himself to *Cunegunda* of *Iffenbourg*, and laid a scheme for poisoning *Margaret*, who, being apprised of his design, made her escape from the castle of *Eisenach*; and, in bidding adieu to her children, severely bit the cheek of *Frederic* the eldest, in order to imprint upon his mind the memory of his mother's wrongs: hence he derived the appellation of *Frederic with the bitten Cheek*. *Margaret* having retired to a monastery at *Frankfort*, her husband lived openly with his concubine, by whom he had a son called *Lewis*, to whom he gave the additional name of *Apicius*. He was distractedly fond of this child, and resolved to declare him his heir: but afterwards foreseeing the opposition he must have encountered from the noblemen of the empire, as well as from his own vassals, he put up his fiefs to sale, that he might give the purchase money to his bastard: but there was no bidder except the emperor, who bought them for twelve thousand marks of silver (3).

(1) Barre, t. vi. p. 237.

(2) Vigner. Bill. Hist. t. xi. lxx ann.

(3) Struv. Period. 9.



- a arbitrary sway, in diametrical opposition to the remonstrances of the nobles, whom he treated with insolence and disdain.

THESE imprudent proceedings alienated the hearts of almost all the princes and states of the empire: the spirit of discontent diffused itself through every province of *Germany*, and a great number of noblemen, ecclesiastic as well as secular, not only declared openly against his mal-administration, but even formed a conspiracy, in order to remove him from the throne: *who form a conspiracy against him;*

- b not that he was utterly destitute of adherents; *Boemond*, archbishop of *Triers*, *Rodolphus*, count palatine of the *Rhine*, and *Otho*, duke of *Bavaria*, still supported his interest, and furnished him with troops; at the head of which he took the field, and encamped at *Voigtland*, to observe the motions of those princes who had declared themselves his enemies; namely, *Gerhard*, archbishop of *Mentz*, *Winceslaus*, king of *Bohemia*, *Albert*, duke of *Austria*, the two margraves of *Brandenburg*, and the duke of *Saxony*.

- c THE confederates assembled at *Prague* for the coronation of *Winceslaus*, and next day deliberated upon the heads of accusation, which might serve as a foundation for deposing *Adolphus*, digesting them into the following articles: that he had shamefully renounced the rights of the empire in *Italy* and *Lombardy*: that, instead of establishing union and peace in the provinces of *Germany*, he had fomented a division and civil war, to the desolation of the country: that he had indiscretely squandered away the revenues of the crown, and bestowed employments and offices of state upon unexperienced and ill-intentioned persons, to the great detriment of the *Germanic* body: that, by his sole authority, he had imposed exorbitant taxes upon the subjects of the empire: that he had affirmed his will was law, and, in consequence of that maxim, ruined a great number of vassals: that he had received a considerable sum of money from *Edward*, king of *England*, on promise, by oath, to send succours to that prince, which promise he had broke, tho' he kept the money: that he had slighted the advice of the princes, nobility, and clergy, and never consulted them in affairs of importance, but acted wholly from his own authority: that he had connived at robberies on the highway: that he had allowed his officers to oppress the poor, and his soldiers to commit all manner of outrages: and, lastly, that he had ravished a great number of wives, widows, maidens, and nuns, and put several women to death, after having satisfied his brutal appetite. *digest articles of accusation against Adolphus;*

- d THE emperor's guilt in all these particulars being notorious, the princes appointed a meeting of the diet at *Mentz*, in order to depose *Adolphus*, and elect *Albert*, who now levied an army to support his pretensions, and oppose whatever measures *Adolphus* might take to traverse his election. At the same time he sent his uncle, the count *de Hohemberg* and *Hagerloch*, to solicit the pope's consent to his deposition; which, however, he could not obtain, with all the promises and presents he lavished away among the members of the consistory. On the contrary, his holiness wrote an account of his refusal to *Adolphus*, and even offered to consecrate him emperor, if he could come to *Rome*. Mean while the count *de Hohemberg* pretended that he had succeeded in his commission, and, at his return to *Germany*, presented the three electors, who were *Albert's* friends, with forged letters, containing the pope's approbation of their design.

e *ADOLPHUS*, encouraged by the declaration of *Boniface* in his favour, advanced towards *Austria*, in order to wrest that province from *Albert*, who marched to the banks of the *Rhine* to support his friends, who intended to elevate him to the imperial throne, at the meeting of the diet in *Mentz*. They accordingly assembled for that purpose; the deposition of *Adolphus*, and election of the duke of *Austria*, were actually performed; and *Albert* being encamped with his army without the city, the electors waited upon him, in order to notify what they had done, to wish him all sort of prosperity, and to promise that they would assist, protect, and maintain him against all his enemies<sup>k</sup> (L). *who is deposed. A. D. 1298. Albert is elected emperor;*

<sup>k</sup> *ÆN. Hist. Boem. c. xxviii. AVENT. Ann. Boior. l. vii. p. 587. Chron. Colm. part. xi. p. 58, 59.*

(L) Before they proceeded to the election, they assembled, and harangued the people upon the subject of their present design. Then they repaired to church, attended by a vast multitude, and turning towards the altar, spoke to this effect: "Six years ago, the empire being vacant, we canonically elected *Adolphus*, count *de Nassau*, king of the *Romans*, knowing at that time no person more worthy of that dignity. At first he conducted himself wisely, following the advice of the most prudent electors and princes of his court; but, in a little time, he began to despise their advice, and listen to the counsels of young persons, without either sense or expe-

rience: then he found himself destitute of means and friends to assist him sincerely in bearing the burden of government. The electors, perceiving his indigence, and swayed by twenty other motives, have demanded the pope's consent to depose him, and chuse another emperor. We are told, that our envoys have obtained the consent of his holiness; tho' those of *Adolphus* affirm the contrary. But we, having no regard to any authority but that which is vested in ourselves, and finding *Adolphus* incapable of governing the empire, do depose him from the imperial dignity, and elect *Albert*, duke of *Austria*, king of the *Romans* (4)."

(4) *Chron. Colm. part. ii. p. 5.*

*ADOLPHUS,*



*ADOLPHUS*, being apprised of this election, raised the siege of *Ruffach*, in *Alsace*, and marched towards *Spire*, where he encamped: he was reinforced by the count palatine *Rodolphus*, *Otho*, duke of *Bavaria*, and the cities of *Spire* and *Worms*, which, with some others, never deserted his cause. *Albert* at the same time advanced towards him, in order to dispute the imperial crown by force of arms. They accordingly engaged between *Gelnheim* and the cloister of *Rosendal*, and the battle was maintained with great fury on both sides. In the heat of the fight, the emperor, singling out the duke, attacked him hand to hand, saying, "Here you shall abandon to me the empire and your life." To this address the duke replied, without hesitation, "Both are in the hands of God;" and with these words struck him in the face with such violence, that he fell from his horse, and was immediately slain by some of *Albert's* party<sup>1</sup>. Thus fell *Adolphus*, a valiant, tho' unfortunate prince, whose death is said to have been bitterly lamented by *Gerhard*, archbishop of *Mentz*, who had been the principal cause of his deposition. He was no sooner killed than *Albert* put a stop to the carnage, and granted quarter to all the enemy; but the count palatine and duke of *Bavaria* saved themselves by flight. As for the emperor's body, it was interred in the cloister of *Frauenfelt*, because *Albert* would not allow it to be deposited in *Spire*, with the rest of the emperors, tho' it was afterwards carried thither by the emperor *Henry* of *Luxembourg* (M).

and defeats  
Adolphus,  
who is slain in  
battle.

The Jews are  
massacred in  
divers parts of  
Germany.

In the reign of *Adolphus*, as well as in that of his predecessors, the *Jews* were persecuted in the empire with great cruelty, on the supposition that they had slain several Christian children, and committed other crimes which attracted the hatred of the public. During the troubles produced by the competition between *Adolphus* and *Albert*, a certain peasant, called *Raind-Fleisch*, preached in the *Upper Palatinate*, that God had sent him to destroy the *Jews*. From thence he made a progress through *Franconia*, and the neighbouring provinces, haranguing on the same subject, and affirming that the *Jews* had stole a consecrated host. The common people, without giving themselves the trouble to investigate the truth, were incensed at this pretended sacrilege; and the inhabitants of *Nuremberg*, *Rottembourg*, *Amberg*, and other towns of *Franconia* and *Bavaria*, seizing all the unhappy *Israelites* that fell in their way, committed them to the flames, and drove the rest to such despair, that numbers burnt themselves and their families, rather than fall into the hands of the merciless Christians. These violences were exercised for some time with impunity, until *Albert*, duke of *Austria*, took the *Jewish* nation into his protection, re-established them in all their privileges, and imposed a very heavy fine upon the town of *Nuremberg*, where the massacre had begun; yet all his care could not extinguish that aversion which the people of that city entertained for the *Jews*. It broke out on divers occasions, and in the sequel proved fatal to the famous *Mordecai* of *Austria*, who composed a commentary on some books of the *Talmud*, and was author of several other curious performances. He quitted *Austria*, to go and teach the oriental languages at *Triers*; and afterwards, in passing through *Nuremberg*, was apprehended and hanged by the people. Nor were the miserable *Jews* treated with more lenity in *Friesland* and *Holland*, which at that time were provinces of the empire. *Florentius V.* count of *Holland* and *West Friesland*, who had rendered himself odious to the nobility by the severity of his government, thought to engage the people on his side, by favouring their hatred to the *Jews*, whom he expelled from his dominions: but this step served only to encrease the discontent of the nobles, who had derived great advantages from the *Jewish* nation; they therefore engaged in a conspiracy, and slew him at the chace. As his son *John* at that time resided in *England*, and did not think it safe to come and take possession of his father's estate, the nobles solicited the protection of *Eric VIII.* king of *Denmark*, who came with an army to support them, reduced all the towns, subdued the whole country, saddled them with a severe tribute, and left a *Danish* nobleman to rule them in his absence. The governor treated them so harshly, that they began to repent heartily of having intailed such slavery upon themselves; and, conspiring against this minister of arbitrary power, compelled him to fly for shelter into a fortress, where he was taken, and murdered on the spot. Then they recalled from *England* *John*, the son of *Florentius*, whom they acknowledged as count of *Holland* and *Friesland*. He received the investiture of these fiefs from *Rodolphus*, and in a few years died at *Haarlem* without issue; so that the antient house of the counts of *Holland* was extinct, after it had subsisted four hundred and thirty-seven years<sup>m</sup>.

Florentius V.  
count of Hol-  
land, is mur-  
dered.

That antient  
house extinct.

<sup>1</sup> Chron. Colm. part. ii. p. 6.

<sup>m</sup> Ann. Steron. ad ann. 1298. EMMIUS Rerum Frisic. Hist.

(M) *Adolphus* was the son of *Walrab*, count of *Nassau*, and grandson of *Henry the Rich*, who is looked upon as the founder of that family. He succeeded to the county of *Nassau* in 1289, and that same year married *Imagine*, daughter of *Gerlac*, count of *Limbourg*, by whom he had *Henry*, who died young; *Rupert*, who married *Gutta*, daughter of *Winceslaus*, and was made prisoner by the

archbishop of *Mentz*, in a battle fought near *Worms*; *Gerlac*, who succeeded his father in the county of *Nassau*; *Walram*, and *Adolphus*. His daughters were *Adebeide*, a nun in the monastery of *St. Claire* in *Mentz*; *Imagine*, who was never married; and *Mechtilda*, wife of *Rodolphus*, elector palatine (5).



ALBERT I.

- a **ALBERT** I. called *the Triumphant*, on account of his generosity and valour, and the many victories he obtained over his enemies, was likewise surnamed *the One-Eyed*, because he had lost one eye by the operation of poison, which was given to him in his own palace at *Vienna*, about three years before he was elected emperor. Altho' he had been elected king of the *Romans* before the victory which he obtained over the emperor *Adolphus*, being apprehensive that his election would be contested, because the elector of *Triers* and the *Palatine* had not joined in it, he convoked the whole number at *Frankfort*, and desired them to proceed to a new election<sup>a</sup>. After which, they attended him to *Aix-la-Chapelle*, where he was crowned with great solemnity; and such was the concourse of people upon that occasion, that his brother-in-law the duke of *Saxony*, and several other persons, were squeezed to death in the crowd.

Albert is re-elected, and crowned at Aix-la-Chapelle;

- b **ALBERT**, being thus established on the throne, sent to *Rome*, to desire that pope *Boniface VIII.* would confirm his election. That pontiff, chagrined at the elevation of this prince upon the ruins of his friend *Adolphus*, refused for some time to comply with his desire, on pretence that the electors had no authority to set him on the throne without the concurrence of the pope<sup>o</sup>; till at length the desire he had to be revenged on *Philip*, king of *France*, being stronger than his resentment against *Albert*, he promised to confirm the election of this last, and even made a tender to him of the crown of *France*. *Albert* thanked him for his offer; but represented, that he could not embark in a quarrel of such importance, unless his holiness would assist him in carrying on the war against *Philip*. The pope refusing to contribute, the project was not only laid aside, but *Albert*, in order to anticipate the ill-offices of *Boniface*, made advances to the king of *France*, with whom he had an interview at *Vaucouleurs*, where they renewed the antient leagues between the empire and *France*, and treated about the marriage of *Rodolphus*, *Albert's* son, with *Blanche*, *Philip's* daughter, which was not consummated till next year<sup>p</sup>.

sollicits the pope's confirmation;

has an interview with Philip, king of France.

- c At this interview, a treaty of alliance was concluded between the emperor and the king of *France*, by which *Albert* obliged himself to bestow upon his eldest son *Rodolphus*, and his heirs for ever, as hereditary fiefs, the duchies of *Austria* and *Stiria*, with the lordships of *Carniola*, *La Marche*, and *Port-Naon*: he moreover assigned, as the dowry of the princess *Blanche*, the county of *Alsace*, and the territory of *Fribourg*, to be possessed for ever by her husband and his heirs; so that this seems to be the æra at which the duchy of *Austria* and the landgraviate of *Alsace* became the hereditary countries of the house of *Hapsburg*. Be that as it will, when the emperor convoked a diet at *Toul*, to authenticate this contract, the three ecclesiastic electors protested against the articles of alliance; and when *Albert* sent ambassadors to the pope, with an intimation of the nuptials, and a demand that his holiness would confirm the choice which the electors had made in elevating him to the imperial throne, *Boniface* publicly declared, that the election of *Albert* was null and void, and that he ought to be treated as a murderer; nay, after having refused audience to the *German* ambassadors, he appeared in public, with a sword by his side, habited like the general of an army, and affirmed, that there was no other *Cæsar*, or king of the *Romans*, but the sovereign pontiff of Christendom<sup>q</sup>.

The ecclesiastic electors protest against the treaty of Vaucouleurs.

- d In the mean time the emperor gave orders for assembling a diet at *Nuremberg* on *St. Martin's-day*, at which were present, besides the ecclesiastic electors, *Winceslaus*, king of *Bohemia*, the elector palatine, and several other princes of the empire. There his wife *Elizabeth*, daughter of the count of *Tyrol*, was crowned, and his son *Rodolphus* invested with the duchy of *Austria*, for himself and his successors. After the diet, the empress set out for *Vienna*, with duke *Rodolphus* and the princess, who died within the year, without issue by the duke of *Austria*.

- e About this period *Albert* was engaged in a war with *John d'Avenes*, who, as the next heir to *John*, count of *Holland*, lately dead, had taken possession of his dominions, which *Albert* claimed as fiefs reversible to the empire. After having published a manifesto to this purpose, he levied an army to support his pretensions, and advanced as far as *Nimeguen* against *John d'Avenes*, who had assembled a strong body of forces, with which he passed the river *Waal*, without being perceived; and having surprised a detachment of imperialists, whom he cut in pieces, spread such an alarm among the rest of the emperor's troops, that he was fain to decamp with great precipitation, and, by hasty marches, retreat to *Cologne*, where he intrenched himself under the ramparts of the city. There being in danger of perishing by famine, blocked up as he was by an enemy, he employed the archbishop of *Cologne* to negotiate a

A. D. 1300.

Albert engages in a war with John d'Avenes.

<sup>a</sup> SPOND. CONT. BARRE, t. x. p. 452.

<sup>o</sup> BALÆUS, l. vi.

<sup>p</sup> AVENT. ANN. BOIOR. l. vii. p. 588.

<sup>q</sup> BAILLET D'EMERES de Boniface.



peace; which was concluded, on condition that *John d'Avenes* should enjoy the counties of *Holland, West Friesland, and Zealand*, in consideration of doing homage to the emperor, from whom he accordingly received the investiture of these dominions<sup>1</sup>. a

Quarrels with  
the ecclesiastic  
electors. THIS war being happily terminated, the emperor caused his statutes, touching the charge and function of the electors of the empire, to be published and executed. As the ecclesiastical electors, and some other of the princes, had converted to their own use the toll and other revenues formerly appropriated to the maintenance of the emperor, he demanded that these imposts should be put upon their antient footing; and was answered, that as they inherited these revenues from their predecessors, without being questioned by the emperors or kings of the *Romans*, they hoped he would maintain them in these rights, which they could not, nor would not resign. The emperor sent the bishop of *Basil* to complain of this answer b to the pope; and, in order to obtain a favourable audience, solemnly promised to engage in a crusade, as he had already proposed such an expedition to the princes of Christendom, provided his holiness would enable him to defray the expence of the enterprize, by obliging the three ecclesiastical electors to part with the tolls and duties, which they had usurped during the anarchy of the empire; but *Boniface* lending a deaf ear to his complaint, he resolved to do himself right by force of arms. In the mean time, by the advice of his friends, he declared his discontent to the ecclesiastical electors, whom he summoned to appear before the states and princes of the empire at *Mentz*, and answer to the charge that should be laid against them.

A. D. 1301. THE electors, instead of obeying this citation, wrote a letter to the pope, in which they c represented *Albert* as an insolent and ambitious tyrant, a professed enemy to the clergy, and gave his holiness to understand, that measures were taking in *Germany* for electing another king of the *Romans*. These were agreeable tidings to *Boniface*, who persecuted *Albert* with the most rancorous hatred. He had already refused the mediation of *Philip the Fair*, who attempted to reconcile him to the emperor; he had even allured *Philip's* brother, *Charles de Valois*, into *Italy*, with a promise of raising him to the imperial throne; and now he sent an answer to the letter of the ecclesiastical electors, in which, after having stigmatized the emperor as a rebel; "We command you (added he) to signify by public proclamation d " to *Albert*, the pretended king of the *Romans*, that he must, in six months, appear before " us, by his envoys, sufficiently authorized and instructed, to justify himself, if he can, " of the imputation of treason against king *Adolphus*, as well as to avert the sentence of " excommunication, which he has incurred by persecuting the holy see, and other churches, " and to undergo such penance as we shall prescribe. We strictly forbid the electors, vassals, and subjects of the empire, to acknowledge him as king of the *Romans*; we release " them from their oath of allegiance, and will proceed against him and his adherents, spiritually and temporally, as we shall judge most expedient."

In consequence of this order, the three archbishops retired to the dominions of the elector palatine, as if he had been a competent judge, and preferred a formal complaint against the emperor, for having cruelly slain his predecessor. The count, who hated *Albert*, ordered a formal information to be taken; and upon the frivolous accusations of the ecclesiastical e electors, and a few other persons of distinction, he pronounced him convicted of the crimes laid to his charge, and consequently unworthy of the empire (N).

A. D. 1302. THIS step, however, they were not allowed to take with impunity; for *Albert*, incensed at their presumption, no longer hesitated in declaring war against them; and although the marquis of *Brandenburg*, the duke of *Saxony*, and the king of *Bohemia*, remained neuter in this contest, the majority of the princes espoused the cause of the emperor, and he soon saw himself at the head of a very formidable army, with which he ravaged the archbishopric of *Mentz*, took the strong town of *Bingen* upon the *Rhine* by assault, compelled the three prelates to sue for peace, which they obtained at the expence of parting with the toll and duties which occasioned this rupture; but the elector palatine was obliged to purchase his pardon f with a considerable sum of money.

<sup>1</sup> Antiquit. de la Gaule Belg. l. v.

<sup>2</sup> SPOND. CONT. BAR. t. i. p. 477. AVENT. c. 50. n. 10.

(N) This right of the elector palatine has been since confirmed by the golden-bull, in these words: "Altho', " by very antient custom, the emperor, or king of the " *Romans*, is obliged to answer in all cases instituted " against them before the count palatine of the *Rhine*, " arch-steward, prince elector, of the holy empire; " the said count palatine, however, shall not exercise " that jurisdiction, except in the imperial court, where " the emperor, or king of the *Romans*, shall be personally present, and in no other place (6)."

This article, however, ought not to be understood of causes instituted against the emperor as sovereign, but of those only in which he may be involved as a private person; such as civil causes, which were naturally tried before the count palatine, because he was of old the ordinary and supreme judge at the emperor's court. No prince, who had the least regard to justice, would refuse to answer to complaints of that kind before the tribunal, which they themselves had erected for that purpose; or scruple to leave the course of justice free in those disputes of law which they might have with private persons.

(6) Bull. Aur. c. 8.



- a ALBERT's next expedition was against *Winceflaus*, king of *Bohemia*, who had not only ascended the throne of *Poland*, after having defeated his competitor *Uladislaus Loëticus*, but also received a deputation from the noblemen of *Hungary*, with a tender of the crown, become vacant by the death of *Andrew the Venetian*. Possessed as he was of two crowns already, he recommended his son *Winceflaus* to the *Hungarians*, who changed the young prince's name to *Ladislaus*, and crowned him at *Alba Regalis*, to the no small mortification of the pope, who protested against his election as an enterprize against the holy see, to which, he said, the kingdom of *Hungary* appertained; nay, he even affected to decide the affair in a judicial manner, and adjudged the crown to *Mary* queen of *Naples*, wife of *Charles II.* and sister of *Ladislaus III.* king of *Hungary*. This princess made over her title to her grandson *Char-*
- b *robert*, whose interest the emperor espoused from a double motive; for the young prince was his own nephew, and *Winceflaus* his professed enemy: besides, he had an eye to the silver-mines of *Bohemia*, part of which he had already demanded without success. These co-operating considerations induced him to renew his old quarrels with *Winceflaus*: he assembled a formidable army of *Austrians*, *Hungarians*, *Bulgarians*, and *Cumani*, which having divided into two bodies, he detached the one to ravage *Moravia*, and marched at the head of the other into *Bohemia*, where his soldiers committed the most cruel outrages, without distinction of age, sex, or condition, and made a fruitless attempt upon the mines, from which they were repulsed with great loss. Notwithstanding this check, *Winceflaus* being disappointed of a reinforcement which he expected from *Otho*, marquis of *Brandenburg*,
- c and finding his forces greatly inferior to those of *Albert*, he permitted the miners to poison the water in the neighbourhood of the imperial camp; so that the greatest part of the *Austrian* troops, which used these waters, perished in the utmost torture, and the emperor, having moreover lost almost all his whole cavalry, was obliged to retreat into *Austria* with the miserable remains of his army.

The emperor invades Bohemia;

and is obliged to retreat with loss.

- WHILE the reconciliation subsisted between *Philip the Fair* and *Boniface*, this last refused to acknowledge *Albert* as king of the *Romans*, and even raised up a rival against him, in the person of *Charles de Valois*; but now that he had quarrelled with the king of *France*, who had granted an asylum to his enemies, the cardinals *Colonnæ*, he made advances to the emperor, confirmed his election, invited him to come and receive the imperial crown at *Rome*, and exhorted him to declare war against *Philip*, whom by this time he had excommunicated.
- d But, before he granted his bull of confirmation to *Albert*, he exacted very humbling conditions from that prince, who sent him letters patent, dated at *Nuremberg*, in which he acknowledged that the empire had been transferred by the holy see from the *Greeks* to the *Germans*, in the person of *Charlemagne*; that the right of electing a king of the *Romans* was granted, by the sovereign pontiff, to certain ecclesiastical and secular princes; and that kings and emperors received the power of the temporal sword from the holy see. He likewise agreed to take the oath of allegiance to the pope; to perform all the promises made by *Radolphus* and his predecessors; confirmed the concessions of *Lewis the Debonnair* and *Otho the Great*; and undertook to defend the rights of the holy see against all its enemies, whom-
- e soever they might be, and declare war against them, at the command of his holiness.

A. D. 1303. The emperor's election is confirmed by the pope;

- THE king of *France*, informed of the steps which the pope had taken to engage the emperor in his interests, contrived a scheme for seizing his person at *Anagni*, where he resided; and this was actually executed by *William de Nogaret* and *Sciara Colonna*, who, at the head of three or four hundred knights, formerly in the service of the count *de Valois*, surprised the town, and apprehended *Boniface*, whom they treated with great indignity; but on the fourth day of his imprisonment, during which he had been almost famished to death, the inhabitants took to their arms, under the command of the cardinal *de Fresque*, expelled *Nogaret* and *Colonna*, and set the pope at liberty. *Boniface* repaired immediately to *Rome*, where he fell sick of chagrin for having suffered such indignities; and dying, was succeeded by
- f *Nicolas Bocassini*, cardinal bishop of *Ostia*, who assumed the name of *Benedict X.*

who is surprized at Anagni.

Dies at Rome, and is succeeded by Benedict X.

- THIS new pope, who is said to have been a shepherd's son, seemed very well disposed to maintain an intimate union between the holy see and the empire, and even took some steps towards effecting a reconciliation between the *Guelphs* and the *Gibelines*, which last still supported the emperor's party in *Tuscany*, and some other provinces of *Italy*: but *Benedict* did not live to bring his laudable design to perfection; for he died eleven months after his elevation, very much regretted by *Albert* and the *German* princes, who hoped to re-establish the rights of the empire in *Italy* under his pontificate.

who does not long survive his election.

- MEAN while *Ladislaus*, by his misconduct, lost the footing he had gained in *Hungary*: his vices and debauchery alienated the hearts of his friends, and raised such a spirit of animosity against him, that he was obliged to lock himself up in the citadel of *Buda*, from which he was released by his father *Winceflaus*; who dying soon after this expedition, he succeeded

<sup>c</sup> BARRE, t. 6. p. 317.

<sup>u</sup> Hist. des Demel. de Bonif. VIII. avec Philip le Bel.



to the throne of *Bohemia*, and resumed his former name of *Winceflaus*: while the party of *Charobert* acquired new strength every day in *Hungary*. a

Albert seizes  
the kingdom of  
Bohemia for  
his son Rodol-  
phus.

WHEN *Winceflaus* the younger ascended the throne of *Bohemia*, his conduct continued so irregular, that he was assassinated by his own subjects; and he dying without issue, *Henry*, count of *Carinthia* and *Tyrol*, the emperor's own cousin, was, in consequence of a free election, promoted to the throne. But *Albert*, on pretence of a family compact, raised a strong army, in order to put the crown on the head of his own son *Rodolphus*; and *Henry*, being too weak to cope with him in the field, resigned his pretensions in favour of his cousin *Rodolphus*, whose first wife *Blanche* being dead, he married *Isabella*, widow of *Winceflaus*, in order to fix himself more firmly on the throne. However, he did not long enjoy his good fortune; for he was soon after taken off by sudden death: upon which the kingdom was divided b into two factions, one of which recalled *Henry*, count of *Carinthia*; and the other elected *Frederic*, the emperor's son. *Albert*, who had before anticipated *Henry*, was now anticipated in his turn by that prince, who was now so well established upon the throne, that it was not in his power to depose him: after having ravaged part of his country, he was fain to return with his army, and leave him in peaceable possession of his dominions \*.

The emperor  
espouses the  
cause of Philip  
de Nassau  
against Frede-  
ric,

AT his return from this fruitless expedition, he employed his arms in a war still more unjust and unsuccessful. We have seen that *Adolphus* purchased *Misnia* and *Thuringia* from that unnatural parent, who wanted to defraud his own children; but that the greatest part of the princes siding with the brothers *Frederic* and *Dietsmann*, he had never been able to gain possession; so that he lost both his money and his reputation. Nevertheless, when he died, c his brother *Philip* of *Nassau* claimed these countries, and the emperor supported his pretensions, in hope of profiting by the troubles that would necessarily ensue, and of obtaining some portion of the lands in dispute. He accordingly summoned the two brothers to appear before the diet at *Fulde*, and give an account of their title; and they refusing to adhere to the conditions he wanted to impose, were, by a formal sentence, divested of their estates, and put to the ban of the empire. He at the same time raised an army to carry this sentence into execution: but such a flagrant piece of tyranny and injustice raised up a number of friends to the young princes; so that *Frederic* found himself in a little time at the head of a strong body of forces, and actually gave battle to the emperor near *Luchau*, where he ob- d tained a complete victory; in consequence of which he remained peaceable possessor of the two provinces in question, while *Albert* was obliged to fly with disgrace, and sit down with the mortifying reflection of having seen all his laurels blasted by the prowess of a boy \*.

who defeats  
the imperia-  
lists at Luchau  
A. D. 1306.

HIS chagrin, however, did not prey upon his faculties so much, but that he exerted all his endeavours in establishing his nephew *Charobert* upon the throne of *Hungary*. Pope *Clement V.* who succeeded *Benedict*, confirmed the sentence of *Boniface* in favour of *Mary*, queen of *Naples*, and forbade the *Hungarians*, on pain of the most terrible censures, to receive any other prince but *Charobert*. At the same time he commanded *Otbo*, duke of *Bavaria*, to lay aside the title of king of *Hungary*, which that prince had purchased with his money, after the expulsion of *Ladislaus*. He had even been crowned at *Alba*, and made a progress thro' the kingdom; but the pride and insolence of his disposition gave such disgust, that the nobles abandoned his interest, and the vaivode of *Transilvania* actually imprisoned him in a strong castle, from which he was not released until he had renounced his title to the crown. e

Charobert  
elected king of  
Hungary.

THE throne becoming vacant by his abdication, the two parties united in favour of *Charobert*, who was elected and approved by the pope's legate, in the name of the *Roman* church.

A civil war  
in Holstein.

THOUGH the troubles of *Hungary* were thus appeased, the northern parts of *Germany* felt the disagreeable effects of a civil war, that broke out between *Gerhard*, count of *Holstein*, and the nobility of his country, who took the field against him, under the command of one *Pelos*; but they were vanquished in a pitched battle, and their chief being taken prisoner, was convicted of treason, and broke alive upon the wheel. As the city of *Lubec* gave sanc- f tuary to the fugitive nobles, the duke resolved to punish the regency of the town for this mark of disrespect. He accordingly encamped at the mouth of the *Traive*, where he built a fort, in order to interrupt their commerce, and hinder them from receiving supplies by sea. The regency, who had concluded a treaty of alliance with the duke of *Saxony*, determined to defend themselves by force of arms, and had recourse to *Eric*, king of *Denmark*, their protector, who sent *Waldemar*, duke of *Sleswick*, to take the command of their troops.

COUNT *Gerhard*, in order to ballance these preparations, received a reinforcement from the duke of *Mecklenburg*, and some other princes who were his allies, and took post near a place called *Suartow*, from whence he greatly incommoded the inhabitants of *Lubec*, and supported the garrison of the fort which he had raised at the mouth of the river.

BUT before any action of consequence was undertaken on either side, the difference was terminated by the mediation of duke *Waldemar*, and a peace concluded, on condition that

\* DUBRARI. Hist Bohem. l. xix.

† STRUV. per. ix.



- a the new fort should remain in the hands of the count for the term of four years, which being expired, the emperor *Albert* should be solicited to decide to which party it should belong. This treaty was followed by a reconciliation between the count and his nobility, who mutually agreed, that in case of any future quarrel and dispute, they should have recourse to the king of *Denmark* and the duke of *Mecklenbourg*, who would decide the affair in question, according to the laws and customs of *Holstein*<sup>2</sup>. An accommodation is effected.

- THESE commotions did not affect the emperor so nearly as did the revolt of the *Helvetians* or *Swiss*, which was occasioned by the tyranny of those whom he appointed to govern that people, accustomed to cherish and maintain the idea of liberty as an inestimable jewel, transmitted to them by their ancestors from time immemorial. Fortified by their natural situation, and surrounded with mountains, torrents, and woods, they had nothing to fear from strangers, and lived happily in a rugged country, suitable to none but those who were used to a frugal and laborious course of life. Equality of condition was the most solid base of their government; and when their nobility attempted to tyrannize, they were either altogether expelled, or reduced within bounds by the people. *Rodolphus* of *Hapsburg* had appeased these troubles by his courage and discretion; the exiles were permitted to return, and peace was re-established on a solid footing. Although the *Swiss* were extremely jealous of their liberty, yet they were always submissive to the empire of which they held; and a great many of their towns were free and imperial. With respect to the three cantons of *Ury*, *Switz*, and *Underwald*, they do not seem to have been in any-ways dependent upon the house of *Austria*. Indeed, they put themselves under the protection of *Rodolphus*, when he was no more than landgrave of *Alsace*; and after his elevation to the imperial throne, they never acknowledged in him any other sovereignty but that of chief of the empire. Nor does he seem to have considered them as fiefs of the house of *Austria*; for he always treated them with great indulgence, and defended their rights and privileges against the noblemen who attempted to infringe them. The emperor oppresses the cantons of Ury, Underwald, and Switz,
- b situation, and surrounded with mountains, torrents, and woods, they had nothing to fear from strangers, and lived happily in a rugged country, suitable to none but those who were used to a frugal and laborious course of life. Equality of condition was the most solid base of their government; and when their nobility attempted to tyrannize, they were either altogether expelled, or reduced within bounds by the people. *Rodolphus* of *Hapsburg* had appeased these troubles by his courage and discretion; the exiles were permitted to return, and peace was re-established on a solid footing. Although the *Swiss* were extremely jealous of their liberty, yet they were always submissive to the empire of which they held; and a great many of their towns were free and imperial. With respect to the three cantons of *Ury*, *Switz*, and *Underwald*, they do not seem to have been in any-ways dependent upon the house of *Austria*. Indeed, they put themselves under the protection of *Rodolphus*, when he was no more than landgrave of *Alsace*; and after his elevation to the imperial throne, they never acknowledged in him any other sovereignty but that of chief of the empire. Nor does he seem to have considered them as fiefs of the house of *Austria*; for he always treated them with great indulgence, and defended their rights and privileges against the noblemen who attempted to infringe them.
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- ALBERT*'s conduct in this particular was quite the reverse of his father's: he wanted to govern the *Swiss* as an absolute sovereign, and had formed a scheme for erecting *Switzerland* into a principality for one of his sons: he had endeavoured to persuade the cantons of *Ury*, *Switz*, and *Underwald*, to submit voluntarily to his dominion, in which case he promised to rule them with the utmost tenderness; but finding them tenacious of their independency, and deaf to all his solicitations, he resolved to tame them by rougher methods, and appointed governors, who domineered over them in the most arbitrary manner. Complaints were preferred without effect; their deputies were treated with contempt at the imperial court; they were subjected at home to numberless species of oppression; they were plundered, taxed, fined, imprisoned, tortured, and even put to death occasionally, without justice or form of law: and, in a word, they groaned under all the miseries flowing from despotic power and barbarity.
- d promised to rule them with the utmost tenderness; but finding them tenacious of their independency, and deaf to all his solicitations, he resolved to tame them by rougher methods, and appointed governors, who domineered over them in the most arbitrary manner. Complaints were preferred without effect; their deputies were treated with contempt at the imperial court; they were subjected at home to numberless species of oppression; they were plundered, taxed, fined, imprisoned, tortured, and even put to death occasionally, without justice or form of law: and, in a word, they groaned under all the miseries flowing from despotic power and barbarity.

- IN this emergency they had no prospect of relief, except in their own courage, and they began to concert proper measures for delivering themselves from the tyranny of the *Austrian* government. The chiefs of the confederates were *Arnould Melchtat*, a native of *Underwald*, *Werner Strauffacher*, of *Switz*, and *Walter Furts*, of *Ury*. These men, naturally bold, enterprising, and united by a long intimacy of friendship, having frequently met in private to deliberate upon means to free their country, admitted nine other persons to their councils; and the association being confirmed by oath, they resolved to raise insurrections in the three cantons, to demolish the fortified castles, and expel the *Austrian* governors, with all their adherents. A certain time being fixed for putting this laudable design in execution, the individuals began privately to make preparations for such an important enterprise, which was actually achieved, without the loss of one single life. On the first day of *January* the conspirators sent fifty men to the governor of *Sarn*, with the usual presents and compliments of the season; and these being admitted into the citadel, seized the gates and made the governor their prisoner. The people of *Ury* at the same time surprised *Altorf*, and the inhabitants of *Switz* made themselves masters of *Lowertz*. The forts were instantly demolished, and the governor was conducted to the frontiers, where they obliged him to promise, upon oath, that he would never serve the house of *Austria* against the *Helvetic* nation, and never return to the cantons: an instance of moderation rarely found in an incensed people, who have their oppressors in their power. which form a conspiracy for the recovery of their liberty,
- e government. The chiefs of the confederates were *Arnould Melchtat*, a native of *Underwald*, *Werner Strauffacher*, of *Switz*, and *Walter Furts*, of *Ury*. These men, naturally bold, enterprising, and united by a long intimacy of friendship, having frequently met in private to deliberate upon means to free their country, admitted nine other persons to their councils; and the association being confirmed by oath, they resolved to raise insurrections in the three cantons, to demolish the fortified castles, and expel the *Austrian* governors, with all their adherents. A certain time being fixed for putting this laudable design in execution, the individuals began privately to make preparations for such an important enterprise, which was actually achieved, without the loss of one single life. On the first day of *January* the conspirators sent fifty men to the governor of *Sarn*, with the usual presents and compliments of the season; and these being admitted into the citadel, seized the gates and made the governor their prisoner. The people of *Ury* at the same time surprised *Altorf*, and the inhabitants of *Switz* made themselves masters of *Lowertz*. The forts were instantly demolished, and the governor was conducted to the frontiers, where they obliged him to promise, upon oath, that he would never serve the house of *Austria* against the *Helvetic* nation, and never return to the cantons: an instance of moderation rarely found in an incensed people, who have their oppressors in their power.
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IN this manner the three cantons delivered themselves from the *Austrian* yoke, and retrieved that liberty, which they still enjoy unimpaired. The other cantons soon engaged in the confederacy, which was the origin of the *Helvetic* republic<sup>a</sup> (P).

THIS

<sup>2</sup> HUITFELD. Hist. Dan. t. iii.

<sup>a</sup> STETTLER. Ann. Helvetic. Bern. t. i.

(P) The tyranny of the *Austrian* governors was extended even to the most ridiculous lengths. *Griffer*, Mod. Hist. Vol. XI.

governor of *Ury*, ordered a pole to be erected in the market-place of *Altorf*, crowned with a kind of hat or cap,



The emperor  
Albert's ra-  
paciousness.

He refuses to  
do justice to  
his nephew  
John duke of  
Suabia,

who enters  
into a conspi-  
racy against  
him,

and assassi-  
nates him near  
Schaffhausen.

The fate of  
the regicides.

A monastery  
erected on the  
spot where the  
emperor was  
murdered.

THIS desire of aggrandizing his family, in a great measure influenced *Albert's* whole conduct. He had by his wife *Elizabeth* six sons and three daughters, for whom he endeavoured to procure all possible advantages; and the eagerness with which he prosecuted these endeavours in the end cost him his life. After the decease of his brother *Rodolphus*, duke of *Suabia*, and landgrave of *Alsace*, he had taken upon him the education of his only son *John*, as well as the administration of his dominions. This young prince, when he was of age, had often solicited the emperor, both by himself and his friends, to put him in possession of his patrimony, or at least to give him some portion. His uncle had, under various pretexts, delayed doing him justice; and it was generally suspected, that his design was to appropriate his pupil's estate to the benefit of his own children. This suspicion was confirmed by the intrigues he had used to possess himself of *Bohemia*, and the marquisate of *Misnia*, where he had even employed force in behalf of his usurpation, by these means incurring the aversion and resentment of several princes of the empire. The emperor having gone out on the first day of *May* to take the air at *Basil*, duke *John* prevailed upon the bishop of *Strasburg* to intercede with his uncle, that he might put him in possession of some of the castles belonging to his patrimony. To this proposal the emperor replied, that he would make his nephew an officer, and employ him in the *Bohemian* war, after which he should receive satisfaction. The young duke, who overheard this declaration, called aloud in a transport of passion, "I plainly see that he who would defraud me of my estate, would also deprive me of my life." So saying, he went in quest of three confederates, namely, *Rodolphus of Warth*, *Walter of Eschebach*, and *Ulrick of Palm*, who were all favourites of *Albert*. With these he had already concerted measures for destroying the emperor, in case he should refuse to comply with his demand; and now they determined to put their design in execution.

AFTER the entertainment the emperor had given to those who accompanied him, during which he had, with his own hands, crowned them with chaplets of flowers, he set out for *Rhinfelden*, and arriving at the river *Rhees* near *Schaffhausen*, he went into a boat, attended by duke *John* and his three confederates, while his son, together with the rest of his retinue, waited on the bank for its return. *Albert* having crossed the river, the conspirators advanced to him, while he walked through a new sown field, when duke *John* stabbed him in the throat, *Warth* plunged a sword into his breast, and *Palm* cut him across the head and face. After having thus executed their purpose, in sight of his own son and attendants, who could give him no assistance, they betook themselves to flight. Duke *John*, after having concealed himself for some time in different parts of *Italy*, went at length and threw himself at the feet of *Clement V.* successor of *Boniface VIII.* begging he would impose a penance proportioned to his crime, when the pope enjoined him to pass the remainder of his life in the monastery of the hermits of *St. Augustine* at *Pisa*, where he actually ended his days. By order of the emperor *Henry VII.* his duchy of *Suabia* was seized and confiscated for the use of the duke of *Austria*. *Palm* concealed himself in a convent of friars at *Basil*, where he died some time after. *Eschebach* lived thirty-five years as a cow-herd in a village of the county of *Wurtemberg*, and discovered himself upon his death-bed; and *Warth* being apprehended was broke alive upon the wheel. In the place where the emperor was slain a cloister was built, and called *Koningsfelt*, from whence his body, after having been deposited there for some time, was carried to *Spire*, and interred among his predecessors (Q). According to some

<sup>b</sup> REBDORF. ad ann. 1308. Chron. Aust. p. 1183. GENTIN in Chron. VILLAN. lib. viii. c. 95. FELIX FAB. Hist. Suev. lib. i. c. 14. KRANTZ Sax. lib. viii. c. 41.

<sup>c</sup> AVENT. Ann. Boior. l. vii. p. 593. ALB. ARGENTIN in Chron. VILLAN. lib. viii. c. 95. FELIX FAB. Hist. Suev. lib. i. c. 14. KRANTZ Sax. lib. viii. c. 41.

cap, to which every passenger was commanded to pay obeisance; but *William Tell*, one of the conspirators, having refused to yield this absurd homage, he was summoned to appear before the governor, who condemned him to shoot an arrow through an apple, placed upon the head of his own son, at a certain distance, on pain of being hanged. This feat he successfully performed in public; when the governor, perceiving he had two arrows in his girdle, desired to know for what use he intended the supernumerary shaft. *Tell* having first obtained his promise that his life should not be taken away, acknowledged, that if it had been his misfortune to kill his son with the first arrow, he would have aimed the second at the governor's heart. *Grissler* incensed at this declaration, *Tho' I will not break my promise* (cried he) *so as to take away thy life, thou shalt spend it in a close prison.* So saying, he caused him to be fettered and transported to *Cuschnach*, a castle in the lake of *Lucern*;

nav, the governor himself embarked with the prisoner, that he might with his own eyes see the sentence put in execution. They had scarce proceeded half way when they were overtaken with such a tempest, that the boatmen could not manage the vessel, and all on board were in the most imminent danger of their lives. In this extremity one of the governor's servants, who knew *Tell* to be the most expert boatman of the country, proposed that he should be unbound and set to the helm. The governor assented to the proposal, and *Tell* taking the command of the vessel, steered her close to a rock, where leaping ashore with great agility, he made his escape thro' the mountains to *Straussacher*, and lay concealed till the day on which the scheme was executed (1).

(Q) *Albert*, by his wife *Elizabeth*, daughter of *Mi-nard*, duke of *Carinthia* and *Gorecia*, had six sons and five daughters, namely, *Frederic*, surnamed *the Hand-some*, competitor with *Lewis* of *Bavaria* for the em-

(1) Mutens. lib. xxii. p. 207.



- a some historians, he was a prince of a brutal disposition, and extremely ill bred, of a most terrible aspect, and the most sordid avarice<sup>d</sup>. Others, however, soften this character, affirming, that he was a prince of great courage and extraordinary address, remarkable for an excellent understanding, and an inviolable attachment to truth; that he was neither cruel nor vindictive, though all agree in taxing him with avarice. He equally abhorred flattery and slander, and was used to say, that there were three sorts of persons for whom he had a particular regard, namely, woman of honour, men of courage, and pious ecclesiastics<sup>e</sup>. *His character.*

H E N R Y VII.

- b **A**FTER the death of the emperor *Albert*, the electors could not for some time agree in their choice of a person to succeed him on the throne. *Philip the Fair* of France aspired to the empire; and in order to facilitate the accomplishment of his wish, resolved to go and treat in person with pope *Clement V.* who was at that time at *Avignon*, and who is said to have been raised to the papacy, on condition that he should assist the king in his designs upon the imperial throne. The pope being apprised of this intended visit, and well knowing the subject of it, was very much embarrassed in his own mind; for being obliged to remain in *France*, on account of the commotions of *Rome* and *Italy*, he could not decently nor safely refuse to comply with *Philip's* desire, though he knew it was not in his power to grant it, as the imperial crown was entirely at the disposal of the *Germans*; who, if he should arrogate to himself the right of conferring it on this occasion, would in all probability explain themselves in express terms against the pretensions of the pope: because they would foresee, that, should *Philip* ascend the imperial throne, *France* would retrieve the dominions and rights to which she laid claim in the empire. He was likewise very well persuaded that *Philip* was dissatisfied with the court of *Rome*, on account of the insolence with which he had been treated by *Boniface VIII.* who had commanded him, in a very imperious strain, on pain of excommunication, to make war upon the *Turks*, for the recovery of the kingdom of *Jerusalem*. *Philip, king of France, aspires to the empire. The pope is embarrassed;*

- d *CLEMENT V.* who was now in the chair, being very much perplexed in consequence of these reflections, and undetermined in his behaviour towards *Philip* at the approaching interview, cardinal *Nicholas Prat* advised him to dispatch private messengers to the *German* electors, with pressing instances to elect a chief, and to declare, that, if the election did not immediately take place, the imperial dignity would revert from *Germany* to *France*. He likewise counselled him to propose *Henry* of *Luxemburg*, as a proper person to fill the throne<sup>f</sup>. *and by the advice of cardinal Prat, proposes Henry of Luxemburg to the electors.*

- e *CLEMENT* relished the advice, and immediately communicated *Philip's* design to the ecclesiastic princes, who entered into his views, and promised to conduct themselves according to his directions. Mean while *Berthold*, count of *Henneburg*, and *Conrad*, knight of *Reida*, as proxies of *Otho* and *Waldemar*, marquisses of *Brandenburg*, and *Rodolphus*, duke of *Saxony*, repaired to *Boppard*, where they found *Rodolphus* and *Lewis*, counts palatine of the *Rhine*. These four agreed to propose in the diet of election *Otho* and *Waldemar*, *Albert*, count of *Hanau*, *Rodolphus* and *Lewis*, and *Frederic*, duke of *Austria*; and they obliged themselves by oath to acknowledge for king of the *Romans* him, of these six competitors, who should have a majority of voices. At the same time they drew up some articles touching the preservation of their fiefs and privileges, which the future emperor should approve and confirm.

THESE preliminaries being regulated, the electors, to the number of six, assembled at *Frankfort* (R), where the archbishop of *Triers* began the diet by reading a protestation, importing, that all excommunicated or outlawed persons, and others who had no right to be

<sup>d</sup> TRITH. in Chron. Hirsang. Ann. Boior. l. vii. p. 593.

<sup>e</sup> HEISS, liv. ii.

<sup>f</sup> VILL. l. viii. c. 101. ANT. tit. xxi. c. i. AVENT.

pire; *Rodolphus the Debonnaire*, king of *Bohemia*, who married *Blanche*, daughter of *Philip III.* and granddaughter of *St. Lewis*, king of *France*, and afterwards *Elizabeth* of *Poland*, by whom he had no issue; *Leopold*, surnamed *the Boastful*, married to *Isabel*, daughter of *Amadeus IV.* count of *Savoy*; *Otho*, who married *Elizabeth*, daughter of *Stephen*, duke of *Bavaria*; *Henry*, who had no posterity, though he married *Elizabeth*, daughter of the count of *Wirtzburg*; and *Albert*, surnamed *the Counterfeit*, from whom the male issue of the family is derived. Of his daughters, *Agnes* was matched with *Andrew*, king of *Hungary*; *Elizabeth*, married to

*Frederic III.* duke of *Lorraine*; *Ann*, first to *Herman*, marquis of *Misnia*, and afterwards to *Henry*, duke of *Vratislavia*; *Catherine* was wife of *Charles*, duke of *Calabria*, and *Gutta* espoused by *Lewis*, count of *Oettingen* (1).

(R) *John* and *Henry*, dukes of *Saxony*, claimed the right of sitting in this assembly, and protested in form against whatever should be done without their concurrence. *Henry*, duke of *Carinthia*, who had ascended the throne of *Bohemia*, did not appear at this election, probably because the majority of the *Bohemian* nobility had not yet acknowledged him as their king (2).

(1) Struv. per. ix. sect. 3.

(2) Leibnitz in *Marites*, p. 252.

present,



He is accordingly elected.

present, should retire: then they deliberated upon the election, and *Henry of Luxemburg* (S), being proposed by the three electors, was unanimously chosen, as a prince in all respects worthy of the imperial crown. As he happened to be at that time in the city of *Frankfort*, he was forthwith made acquainted with the election; and *Philip of France*, who was on the road to *Avignon*, receiving these tidings, proceeded no farther, but returned immediately without seeing the pope <sup>a</sup>.

A. D. 1309.

He pronounces sentence of death upon the murderer of Albert.

Grants the investiture of Austria to the sons of that emperor.

*HENRY* was not a little surprised when he understood the electors had conferred upon him that dignity, which he thought himself too weak to support. Nevertheless, he gratefully accepted of the honour, and was on the *Epiphany* crowned at *Aix-la-Chapelle*<sup>b</sup>. This ceremony being performed, he made a progress along the *Rhine*, to receive homage and the oath of fidelity from the princes, noblemen, and cities, and convoked a diet at *Spire*, to which the electors, princes, and deputies of towns, repaired in great numbers. Here sentence of death was pronounced against *John of Austria*, for the murder of the emperor *Albert*, whose sons *Frederic*, *Leopold*, *Albert*, and *Otho*, appearing at the same time, demanded the investiture of *Austria*, and the other hereditary dominions, which had been left to their father by the emperor *Rodolphus*. These four princes had been summoned by order of the emperor, who commanded them to resign their pretensions to *Austria*, which had already been fatal to five kings (T). They, on the other hand, insisted upon being maintained in the possession of a duchy, which had been bestowed upon their father with the consent of the princes of the empire. The emperor, however, remaining fixed in his resolution, duke *Frederic* retired, and at his departure is said to have sent a person to tell the emperor, that the duchy of *Austria*, which had already been the death of five kings, might still be fatal to a sixth, if he did not desist from his unjust pretensions. Be that as it will, certain it is, the emperor ordered the dukes to be called back, and, with the consent of the *German* princes, bestowed on them the investiture of that duchy. At this assembly also appeared *Elizabeth*, daughter and heiress of *Wenceslaus*, king of *Bohemia*, deceased, by a daughter of the emperor *Rodolphus*. A treaty of marriage had been agreed upon between her and *John*, son of *Henry* the emperor, whom the *Bohemians* had set upon the throne, after having expelled *Henry*, duke of *Carinthia*. This marriage having been delayed from time to time under different pretexts, the princess now demanded that the treaty should be fulfilled, or cause shewn why the nuptials should not immediately be solemnized. Count *John of Luxemburg* was at that time in the seventeenth year of his age, and *Elizabeth* turned of twenty-two. She was of a tall stature and genteel appearance; but a report had been spread abroad to the prejudice of her chastity, for which reason the emperor had, from day to day, deferred the consummation of the marriage, until the princess, having discovered the cause of this delay, found means to convince him of her innocence (U); upon which the ceremony was performed with great magnificence, in presence of the electors, and other princes and noblemen of the diet.

Celebrates the nuptials of his son John with Elizabeth daughter of Wenceslaus king of Bohemia,

In this manner *Bohemia* became the property of the house of *Luxemburg*, who possessed it for a good number of years without interruption. At present, however, there was a necessity for conquering, before the new married couple could enjoy the kingdom; for *Henry*, duke of *Carinthia*, joined by *Frederic*, marquis of *Misnia*, had levied a considerable army, taken and garrisoned *Prague* and *Cuttemberg*, and exacted a new oath of allegiance from the inhabitants: *John of Luxemburg*, therefore, could not take possession, except by force of arms. The emperor and the princes furnished him with a strong body of troops, commanded by the archbishop of *Mentz*, the count palatine of the *Rhine*, and the counts of *Oettingen* and *Heinsberg*, and with these he entered *Bohemia*. His first operation was the siege of *Cuttemberg*, which in a little time surrendered; and then he invested *Prague*, the garrison of which was commanded by the duke of *Carinthia* and the marquis of *Misnia* in

<sup>a</sup> KRANTZ. Sax. l. ix. c. i. BARRE, t. vi. p. 361. Vit. Hen. TRITHEM. in Chron.

<sup>b</sup> ALB. ARGENT. in Chron. l. viii. c. 102. VEGER. in

(S) Before he was elected emperor, he had signalized himself in a war against the city of *Triers*, on account of their having refused to pay certain tributes and duties, to which the family of *Luxemburg* had a claim. He not only succeeded in this enterprize, but, when the fee of *Liege* was vacant, took his measures so effectually, that one of his brothers was chosen archbishop (1).

(T) Namely, *Conradin*, *Ottocarus*, *Rodolphus* of *Austria*, *Adolphus*, and *Albert*.

(U) The princess *Elizabeth* no sooner understood that her virtue was called in question, than, repairing to the emperor's anti-chamber, she undressed herself before the ladies there present, and approaching *Henry* in her

shift, "Sire (said she, I am informed you entertain some suspicion of my honour, and, on that account, delay my marriage with the prince your son. Conscious therefore of my own innocence, I have taken the liberty of presenting myself in this manner, to intreat your imperial majesty will order me forthwith to be examined by matrons, whose testimony will soon refute the malice of my enemies, and redound to the triumph of my character." The emperor complied with her request, and she was committed to the care of some ladies and midwives, who unanimously declared her an unspotted virgin; upon which the marriage was solemnized (2).

(1) *Remarq. sur Heiss*, l. ii.

(2) *Heiss*, l. ii. c. 25.



a person, who made a very vigorous defence, until the burghers, incensed at some outrages committed by the soldiers, opened the gates to the besiegers, who soon became masters of the city. The duke and marquis, thus betrayed, took refuge in the fort of *St. Wit*, where they capitulated with king *John*, who permitted them to retire to their own dominions. The states were immediately assembled, and the coronation of *John* and *Elizabeth* was performed by the archbishop of *Mentz*, assisted by the bishops of *Prague* and *Olmütz*, amidst the acclamations of the *Bohemians* <sup>1</sup>.

*John and Elizabeth are crowned king and queen of Bohemia.*

THIS affair being settled, it was resolved that the emperor should make a journey into *Italy*, and orders were given for raising the troops necessary to attend him in this expedition. Mean while he ordered the body of *Albert*, together with that of his predecessor *Adolphus*, whom he had slain, to be carried to *Spire*, and interred in one day, he himself assisting in person at the funeral <sup>2</sup>. Then he sent a splendid embassy to *Clement V.* composed of the bishops of *Basil* and *Coire*, *Amadeus*, count of *Savoy*, *John Dauphin*, count d'Albon and *Vienne*, *Gui*, count of *Flanders*, *John*, count of *Sarbruc*, and doctor *Simon de Marville*, who repairing to *Avignon*, delivered their credentials to the pope, together with the decree of the election, which were very courteously received. His holiness acknowledged *Henry* as king of the *Romans*, promised to crown him emperor at *Rome*, and received the oath from these deputies, who swore, in the name of their master, that he never would make the least attempt upon the life or honour of the pope; that he would never enact any law in *Rome*, without the consent of his holiness; that he would restore all the lands belonging to the church; that he would exalt the holy see, defend all her rights, and take the accustomed oath at his coronation <sup>3</sup>.

*The emperor sends an embassy to the pope.*

DURING the reign of *Albert I. Everhard*, count of *Wurtemberg*, had molested the imperial cities of *Suabia*, and now, since the death of that emperor, had continued to exercise such violence against them, that they were obliged to complain of his conduct at the diet of *Spire*. The count, being summoned to appear and answer to the charge, came attended with such a large body of troops, as gave umbrage to the emperor and the princess, who, nevertheless, endeavoured to compromise the affair; but he rejected their advice, and retired, without having listened to any terms of accommodation. He was therefore put to the ban of the empire <sup>4</sup>; and a body of troops being raised to reduce him to obedience, the lord of *Vinsberg* was invested with the command, and in a little time subdued almost all the dominions of the count, who escaped into the territories of the marquis of *Baden*, with whom he lived till the death of the emperor, after which he, without difficulty, obtained possession of his estates.

A.D. 1310. *He reduces the dominions of Everhard, count of Wurtemberg.*

AMONG other regulations for establishing the peace of the empire, *Henry*, at this period, by public decree, expelled the *Jews* from all the provinces of *Germany*, on account of the mischiefs which attended their usury and extortion; for they farmed the taxes of almost every prince at a low rate, and levied them with such severity and rapaciousness, as rendered them odious and detestable to the people. At the same time he, in conjunction with *Philip the Fair* of *France*, solicited the pope to abolish the order of templars, who not only imitated the *Jews* in their usury, but were accused of the most licentious debauchery, and all sorts of enormity. *Clement*, however, was deaf to their remonstrances, and refused to take any steps to the prejudice of an order, which had done such signal service to the cause of religion <sup>5</sup> (X).

*The Jews are expelled from Germany.*

As no emperor, since the death of *Frederic II.* had repaired to *Italy*, the rights of the empire in that country were all gone to wreck. Every nobleman had erected himself into a petty sovereign, and the *Guelphs* and *Gibelines* butchered one another without humanity or remorse. Pope *Clement V.* who had been the chief cause of *Henry's* election, urged him, with unceasing importunity, to go in person and quell the disturbances in *Italy*; and the *Gibelines*, who were imperialists, solicited him to the same effect, that they might be supported against their enemies. He now, therefore, convoked a diet at *Frankfort*, in order to deliberate upon proper measures for maintaining the tranquillity of the empire in his absence. His son *John*, king of *Bohemia*, was appointed vicar; and the office of his coun-

*He is solicited to march into Italy.*

*Diet at Frankfort.*

<sup>1</sup> Hist. Luxemb. l. xlvii. <sup>2</sup> AVENT. Ann. Boior. l. vii. p. 593. <sup>3</sup> BARRE, t. vi. p. 371. <sup>4</sup> AVENT. ubi supra. <sup>5</sup> STRUV. per. ix. sect. 4. <sup>6</sup> VILLAN. l. viii. c. 88, 89, 96. ANTON, tit. xxi. c. 1. sect. 4.

(X) This order was instituted at *Jerusalem*, in the beginning of the twelfth century, for the defence of the holy sepulchre, and the protection of Christian pilgrims. They were first called *the Poor of the Holy City*, and afterwards assumed the appellation of *Templars*, because their house was near the temple.

After the ruin of the kingdom of *Jerusalem*, about the year 1186, they spread themselves through *Germany*, and

other dominions of *Europe*, whither they were invited by the liberality of the Christians; but their morals were soon corrupted by the riches they acquired; their lives became scandalous, and their pride insupportable. Among other pranks of the most shameless debauchery, they were taxed with having renounced the Christian religion, and with spitting in derision on the cross at all their meetings (1).

(1) Gurtler. Hist. Templar. Num. 150.



sellor given to the count of *Henneberg*, together with the dignity of prince, confirmed by the assembly. The treaty, which *Henry's* predecessors had made with *France*, was renewed; and the states promised to second the emperor's enterprize with their whole power. But that he might not alarm the *Italians*, he sent deputies before him to the cities of *Lombardy* with letters, importing, that he would march into *Italy*, not as an enemy, to ruin the subjects, and enrich himself with the spoil, but as a friend, coming to administer justice, repress disorders, redress grievances, and re-establish the provinces in the full and free enjoyment of their antient rights and privileges.

Sets out on his expedition.

The pope endeavours to thwart his measures.

The state of Italy and Rome.

HAVING taken these precautions, he set out for *Italy* with the troops, which had been granted him by the states of the empire, being accompanied by the dukes of *Austria* and *Bavaria*, *Baldwin*, archbishop of *Triers*, the bishop of *Liege*, the counts of *Savoy* and *Flanders*, and other noblemen, together with the militia of all the imperial cities. Pope *Clement*, at whose earnest sollicitation this journey had been undertaken, changed his opinion, as soon as he saw *Henry* set out with sufficient forces to re-establish the authority and sovereignty of the empire in *Italy*, and set on foot divers secret negotiations to prevent his march. He committed the government of *Rome* to *Robert*, king of *Apulia*, or *Naples*, with whom he engaged in alliance against the emperor; and that prince sent thither his brother *John*, with a good body of troops, at the same time joining in a confederacy with the cities of *Florence*, *Bologna*, *Sienna*, *Lucca*, *Cremona*, *Padua*, *Brescia*, and some others; which being strongly garrisoned, and well provided with munitions of war, resolved to hold out against the emperor. *Rome* was divided into two factions; that of the *Colonnas*, which declared for the emperor, had seized upon *St. John of Lateran*, the amphitheatre, and some other principal parts of the city, distinguishing themselves by the old word *Gibeline*, and giving the appellation of *Guelphs* to the other party, which had declared for prince *John*, and secured the capitol, the castle of *St. Angelo*, and the *Vatican*.

A. D. 1311.

Henry receives the submission of several cities in Italy.

THE emperor having, according to the custom of his predecessors, dispatched envoys to the cities of *Italy*, to intimate his journey, and prepare provisions and necessaries for his court and army, he set out, in the month of *September*, from *Lausanne*, where he had received a deputation from the *Gibeline* faction. Crossing mount *Cenis*, he staid ten days at *Turin*, and having appointed a governor for the empire, repaired to the city of *Asti*, where he changed the magistracy, and gave the government to one *Nicholas Bonsignori*. Here he staid two months waiting for his army, with which he marched to *Casal* and *Vercelli*, where the inhabitants took the oath of allegiance, and submitted to the appointment of the *German* governors. He was likewise joyfully received by the city of *Milan*, and other towns of *Lombardy*, of whom he exacted considerable sums of money on account of arrears.

Is crowned at Milan.

Guy de la Torre forms a conspiracy against the emperor's life.

NOTWITHSTANDING the great honours that were paid him by *Guy de la Torre*, chief of the *Milanese*, and governor of the city, he deprived him of his office, which was conferred upon *Matthew Visconti*, his professed enemy; and indeed *Henry* favoured the *Gibelines* with such partiality, as disquieted all people of moderation, and was of great prejudice to his own affairs. It was in consequence of this disgust that the iron crown, kept at *Monza*, could not be found for his coronation; so that he caused another of steel to be made, with which he was crowned, together with his empress, by *Gaston de la Torre*, archbishop of *Milan*; and after the ceremony created two hundred knights.

*GUY DE LA TORRE*, exasperated at the emperor's behaviour towards him and his party, resolved to make an attempt upon *Henry's* life, and with some of the *Guelphs* actually concerted a scheme for assaulting him in his palace, during the execution of a malefactor without the walls, which, they did not doubt, would attract the curiosity of the *Germans*, so as that they would crowd to the place, and leave the emperor almost quite unguarded. *Matthew Visconti* having luckily received intimation of this plot, communicated the whole contrivance to *Henry*, who took his measures in such a manner, that, when the conspirators assembled to execute their design, they were suddenly attacked and cut in pieces by a body of troops prepared for that purpose. As for *Guy de la Torre*, he escaped, with some of his family; but his house was razed to the ground, and his effects confiscated for the use of the emperor.

NOTWITHSTANDING this miscarriage, he still continued to project plans for *Henry's* destruction, and even engaged the emperor's own chancellor in another design against his life. That perfidious wretch sent letters, sealed with the imperial seal, to the magistrates of *Lombardy*, commanding them, at an appointed time, to murder all the *Germans* who were in garrison among them; and the execrable scheme would, in all probability, have been executed, had not a *German* knight happily intercepted one of the letters, and boldly expostulated on the subject with *Henry*, who being informed of the particulars, caused his chancellor to be apprehended immediately, and among his papers found one of the letters not yet



a expedited. Far from attempting to exculpate himself, this miscreant confessed the crime, *The chancellor* owning, that being a *Guelph* of the race of the *Turriani*, massacred at *Milan*, he had entered *convicted of* into the emperor's service with no other view but that of destroying him with the first favourable opportunity; and that he had before poisoned several waggon loads of wine destined *perfidy, and* for the *German* army, though that scheme did not take effect. *Henry*, amazed and confounded at the villainy and boldness of this traitor, condemned him to be burnt alive, and the sentence was executed accordingly <sup>*committed to*</sup> <sup>*the flames.*</sup>

*CREMONA* was the first place that ventured to oppose the emperor, and that he took by force, and fleeced accordingly. *Parma*, *Vicenza*, and *Placentia* made peace with him upon reasonable conditions. *Padua* paid an hundred thousand crowns, and received an imperial officer as commander of the city. The *Venetians* presented his majesty with a large sum of money, an imperial crown of gold enriched with diamonds, and a vermilion chain of very curious workmanship. *Brescia* made a desperate resistance, and sustained a very severe siege, in the course of which *Waleran* of *Luxemburg*, the emperor's brother, was slain <sup>*Brescia is be-*</sup> <sup>*sieged.*</sup> by an arrow, and *Henry's* army diminished to such a degree, that the inhabitants marched out, under the command of their prefect *Tibault de Drussati*, and gave him battle. After a very obstinate engagement, in which the emperor was knocked off his horse, and almost killed, the *Germans*, animated by the danger in which they saw their sovereign, charged the *Brescians* with such redoubled fury and impetuosity, as bore down all opposition, and compelled them to retire into the city with great loss. *Tibault*, who had fought with incredible valour, was found upon the field not yet dead, though grievously wounded; and being carried to the place where the emperor stood, *Henry* reproached him with his perfidy, ordered him to be tore asunder by four horses, then his quarters were exposed upon the wheel, and his head fixed upon a pike before the gates of the city. And indeed this punishment, severe as it was, seems to have been no more than adequate to his treachery and ingratitude; for two years before this event, when he was banished from his native country, he had come to *Spire*, and implored the protection of *Henry*, who received him with great hospitality, and knighted him with his own hand; yet, unmindful of these favours, he afterwards joined the *Guelphs*, and was the person who excited the *Brescians* to revolt against his benefactor. His townsmen, in order to revenge his death, hanged fifty *German* prisoners upon their walls; a circumstance which incensed the emperor to such a degree, that he was resolved to humble them, or perish in the attempt. Thus determined, he redoubled his efforts, and repeated his attacks with equal vigour and perseverance, until the besieged were, by the enemy without, and famine within, reduced to the utmost extremity. Then they had recourse to his clemency, and presented themselves before him barefoot, with halters about their necks; a spectacle which he could not behold unmoved. He accordingly granted them their lives, on condition they should pay sixty thousand crowns, and deliver one hundred hostages, chosen from their principal citizens; but, at the same time, he ordered their walls and fortifications to be demolished, and entered in triumph the breach he had made. From hence the emperor, after having appointed governors in that city, *Verona*, *Parma*, *Mantua*, marched directly to *Genoa*, where he was splendidly received and entertained by the city. <sup>*Surrenders at*</sup> <sup>*discretion, and*</sup> <sup>*is dismantled.*</sup>

By this time *Henry's* successes in *Lombardy* had greatly alarmed the pope, who began to fear, that he would not only reduce all the *Italian* towns and states to his obedience, but also take advantage of *Clement's* absence to fix the seat of his empire at *Rome*. It was from this apprehension that, although he had sent a commission to five cardinals to crown the emperor, he now exerted all his endeavours to traverse his success, in concert with *Robert*, king of *Naples*, who formed a confederacy among the towns of *Florence*, *Bologna*, and *Lucca*, and ordered his brother *John*, prince of *Morea*, to march with a body of forces to *Rome*, to oppose the emperor's entrance into that city, and act as the ally and protector of the *Ursini*, who headed the faction of the *Guelphs*. Mean while he sent a deputation to the emperor at *Genoa*, to declare, that his sole view of detaching his brother to *Rome*, was to honour the entry of his imperial majesty; and that he was sincerely disposed to cultivate and cement a friendship with his imperial majesty, by means of a match between his son, the duke of *Calabria*, and *Katherine* of *Luxemburg*. <sup>*Henry is amu-*</sup> <sup>*sed by Robert,*</sup> <sup>*king of Naples*</sup>

Tho' *Henry* was for some time amused by the dissimulation of this prince, who endeavoured to protract the negotiation, he would not delay his coronation, but set out from *Genoa*, where he had been joined by the cardinals appointed to perform that ceremony; but before he began his march, he sent ambassadors to the prince of *Morea*, who, in conjunction with the *Ursini*, had taken possession of part of the city, to give notice of his approach, that all obstacles to his entry might be removed. At length the *Neapolitan* thought proper to pull off the mask, after having amused the envoys for a considerable time, on pretence of

<sup>1</sup> CUSPIN. in vit. Henric. VII. Hist. Luxemb. l. xlv.

<sup>2</sup> Idem ibid.



sending to his brother for further orders, and declared, that he would oppose *Henry's* entrance and coronation with all his power. a

Henry presents himself before Rome in order of battle;

MEAN while the emperor continued his march, and, on his arrival at *Pisa*, was, by a messenger from the *Colonnas*, entreated to advance to *Rome* with all expedition. In compliance with this request, he proceeded with great diligence, and presented himself in order of battle at the *Ponte Mola*, where he imagined they would dispute his passage; but the prince of *Morea* had withdrawn his troops from that quarter, so that the imperialists entered almost without opposition, and were lodged in different parts, with strict orders to be upon their guard against all attempts of the enemy.

and is crowned in the church of St. John of Lateran.

The basilicon of *St. Peter's*, in which the emperors were usually crowned, being in the hands of the *Ursini* faction, *Henry* proposed, that he should receive the imperial crown in the church of *St. John of Lateran*; and tho' the cardinals at first refused to comply with his desire, on pretence that it was contrary to custom, and exceeded the bounds of their commission, such was the deplorable situation of *Rome*, divided and distracted between two implacable factions, which filled the city with carnage and consternation, that they were at length prevailed upon to embrace the expedient; and he received the crown with the usual ceremonies, amidst the acclamations of the people, who looked upon this event as the only means of being delivered from such oppressive guests. b

Makes an abrupt departure from the city.

UPON this occasion, instead of making largesses, according to the custom of his predecessors, he demanded money of the *Romans*; who were so much provoked at this unusual imposition, that many of the citizens joined his enemies, who were in possession of the strongest places in *Rome*, and a tumult ensued, in which the emperor lost about two thousand men; and was besides so straitened by want of provision and money, that he could no longer subsist in *Rome*. c

*HENRY* having, after his coronation, exerted his endeavours to remedy the disorders of *Rome*, resolved to take vengeance on the king of *Naples*, who had duped him in such a perfidious manner, and for that purpose concluded a treaty of alliance with *Frederic II.* king of *Sicily*, brother of *James II.* of *Arragon*, importing, that as soon as the emperor should have made himself master of *Tuscany*, he should invade the kingdom of *Naples* by land, while the *Sicilian* fleet should attack the maritime places.

THE pope, willing to prevent the consequences of this rupture, wrote to the cardinals who had crowned *Henry*, desiring they would effect an accommodation, or at least command both parties to agree to a truce, inasmuch as they were obliged to obey his commands by the oath of fidelity they had taken, and the benefits they had received from the holy see. d

Besieges Florence without success.

THE emperor paid no manner of regard to this remonstrance; but finding himself incapable to reduce his enemies at *Rome*, he left the government of the city to the *Colonnas*, and repaired to *Tivoli*; from thence, taking his route through the territory of *Perugia*, which he had laid waste with fire and sword, he arrived at *Arezzo*, with an intention to attack *Florence*. He accordingly invested that city, after having taken and demolished some forts in the neighbourhood; but after a fruitless siege of forty days, was obliged to retire to winter-quarters. In the spring, he convened all the princes of *Italy* at *Pisa*, and decreed, that they should punctually and annually pay the accustomed tribute; and after mature deliberation upon the acts of hostility, which had been committed by *Robert*, king of *Naples*, upon the empire, he summoned him to appear as his feudatory. *Robert* refusing, was put to the ban (Y), his kingdom being bestowed upon *Frederic*, king of *Sicily*, who was in the emperor's interest. The pope, in consequence of these proceedings against his ally, wrote letters to the emperor, earnestly exhorting him to listen to an accommodation; but they happened to produce the contrary effect: for being couched in the stile of a sovereign who c

\* REBDORF. ad ann. 1309. KRANTZ. Sax. l. ix. c. 4. PLATIN. in Clem. V. VEC. in vit. Hen.

† Idem ibid. VILLAN. l. ix. c. 43, usque 47.

(Y) The *Florentines* surrendered the sovereignty of their territory, for the term of five years, to *Robert*, on condition he would protect them from the resentment of the emperor; the inhabitants of *Lucca*, *Pistoria*, and *Prato*, submitted to him on the same terms; and the pope conferred upon him the government of *Ferrara*. *Henry* was extremely mortified to see the power of his enemy daily increasing; and his resentment glowed with the greater ardour, when he learned, that the *Neapolitan* galleys had attacked his vessels in the harbour of *Pisa*, after having ravaged the islands of *Gorgonia* and *Capraia*. He therefore denounced a sentence against him as a child of perdition, which, for the entertainment of the reader, we shall repeat: "We declare *Robert*, who calls himself

" king of *Naples*, divested of the authority, honours, and  
" immunities, which he enjoyed: we deprive him of the  
" provinces, counties, cities, castles, townships, and  
" other domains, which he either did or may possess:  
" we declare the said *Robert* rebel, traitor, enemy to the  
" empire, guilty of treason: we banish him from the  
" empire for ever, on pain of losing his head, if he shall  
" presume to remain in it contrary to our will, or to re-  
" turn, after having been expelled. Finally, we forbid,  
" under the pecuniary penalties specified in the said sen-  
" tence, all persons, of what condition soever they may  
" be, all towns and communities, to receive or assist him  
" against us and the empire; and we release all his sub-  
" jects from their oath of allegiance (1)."

(1) *Aquila Vaga*, vit. Hen. VII.



- a writes to his vassal, *Henry* was incensed at his insolence, and, in order to manifest his resentment, joined his forces with those of *Frederic*, king of *Sicily*, in order to attack the dominions of *Robert* both by sea and land. He had been in great distress for want of forces, because those he expected from *Germany* were retarded by the war which his son *John* was obliged to maintain against the duke of *Carinthia*, who had renewed hostilities, and ravaged *Moravia*. At length, however, a reinforcement arrived with his brother, who was archbishop of *Triers*, and a powerful armament being fitted out for his service by *Frederic* of *Sicily* and the *Genoese*, he was flushed with the hope of making a complete conquest of *Naples*. The king of *France*, alarmed at these preparations, began to fear that, should *Henry* succeed in this enterprize, and reduce the towns of *Italy*, he would reclaim *Provence* and
- b some other domains, which formerly belonged to the empire : he therefore complained to the pope of the violent proceedings of the emperor, who intended to dispossess *Robert* of the patrimony of his ancestors, and to trouble the repose of the church, so as to hinder the princes of *Europe* from going to the *Holy Land*, according to the resolution taken in the council of *Vienne*. In consequence of this remonstrance, the pope issued a bull, forbidding all persons whatever, on pain of excommunication, to invade *Naples* by sea or land, on any pretence whatsoever : but this prohibition had little weight with *Henry*, who sent a splendid embassy to explain his motives to the king of *France*, who was satisfied with his explanation ; and then began his march towards the territory of *Sienna*, with a view to enter *Robert's* dominions. Though his health was extremely precarious, he was resolved to
- c be personally present in this expedition, and advanced as far as *Bonconvento*, where all his fine schemes for the establishing the imperial authority in *Italy* ended with his life (Z). His body was carried back to *Pisa*, and interred with great pomp in the cathedral church, amidst the inexpressible sorrow of all his followers, after he had reigned four years seven months and eighteen days\*.

He engages in an expedition against Robert king of Naples, and dies at Bonconvento.

His character,

- d Thus died *Henry VII.* in the 51<sup>st</sup> year of his age, a prince who had the reputation of being valiant, politic, just, affable, and devout. He was well made, though thin ; his complexion was florid, and his hair of a sandy colour : he had a small defect in his right eye, his nose and chin were long, his speech was slow, and his stile concise : he had an air of majesty, mingled with great complaisance. Nothing gave him so much pain as to be obliged to treat with his subjects. He abhorred the names of *Gibellines* and *Guelphs*, and loved to command as sovereign. In his youth he had, by means of the pope's dispensation, married *Margaret*, daughter of *John*, duke of *Brabant*, his own cousin. By this princess, who died at *Genoa*, he had prince *John*, of whom mention hath already been made, and four daughters, namely, *Beatrice*, wife of *Charobert*, king of *Hungary* ; *Mary*, queen of *Charles the Fair* of *France* ; *Agnes*, matched with *Rodolphus*, count palatine of the *Rhine* ; and *Katherine*, married to *Leopold*, duke of *Austria*.

and issue.

\* MUSSAT. l. xv. rub. 2 & 3. MACH. Hist. de Firen. lib. ii.

\* SPOND. Contin. BARRE, tom. i. p. 532. KRANTZ. Sax. lib. ix. c. vii.

(Z) He is said, by some authors, to have been poisoned by a *Dominican*, whose name was *Bernard Politian*, in administering the sacrament, which the emperor frequently received. This monk is supposed to have been hired by his own countrymen the *Florentines*, to perpetrate this execrable action. Several writers have endeavoured to vindicate the order from such an aspersion, and to prove that *Henry* died of a complication of dis-

tempers ; they have even produced a letter written by his own son, in which he acquits the monks of all suspicion. Nevertheless, the dispute is still undecided ; and though it is well known that the emperor laboured under an ill state of health when he embarked in this expedition, it is likewise certain, that the report of the poison was generally believed at the time of his death (1).

(1) Gest. Episcop. Trevir. l. ii.

## C H A P. VII.

Including the History of Charles IV. in whose Reign the Constitution, called the Golden Bull, was established.

### I N T E R R E G N U M.

- c BEFORE we proceed to give a detail of what steps were taken to fill the imperial throne, become vacant by the death of *Henry*, it will be necessary to give a retrospective view of the transactions of *Lower Germany*, and those that regard the *Teutonic* order. The majority of these knights, on their return to *Germany* from the *Holy Land*, had taken arms against the *Russians*, and other pagans of the North : they had made themselves masters of *Samogitia*, and butchered all the inhabitants who refused to embrace the Christian re-

The progress of the Teutonic knights.

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I

ligion :



ligion: they had built the town of *Königsberg*, in honour of *Lewis IX.* their good benefactor: the city of *Montreal* afterwards owed its origin to their industry; and they supported a long and troublesome war against *Seth Wan de Pol*, duke of *Pomerania*. This prince, when upon his death-bed, declared his eldest son *Mestewin* heir to his dominions; but he was deposed by his younger brother *Wratislaus*, who governed with such insolence and tyranny, that the people were in arms, expelled him from the duchy, and restored his brother. *Wratislaus*, thus exiled, had recourse to *Conrad*, marquis of *Brandenburg*; whose assistance he procured by promising to defray the expences of the war, and leave him in possession of *Dantzick*, until he should have obtained full satisfaction. On these conditions the marquis took the field, and surprised both town and citadel; but understanding that *Mestewin* was supplied with a strong body of forces by his brother-in-law *Boleslaus*, palatine of *Kalis*, he did not choose to encounter such a powerful enemy; and gave his employer to understand, that if he did not immediately pay the troops, the town must be abandoned to pillage. In this emergency *Wratislaus* applied to the *Teutonic* knights, residing at *Elbing*, offering to surrender his person and dominions at discretion, provided they would expel *Mestewin* and the marquis: but their hands were then so full, that they declined embarking in the affair, and *Wratislaus* died of grief at their refusal. Mean while *Mestewin* and his ally besieged and took *Dantzick*, which the palatine kept by way of security until his death; immediately after which *Mestewin* surprised both city and citadel, and drove out the *Polish* garrison.

The Teutonic order makes an acquisition of Dantzick.

*HERTMAN*, count de *Helderingen*, grand master of the *Teutonic* order, having repressed the insolence of the *Russians*, *Lithuanians*, *Samogitians*, and *Semigalli*, by whose irruptions the knights had been greatly harrassed, marched at the head of an army towards *Dantzick*, to avail himself of the cession which *Wratislaus* had made in favour of the order. Before hostilities commenced, however, an accommodation was effected, by the intercession of the pope's legates, who were at that time in *Prussia*; and by an article of the treaty, the knights were put in possession of the town and citadel, with all their dependencies. They were afterwards possessed by *Primislaus*, the nephew and heir of *Mestewin*; and at his death the city fell into the hands of the marquis of *Brandenburg*, though the citadel continued in the power of *Uladislaus*, king of *Poland*. This fortress being besieged by the princes of *Brandenburg*, who were bent upon making themselves masters of all *Pomerania*, the *Polish* governor implored the assistance of the knights, who marching to his relief, compelled the enemy to raise the siege of the citadel, and even relinquish the city itself, both which they kept for their own use, because the *Poles* could not pay the sum they demanded for their service: nay, they afterwards purchased *Pomerelia* of *Waldemar*, marquis of *Brandenburg*, and the contract was performed by the emperor *Henry VII.* notwithstanding the opposition of the king of *Poland*. While the order supported itself in *Europe* against all its enemies, its interest was ruined in *Syria* under *Conrad de Feuschawang*, their grand master, in whose time the city of *Acra*, where they had established their principal house, was taken by the sultan of *Egypt*, and the knights that remained obliged to return to *Germany*.

In the petty wars of the North, as the marquisses of *Brandenburg* were powerful enough to make either scale preponderate, their alliance was courted by the kings of *Denmark* and *Poland*; and *Eric VIII* of *Denmark*, in particular, lived in great friendship with these princes, the duke of *Mecklenbourg*, and the other noblemen of *Lower Saxony*. Having invited his allies to a tournament at *Rostock*, the inhabitants of that city, jealous of their liberty, refused to admit so many princes within their walls: an affront which his *Danish* majesty resented so highly, that he equipped a powerful fleet and landed in *Wandalia*, where he was joined by the duke of *Mecklenbourg*, and the other noblemen, who had jointly sustained the insult. Then they invested the city of *Rostock*, and hampered it in such a manner, that the people, driven to despair, murdered their magistrates and submitted to *Eric*, who bestowed it as a proprietary fief upon the duke of *Mecklenbourg*, by an authentic deed, which was confirmed by the inhabitants in the most solemn manner.

A. D. 1314.  
The templars are persecuted, and their order abolished.

ABOUT this period, the templars who resided in *Germany* were, in consequence of the abolition of their order by pope *Clement* at the council of *Vienne*, distributed in different monasteries to do penance, with a moderate pension from the revenues of the order; and the lands and houses they possessed in *Lorraine* were given to the hospitallers of *St. John of Jerusalem*; but in the other provinces, their lands were resumed by the noblemen to whose families they originally belonged.

The competition between Lewis of Bavaria and Fre-

THE few templars who resided in *Bavaria* and *Austria* were not disturbed; for these provinces were otherwise employed in a war, occasioned by a competition for the guardianship of the children left by *Stephen*, duke of *Bavaria*. This province formerly belonged to *Otho*, duke of *Lower Bavaria*, brother of *Stephen*, who had been elected king of *Hungary*: but

<sup>1</sup> BARRE, t. vi. p. 403.

<sup>2</sup> Idem ibid.

<sup>3</sup> Hist. Dan. t. ii. i.



a he did not survive his brother many months, and declared in his last will, that the tutorage and regency of the dominions belonging to his nephews devolved to *Lewis* of *Bavaria*, now become duke by his death. This right was contested by *Frederic*, duke of *Austria*, who, by presents and promises, gained over some of the noblemen of the province to his interest; and notwithstanding the repeated endeavours of the landgrave of *Thuringia*, to reconcile these two rivals, they were so exasperated against each other, that they had recourse to the decision of arms, and each competitor took the field at the head of a formidable army.

*Frederic of Austria for the tutorage and regency of the children of Stephen, duke of Bavaria.*

b THE duke of *Bavaria* having received advice that the body of *Austrians*, on their way to join *Frederic*, had halted at *Gamelsdorf*, five leagues from *Mosburg*, detached a part of his best troops to beat up their quarters; and a battle ensued, in which the *Austrians* were routed and cut in pieces; so that *Frederic*, finding himself without resource, was fain to sue for peace. *Lewis*, exclusive of his private hatred to the duke of *Austria*, had another view in continuing the war, namely, that of seizing the dominions of the antient house of *Austria*, to which he had pretensions: but considering that the scheme might interfere with his design of mounting the imperial throne, which was now vacant, he agreed to hold a congress at *Salzburg*, where *Wickard*, archbishop of that see, and *Henry* of *Carinthia*, acted as arbiters of the peace; and an accommodation was effected; in consequence of *Frederic's* renouncing all right to the guardianship and regency; and promising to restore the booty and prisoners which he had acquired in the course of the war.

*This affair is compromised.*

c THE disorders and dangers which had already begun to interrupt the commerce of *Germany*, even in the life-time of *Henry VII.* increased to such a degree after his death, that certain cities of the *Rhine* were obliged to enter into an association with the prince palatine *Rodolphus*, duke of *Bavaria*, who signed an instrument in his own name, and that of his brother *Lewis*, for their mutual security against highwaymen, and their protectors or relations, who might attempt to revenge the death of such as should fall a sacrifice to justice, by committing outrages on the inhabitants of the cities where they had been executed. This confederacy was formed during the interregnum, which continued from the 24th of *August*, when *Henry* died, to the 18th of *October* in the following year. All that intermediate time being employed in the intrigues of *Frederic*, duke of *Austria*, and *Lewis*, duke of *Bavaria*, who, though first cousins, and grandchildren of the emperor *Rodolphus I.* now set up for the throne in opposition to each other.

*The disorders of the empire during the interregnum.*

d THE long vacancy in the empire was owing to several concurring causes. *Henry*, duke of *Carinthia*; disputed with *John* of *Luxemburg*, not only the title of king of *Bohemia*, but also the quality of elector, which last was likewise contested between *John* and *Rodolphus*, dukes of *Saxony*; for the number of electors was not yet regulated: and in the elections of *William* of *Holland*, and *Alphonso* of *Castile*; two princes of the house of *Brandenburg* had given their suffrages; nay, two of the *Bavarian* family had voted for *Richard* duke of *Cornwall*. Some of the princes were of opinion, that the right was inherent only in the elder branch of the electoral house; but this affair, though often discussed, was never determined till the reign of *Charles IV.* by the famous constitution called the *Golden Bull*.

*Disputes about the right of elector.*

e EXCLUSIVE of these civil divisions, *Germany* groaned under all the miseries of plague and famine, by which whole towns were unpeopled, and provinces left in desolation. The rich fled for refuge into other countries, while the poor perished by hunger or disease; the wolves and other beasts of prey, compelled by famine, quitted their savage haunts, and rushing into the villages, destroyed all who fell in their way. The air was tormented with storms and tempests, the lands were deluged with torrents of rain, and cataracts of water bursting from the mountains, and sweeping trees, animals, and houses, before them with incredible impetuosity; and the earth was convulsed with dreadful shocks, that seemed to shake it from the center.

*Germany afflicted with pestilence and famine.*

f THESE calamities obliged the princes to shut themselves up in their castles; so that the election of a king of the *Romans* was for some time delayed: but these evils were no sooner alleviated, than the competitors renewed their cabals, and canvassed with equal industry for the imperial throne. At length, however, *Peter*, archbishop of *Mentz*; *Baldwin*, archbishop of *Triers*, who was count of *Luxemburg*; and brother to the late emperor; *Henry* of *Virtemberg*, archbishop of *Cologne*; *John*, king of *Bohemia*, son of the late emperor; *Rodolphus*, count palatine of the *Rhine*, and *Lewis*, duke of *Bavaria*, his brother; *Volmar*, marquis of *Brandenburg*; *Rodolphus*, duke of *Saxony*, son of *Albert II.* and *Eric*, duke of *Lower Saxony*, assembled at *Frankfort*, in order to deliberate upon the choice of an emperor, when a schism happened among the electors (A). Those of *Mentz*, *Triers*, *Bohemia*, and *Brandenburg*,

*Frederic duke of Austria, and Lewis of Bavaria are competitors for the imperial crown.*

<sup>b</sup> NAUCLER. General.

<sup>c</sup> BARRE, ubi supra.

<sup>d</sup> GESS. BALDWIN. l. iii.

(A) Various are the accounts of this difference among the electors, in giving a detail of which we have copied *Heiss*, who seems to have compared all the authors who have written on this subject, and followed the best authority.



Each is elected  
by his own  
party, and  
crowned.  
A. D. 1315.

denburg, declared for *Lewis*, duke of *Bavaria*, who was then in the city; while the arch-  
bishop of *Cologne*, the count palatine, and the duke of *Saxony*, adhered to *Frederic*, duke of  
*Austria*, who had taken up his quarters at *Saxenhausen*, on the other side of the river. *Lewis*  
immediately set out for *Aix-la-Chapelle*, where he was crowned by the archbishop of *Mentz*;  
and the other electors conducted *Frederic* to *Bonn*, where he received the crown from the  
elector of *Cologne*. After this double coronation, these two emperors exerted themselves in  
gaining over the imperial cities, and in procuring advantages, each to the prejudice of the  
other. Besides those we have already mentioned, *Lewis* had engaged in his party several  
bishops and counts, particularly those of *Westphalia*, to whom he granted sundry privileges.  
The city of *Cologne*, although its archbishop was of the contrary faction, together with the  
towns of the *Lower Rhine*, as far as *Seltz*, espoused his cause. As for *Frederic*, he was  
acknowledged by *Seltz*, and all the other cities of the *Higher Rhine*, except *Berne* and *Soleure*,  
which remained neuter. This dispute, which involved the whole country in civil war and  
confusion, and had like to have ruined the empire intirely, was maintained in mutual rava-  
ges for several years, until the two rivals gave battle to each other, in order to decide the  
contest at once.

An attempt to  
assassinate  
*Lewis*.

WHILE *Frederic*, flushed with pride and ambition, and confiding in the power, maga-  
zines, and affluence, which he inherited of his father, exerted all his endeavours to antici-  
pate and drive his rival from the imperial crown, one *Truchses* of *Alzein* attempted to assas-  
sinate *Lewis*, in hope of ingratiating himself with the duke of *Austria* by this execrable action.  
With this view he and his accomplices repaired to *Oppenheim*, where the emperor resided  
with the archbishop of *Mentz*; but *Lewis*, having received notice of their design, took  
measures for their being apprehended. They were accordingly taken, tried, convicted,  
broke alive upon the wheel, and their quarters exposed in *terrorem* of all traitors.

Leopold of  
Austria rava-  
ges the country  
of Spire, and  
burns Land-  
sparg.

MEAN while *Leopold* of *Austria*, zealous for the glory of his brother *Frederic*, assembled  
an army, and marched towards *Spire*, whither *Lewis* had advanced; but this last intrench-  
ing him so strongly that he could not be attacked with any probable hopes of success, *Leo-  
pold*, having ravaged the country, took the route of *Augsburg*, crossed the *Black Mountains*,  
passed the river *Lech*, and entering *Upper Bavaria*, surprised and set fire to *Landsparg*. *Fre-  
deric*, supposing that the inaction of *Lewis* proceeded from his weakness, began to look upon  
him with contempt, and, instead of pursuing the advantages he had gained, amused him-  
self at *Basil* with the ceremony of a double match between him and *Elizabeth* of *Arragon*,  
and between his brother *Leopold* and *Katherine* of *Savoy*.

*Lewis* nego-  
tiates a treaty  
with the Swiss,

WHILE he trifled away his time in these nuptials, which were celebrated with great mag-  
nificence, *Lewis* was employed in negotiating a treaty with the *Swiss* cantons, which he  
knew to be the natural enemies of the *Austrian* house: but although part of them had already  
acknowledged him as emperor, they were very scrupulous of taking up arms in his favour,  
and before he could remove their objections, *Leopold* endeavoured to prevent the alliance.  
On pretence of assisting the abbot of the hermitage of the virgin *Mary*, who had excommu-  
nicated the *Swiss*, in consequence of a dispute concerning the limits of their territories, he  
advanced with an army of twenty thousand men against the cantons of *Switz*, *Ury*, and *Un-  
derwald*, which were confederated for their mutual defence. As their whole force did not  
exceed one thousand six hundred men, they had recourse to the policy of war; and know-  
ing the enemy must necessarily pass through a narrow defile, they posted part of their troops  
upon the mountains near *Morgarten*, from whence they rolled down such a quantity of huge  
stones upon the *Austrians*, that great numbers of them were killed and wounded, and the  
whole army put in confusion; then the *Swiss* fell upon them with great fury, and drove  
them out of the canton with terrible slaughter. Such exploits of valour were performed  
by the *Swiss* upon that occasion, and so much depended upon the fortune of the day, that  
the fight of *Morgarten* may be compared to the battle of *Marathon*, which ascertained the  
liberty of *Greece*; and it certainly gave rise to the *Helvetic* union: for the alliance, which  
the three cantons had made for the term of ten years only, was now converted into a per-  
petual league, in which the others occasionally engaged.

Swiss defeat the  
Austrian army  
at Morgarten.

A. D. 1316.  
Dragon battle  
fought between  
*Lewis* and  
*Frederic*.

FREDERIC, in the mean time, besieged *Esslingen* on the *Neckar*; and *Lewis* coming  
to the relief of the place with a body of troops which he had received from *Bohemia*, a battle  
was fought with great obstinacy, until night parted the combatants; so that neither side  
could claim the victory: for although *Lewis* sustained the greatest loss, his rival was so  
weakened by the engagement, that he was fain to raise the siege, and retire. Thus the  
two competitors maintained the war with various success, endeavouring to acquire new  
friends, and strengthen their different factions, by favours and grants, which both bestowed  
in quality of emperor.

\* STRUV. per. ix. sect. 5.

† ADLZREITER. part ii. l. i.

‡ SIMLER. de Repub. Helvetic. p. 70.



a IN the midst of this contention, *John XXII.* being raised to the papacy, both princes strove to obtain his good graces, and both were disappointed in their expectation; for tho' he amused each party with flattering promises, he would confirm neither, but resolved to take the advantage of their division for extending his own power in the empire, and ruining the party of the *Gibelines* in *Italy*. *Pope John XXII. makes encroachments upon the imperial crown.*

b WITH this view he published the constitutions of pope *Clement V.* in which that pontiff declared, that the empire is dependent on the *Roman* church, and that the emperors, in receiving the crown, ought to take the oath of allegiance to his holiness. Then he issued out a bull upon his own authority, annulling the offices of the vicars or lieutenants, whom the emperor *Henry VII.* had appointed in the different cities of *Lombardy*, declaring, that as the imperial throne was now vacant, the government of the empire belonged to the pope alone, as successor of *St. Peter*, to whom was granted all power on earth as well as in heaven; forbidding all persons, of what rank or quality soever, whether royal or patriarchal, to assume the quality of vicar, or any other office or dignity of the empire, without his permission, on pain of personal excommunication, and an interdiction on his lands and territories; and, lastly, nominating *Robert*, king of *Naples*, vicar of the empire in *Italy*. Not contented with these arbitrary proceedings, he summoned the two competitors for the empire to appear at his tribunal, that he might hear their different pleas, and determine to which of them the empire should belong.

c THE *Gibelines*, far from being intimidated by his threats, still kept possession of their posts and dignities; and the pope, incensed at their contempt of his authority, declared openly for the *Guelphs*; and the civil war was renewed in *Italy* with infinite rancour and animosity. The *Gibelines* espoused the cause of *Lewis*, which was likewise supported by *Frederic* of *Arragon*, king of *Sicily*; and the *Guelphs*, reinforced by *Robert*, king of *Naples*, attached themselves to the interest of the duke of *Austria*. *Matthew Visconti*, the most powerful of all the *Gibelines*, made himself master of *Milan*, taking to himself the quality of prince and lord of that city, for *Lewis* of *Bavaria*, king of the *Romans*. He reduced *Pavia*, *Novara*, *Placentia*, *Alexandria*, and several other cities; and, notwithstanding a sentence of excommunication thundered out against him and all his adherents by the pope, he undertook the siege of *Genoa*, where the *Guelphs* prevailed, which he maintained, with the assistance of the families of *Doria* and *Spinola*, for the space of two years; during which the place was several times relieved by *Robert*, king of *Naples*, and the joint efforts of the pope and *Florentines*, until the army of the besiegers being reduced to an inconsiderable number, he was obliged to relinquish the enterprize <sup>a</sup>. *A. D. 1317. The Gibelines declare for Lewis, and the Guelphs for Frederic.*

d FREDERIC of *Austria*, seeing the strength of his rival daily increasing, began to be apprehensive of his growing power, especially as he now presumed to act upon the offensive, and had actually made an incursion into *Austria*. Thither he was followed by *Frederic*, who obliged him to pass the river *Inn*, and the two armies came in sight of each other near *Muldorf*. Here the duke of *Austria*, perceiving himself inferior in power to his adversary, proposed, that their difference should be decided by a combat between fifteen of each side; and his proposal being embraced by *Lewis*, the champions were chosen, and engaged in presence of both armies with such fury, that in a very little time there was not one of them alive. This was but the prelude to a general action, which lasted from the morning till the afternoon, when the *Austrians* were worsted, and obliged to repass the river in the utmost disorder; while *Leopold*, who advanced on the side of the *Lech*, at the head of a body of cuirassiers, in order to surround the *Bavarians*, understanding his brother's defeat, and the dispersion of his army, retreated with great expedition into *Suabia*, where he employed himself in making new levies. *Visconti besieges Genoa.*

e NOTWITHSTANDING the great loss which *Frederic* sustained on this occasion, he found means to repair it in a very short time, and joined his brother, who was reinforced by *Ulric*, count de *Ferrera* (B), and *John*, bishop of *Straßburg*. By this juncture, the archdukes were in a condition to appear again in the field against *Lewis*, though supported by the archbishops of *Mentz* and *Triers*, and the king of *Bohemia*. While they faced one another on different sides of the *Brusch* in *Lower Alsace*, *Lewis* sent a trumpet to defy *Frederic* to battle, *A. D. 1319. Frederic is defeated at Muldorf.*

<sup>a</sup> VILLAN. C. 110.

(B) This *Ulric*, count de *Ferrera*, died without male issue, but left two daughters, *Jane* and *Ursula*. The former was married in the sequel to *Albert II.* archduke of *Austria*, surnamed *the Sage*, or *the Lane*. This prince being bishop of *Passau*, represented to the pope, that his four brothers, archdukes of *Austria*, were dead without male issue, and obtained a dispensation to marry *Jane*, with whom he acquired the extensive county of *Ferrera*,

which the house of *Austria* continued to possess till the peace of *Munster*; for *Ursula* ceded all her right in consideration of eight thousand marks of silver. Thus *Aljane* gave a wife to the archduke *Albert*, who continued the line of the house of *Austria*, when it was almost extinct by the death of the other sons of *Albert*, king of the *Romans* (1).



in consequence of which defiance, this last immediately quitted his intrenchments, drew up <sup>a</sup> his army in order of battle, and even passed the river, in order to attack the enemy, with such resolution, as struck a panic into the *Bavarians*, who retreated with great precipitation, and were pursued for three days, until they took shelter under the ramparts of

A. D. 1320. *Haguenau.*

Ravages Ba-  
varia.

NEXT year *Frederic* and *Leopold* went in quest of *Lewis* into his own country of *Bavaria*; and he not being in a condition to oppose them in the field, betook himself to his strong places, leaving the open country a prey to his enemies, who lived at discretion, and ravaged it for a considerable time <sup>1</sup>.

The pope in-  
vites Philip de  
Valois into  
Italy,

IN a little time after the *Bavarian* was freed from these troublesome guests, he sent a body of horse to the assistance of the *Gibelines* in *Italy*; and the pope perceiving the affairs of the *Guelphs* upon the decline, invited *Philip de Valois*, nephew to the king of *France*, to come to their assistance, in which case he would declare him general of the holy see. *Philip* accepted of the dignity, and began his march into *Italy*, at the head of a number of *French* volunteers, on the promise of being joined at *Ast* by cardinal *Paget* with eight hundred horse, and of receiving reinforcements from the king of *Naples*, and the cities of *Bologna*, *Sienna*, and *Florence*. But this expedition was ruined by his inexperience and precipitation; for advancing to *Mortaro*, in his way to *Vercelli*, with fifteen hundred horse only, he was cut off from the rest of his army by *Galeazzo Visconti*, and obliged to solicit a conference, in which he agreed to relinquish his enterprize, and actually returned to *France* with disgrace.

who makes a  
shameful re-  
treat into  
France.

A. D. 1321.

THE pope, baffled in his hopes from this quarter, had recourse to *Frederic* of *Austria*, <sup>c</sup> whose election he promised to confirm, provided he would deliver *Italy* from the tyranny of the *Viscontis*; and this prince detached his brother prince *Henry*, with two hundred horse, to the assistance of the *Guelphs*: for by this time *John XXII.* had published a crusade against the *Gibelines*. *Matthew Visconti*, however, who was equally politic and brave, found means, by artful remonstrances, to convince the duke of *Austria*, that he acted contrary to his own interest in supporting the *Guelphs*, who were the declared enemies of the empire, against the *Gibelines*, who had always been its unshaken adherents. To these representations he added some valuable presents; in consequence of which *Frederic* recalled his brother, on pre-  
tence that the *Guelphs* had refused to put him in possession of *Brescia* <sup>k</sup>.

Frederic of  
Austria aban-  
dons the  
Guelphs.

*HENRY*, on his return, joined his brother *Frederic*, who had made a second irruption <sup>d</sup> into *Bavaria*, and acquired a considerable booty, with which he might have retired before the arrival of *Lewis*, who was employed in assembling all the forces he could bring together; but disdaining, perhaps, to make a retreat, which might be construed into the effect of fear, he, though inferior in number, resolved to remain in *Bavaria*, and cantoned himself between the *Iser* and the *Inn*, where he received a reinforcement from the *Austrian* nobility: but he was not yet joined by his brother *Leopold*.

A. D. 1322.  
A battle is  
fought near  
Vechivis.

*LEWIS*, whose army amounted to thirty thousand effective men, under the different commands of the king of *Bobemia*, the burgrave of *Nuremberg*, and other experienced chiefs, passed the *Inn*, and encamped near *Frederic*, in the plain of *Vechivis*, between *Muldorf* and *Oettingen* (C). They engaged upon *St. Michael's-day*, and fought with great obstinacy, till <sup>e</sup> at last *Frederic*, having obliged his enemies to give ground, began to congratulate himself upon the victory, when an experienced officer belonging to the *Bavarian* side, found means to rally the fugitives, and bring them back to the charge with redoubled fury (D); so that their first giving way seemed no other than a feint to disorder the enemy. By this very circumstance *Lewis* gained the battle. The first prisoner that was brought to him was *Frederic's* brother, duke *Henry*, dangerously wounded; then the burgrave of *Nuremberg* presented to him *Frederic* himself, who, after having fought with amazing valour, and killed fifty men with his own hand, had surrendered, when he found himself abandoned by all his troops <sup>1</sup>. The duke of *Lorrain* was likewise taken prisoner on this occasion. *Lewis* ordered the pursuit to be stopped, and sent *Frederic* prisoner to the castle of *Transnitz*, where he <sup>f</sup> remained in confinement for three years <sup>m</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> BARRE, tom. vi. p. 447.  
ann. Boior. l. vii. p. 605, 606, 607.

<sup>k</sup> RAINALD. ad. ann. 1320.

<sup>l</sup> REBD. ad. ann. 1322.

<sup>m</sup> AVENT.

(C) While they lay fronting each other, *Lewis* sent an herald to tell *Henry*, that in three days he would give him battle: an intimation which was so agreeable to the *Austrian*, that he presented the messenger with a curious sword. On the eve of the battle, he detached an *Hungarian* captain to reconnoitre the enemy, and bring an account of their numbers; and this officer brought him word, that there was enough to kill, enough to be taken, and enough to run away (1).

(D) The name of this captain was *Seyfrid Schwepperman*. After the battle, while *Lewis* and his officers sat at table, the steward told his imperial majesty, that there was nothing for dinner but eggs, and of these but a small number; upon which, *Lewis* ordered one to be given to each guest, and a couple to *Schwepperman*; adding, "If I lie in my own camp to-night, it will be intirely owing to *Seyfrid* (2).

(1) *And. Presbit.* p. 5. *Struv. per.* ix. sect. 5.

(2) *Avent. ann. Boior. lib.* vii. p. 607.



a MEAN while duke *Leopold* advanced, by long marches, with a body of troops, from *Suabia*; but hearing of the defeat and captivity of his brothers, he retreated in a great hurry to his own fiefs on the frontiers of *Switzerland*, and derived sufficient time to intrench himself on the mountains, from an accident that happened to *Lewis*, who was taken ill, and fell from his horse, while he was in pursuit. Though disabled for the present by this misfortune, he detached *Albert Humelion de Lechtenburg*, in quality of landvoct of *Alsace*, many places of which province submitted to the conqueror. Nevertheless, *Leopold* made shift to continue the war in that country, where many severe skirmishes were fought, with various success. He likewise solicited the pope, and the king of *France*, to employ their credit for the enlargement of his brothers; but all that he could obtain was the liberty of *Henry*, who b did not long survive his release. As for the duke of *Lorraine*, he was, at the desire of *Charles the Fair*, dismissed, after having taken an oath, importing, that he would never more engage in the cause of the *Austrian* princes.

*Leopold continues the war with various success.*

*LEOPOLD*, thus disappointed in the hopes he had conceived from his arms, as well as from his neighbours, attempted to excite a revolt among the *Bohemians* against their king *John*, who was his declared enemy. That kingdom was full of malcontents, including not only those who were disgusted at the weakness, sloth, and debauchery of their prince, but also such as adhered to the party of *Henry Lipa*, a factious insolent minister, who, for his maladministration, had been banished, returned, raised disturbances, and been imprisoned in the fortress of *Prague*. His partizans, who were both numerous and powerful, had written a letter to the king, demanding his release, and threatening, in case of a refusal, to c destroy the country with fire and sword. *Leopold* seized the opportunity of marching with his troops to the frontiers, and, in all probability, might have wrested the crown from the legal possessor, who was very ill beloved, and worse obeyed, by his subjects. But the scheme was frustrated by a reinforcement which *John* received from the archbishops of *Triers* and *Mentz*, who headed their troops in person, and effected an accommodation between the king and the discontented nobility. *Lipa* was set at liberty in consequence of this agreement; yet he seized the first opportunity of *John's* absence to re-imbroid the state, by means of fomenting a jealousy between the queen dowager and reigning princess; nay, when the king returned to his own dominions, this indefatigable incendiary alienated his affection d from his wife, by possessing him with a notion that she was privately engaged in forming cabals to dethrone her husband, and raise her son to the throne. The king, alarmed at these false insinuations, sent the young prince to be educated in *France*, at the court of *Charles the Fair*, and, terrified at the thoughts of a rebellion in *Bohemia*, resolved to exchange his crown for the palatinate of the *Rhine*, which was by this time in the hands of the emperor<sup>n</sup>.

*Endeavours to excite a revolt against John king of Bohemia;*

*who wants to exchange his crown for the palatinate of the Rhine.*

For all the princes of the empire, who had favoured the party of *Frederic*, seeing him totally ruined by this overthrow, reconciled themselves with *Lewis*, and owned him for legitimate emperor, and those that scrupled to submit voluntarily, were compelled by force. But his chief resentment was expressed against *Rodolphus* count *Palatine*, his own brother, e who had favoured the election of *Frederic*, and afterwards supported his faction. He was driven from his territories, and obliged to retire, with his family, into *England*, where he died in extreme poverty.

*Lewis acknowledged as lawful emperor.*

*He expels his own brother, who flies into England.*

*LEWIS*, who seized upon his territories, assented to the proposal made by the king of *Bohemia*, and ordered an act of exchange to be expedited, by which he obliged himself to guarantee the *Palatinate* to *John* of *Luxemburg*, and his heirs. This deed was no sooner known, than it filled all *Bohemia* with alarm: the estates of the kingdom assembled, and declared the exchange void, and injurious to the nation; nay, so much were they incensed against *John*, that they resolved to shake off the yoke of the house of *Luxemburg*, and proceed to the election of a new sovereign. In this dilemma, *John* had recourse to the emperor, who f repaired to *Prague* in person, and having ineffectually used all his endeavours to reconcile the states to the exchange, he cancelled the original act; and the *Bohemians*, pacified by this sacrifice, took a new oath of allegiance to their king, whom they promised to support against all his enemies<sup>o</sup>.

*The act of exchange is cancelled by the emperor.*

*A. D. 1323. Proceedings of the diet of Nuremberg.*

THESE civil commotions being appeased, *Lewis* convoked a diet at *Nuremberg*, in order to deliberate upon measures for securing the tranquillity of the empire; and in this assembly, among other wholesome regulations, a statute was enacted against *provisors*, who, in a clandestine manner, should obtain the reversion of benefices from the church of *Rome*; a practice which had been shamefully abused by pope *John XXII.* to whom the noblemen, vested with the right of presentation, had often complained, without having received the least redress. His holiness was extremely chagrined at this new law, which served to augment g the rancour of his hatred against *Lewis*, tho' he would not venture to complain aloud, because he knew the nobility and clergy were resolved to support the edict<sup>p</sup>.

<sup>n</sup> DUBRARY. Hist. Boem. l. xx.

<sup>o</sup> Hist. Luxemb. l. xlviii.

<sup>p</sup> BARRE, tom. vi. p. 470.



AFTER the death of *Rodolphus*, his children were recalled, and their inheritance restored; though *Lewis* rendered the electoral dignity alternative between his family and theirs, on condition that they should be the first to enjoy it. He likewise, with the consent of the states and princes of the empire, united to his family the marquisate of *Brandenburg*, vacant by the death of *Waldemar II.* and *John IV.* who was the last marquis of *Brandenburg* of the posterity of *Otbo I.* count of *Anhalt* (E).

BESIDES these acquisitions, *Lewis*, by espousing *Margaret*, daughter of *William*, count of *Hainault* and *Holland*, attached to the house of *Bavaria* those two counties, together with *Friezland* and *Zealand*, which it preserved during the best part of a century; and he might have likewise made himself master of other rich domains, had he, in imitation of *Rodolphus*, cultivated the popes, so as to render them propitious to his designs; but he had the misfortune to be ever at variance with the see of *Rome*, in supporting the rights of his crown, and the canonicity of his election.

Endeavours to  
appease pope  
John XXII.  
who publishes  
a bull against  
him.

HAVING now nothing to apprehend in *Germany*, he resolved to employ his whole attention in striving to appease pope *John XXII.* for by this time *Galeazo Visconti*, who succeeded to the command of the *Gibelines* at his father's death, had been expelled from *Milan* by the *Guelphs*; and the chiefs of the emperor's party at *Verona* and *Mantua* had done homage to the pope, and received absolution from the hands of the legate, cardinal *Bertrand de Paget*. To this prelate, who resided at *Placentia*, the emperor sent some officers, to desire a cessation of arms might be granted to the *Gibelines*; but the cardinal treating them with insolence and contempt, they repaired separately to *Lucca*, *Pastora*, *Mantua*, and *Verona*, where they tampered so successfully with the inhabitants, that all the *Gibelines* of these cities united under the conduct of count *Bertholdi*, and marching to *Milan*, made themselves masters of that city, almost without resistance.

The substance  
of the bull.

THE pope, incensed at this transaction, resolved to proceed against *Lewis* without further reserve, and forthwith published a monitory, in which he declared, that the imperial dignity commenced a fief of the holy see that very day on which the empire was by the *Romans* transferred from the *Greeks* to the *French*, in the person of *Charlemagne*; because at that time it was decreed, that the election of an emperor should never take place until after it should be approved and confirmed by the pope, who was the father and prince of all Christendom. He added, that, when the empire was vacant by death or otherwise, it belonged to the pope alone to provide another, and to take care of the administration during the interregnum; and even while the election remains contested between two competitors, his holiness alone has the sole power to decide the dispute, and to exact the oath of fidelity of the prince, to whom he shall have adjudged the empire, in quality of viceroy or lieutenant of Him, who is emperor of heaven and earth; for as the soul commands and governs, and the body is bound to obey its orders, so those things, which are frail and perishable in Christianity, ought to be subject to those that are celestial and eternal; that the prophane should be subjected to the holy, and the corporeal to the spiritual; a regulation that will take place when the pope, by his own authority, shall dispose of both dignities, when the church shall prevail, and the empire, and all other powers, humble themselves before her, and submit to her laws. He therefore concluded, that as the princes of *Germany* had been divided ever since the death of *Henry VII.* and elected two princes, each of them pretending to the crown, he alone had the right to decide the contest, and, in the mean time, to govern the empire; and as *Lewis* had encroached upon his rights, he commanded him, by virtue of that power which he derived from heaven, to lay aside the imperial dignity, and desist from exercising the functions of an emperor, without pretending to resume them, until he should have obtained the express permission of his holiness; who, in the mean time, laid injunctions upon all patriarchs, bishops, priests, nobles, and commons, to abandon and withdraw their obedience from the usurper<sup>a</sup>.

The emperor  
protests against  
the bull, which  
he answers ar-  
ticle by article.  
A. D. 1324.

THIS bull was no sooner published, than the emperor assembled all the learned men of *Germany*, both of the clergy and laity, to examine and give their opinions of that performance. They accordingly concluded, that it was unjust, unreasonable, contrary to the Christian religion, and that he ought to call a general council. The emperor followed this

<sup>a</sup> AVENT. ann. Boior. l. vii. p. 698, & seq.

(E) During the contest between *Lewis* and *Frederic*, *Waldemar II.* elector and marquis of *Brandenburg*, having no children, set out privately for the *Holy Land*, in the habit of a pilgrim, after having put his brother *John* in possession of his dominions. *John* dying in less than a month after his departure, the emperor bestowed the electorate upon his own son, *Lewis* of *Bavaria*, as a vacant fief reverted to the empire. The dukes of *Saxony*,

and the princes of *Anhalt*, as branches of the antient house of *Brandenburg*, remonstrated against this alienation, especially as there was no account of *Waldemar's* death: but these representations having no effect upon the emperor or the states, they entered a solemn protest against the investiture which was conferred upon young *Lewis*, and refused to assist at the ceremony (1).

(1) *Rebdorf. ad ann. 1323.*



- a advice; and having protested against the bull, which he answered article by article, reproaching the pope himself as a favourer of heresy, since he endeavoured to abolish the sovereign power of princes, which was established by God, he signified his appeal with all the requisite formalities. He sent envoys to *Avignon*, with this vindication of himself, and to desire his holiness would suspend his censures until he could receive the advice of the princes of the empire: but all the favour he could obtain was a delay of two months, at the expiration of which he issued another monitory, complaining, that *Lewis* had made no use of this indulgence, and declaring, that he would proceed to publish the sentence of excommunication pronounced against him, if he would not, within the term of three months, resign the title of king of the *Romans*, and withdraw his protection from the *Viscontis*, and other enemies of the church.

- b *LEWIS* was too jealous of the independency of his crown to be swayed by this remonstrance; and the pope's menaces seemed the less terrible, as the *Viscontis* had just defeated the army of the church, and carried the general prisoner to *Milan*; an incident, in consequence of which his holiness renewed the censures against that family, and even caused a new crusade to be preached against them, and all their adherents. The emperor therefore, resolving to pay no further regard to the church of *Rome*, appointed vicars in *Italy*, and reinforced the *Gibelines* in such a manner, that they gained several advantages over their enemies; while in *Germany* he exerted his endeavours to reduce *Leopold* of *Austria*, who still refused to acknowledge his authority, or surrender the imperial ornaments, which he kept in the strong castle of *Burgaw* in *Alsace*. This fortress was accordingly invested by the imperial troops, who had made some progress in the siege, when *Leopold*, marching to its relief, defeated the rear of the *Bavarians*, and compelled them to abandon the enterprize.

He disregards the pope's menaces; supports the *Gibelines* in *Italy*.

- c THE three months prescribed by pope *John* being elapsed, he proceeded to the excommunication of *Lewis*, which was no sooner known in the empire, than the princes and states assembled at *Ratisbon*, where the emperor was requested to take care that the imperial dignity should not be trampled upon, nor the *Germanic* liberty reduced to bondage. There also it was decreed, that the proceedings of the pope should be deemed abusive and void; and that all those who paid the least regard to his bulls, should be punished as perturbators of the public peace, and enemies of the empire.

Besieges *Burgaw* in *Alsace*.

- d AT this assembly *Lewis*, in a distinct apology, justified every part of his own conduct, and produced thirty-six articles, in consequence of which he affirmed, that the pope ought to be deposed; and again appealed to a general council, desiring that it might be convoked, with all convenient speed, in a place of safety" (F).

- e THIS step being taken, he published the holding of tournaments at *Frankfort* and *Nuremberg*, where there was a vast concourse of noblemen and knights, a great number of whom he, by his liberality, engaged in his interest, and many private treaties were made, by which they bound themselves to supply him with troops, to frustrate the efforts of the house of *Austria*. But this expedient proving ineffectual, he had recourse to the princes of the empire, and a confederacy was formed in his favour by the king of *Bohemia*, the archbishop of *Triers*, *Ferry*, duke of *Lorraine*, and *Edward*, count *de Barr*, who engaged to furnish a certain proportion of troops, to be maintained at their own expence; and each prince obliged himself to head his forces in person. In consequence of this treaty, which was concluded at *Reenich* upon the *Moselle*, the city of *Metz* was besieged, and in a little time surrendered upon capitulation, the articles of which were very unfavourable to the inhabitants, who bought their pardon with a very large sum of money.

*Lewis* holds tournaments.

A. D. 1325. Forms the confederacy of *Reenich*.

- f AGAINST this powerful association the pope resolved to raise a competitor, that should be able to dispute the empire with *Lewis*, and actually negotiated with *Leopold* of *Austria*, and some other *German* princes, for electing *Charles the Fair* king of the *Romans*. *Frederic* of *Austria* promised to resign his pretensions in favour of the *French* monarch; the king of *Bohemia*, the electors of *Saxony*, *Cologne*, and *Mentz*, being tampered with, seemed willing to concur in any scheme that would restore peace to the empire; and *Leopold*, mistaking this favourable disposition for a fixed resolution, desired the pope would give *Charles* to understand, that it would be necessary for him to have a personal conference with the *German* princes. *Bar sur Aube* was the place pitched upon for this interview, and thither did *Charles* repair with a magnificent equipage;

An interview proposed between the king of *France* and the *German* princes at *Bar sur Aube*.

<sup>r</sup> RAINALD. n. 7. 12.  
HERUART. contra Bzov.

<sup>s</sup> NICOL. BURG. p. 89.  
<sup>u</sup> BALUZ. vit. Pap. AVENT. tom. ii. p. 278.

<sup>t</sup> AVENT. ubi sup. KRANTZ. l. ix. c. 14. RIC.  
<sup>x</sup> Hist Luxemb. c. 48.

(F) In order to combat the pope's authority, *Lewis* employed the pens of *Marsilius* of *Padua*, and *John* of *Ghent*, two famous doctors, and schismatic Cordeliers, who, in the emperor's name, wrote a number of defamatory libels against *John XXII*. styling him an unjust per-

secutor of the innocent, a destroyer of the holy see, a violator of the canons, author of discord, perturbator of the empire, and a prevaricator of the laws, who despised the poverty of *Jesus Christ*, and his sacraments (3).

(3) Villan. lib. ix. c. 265.



but the *German* princes, who had given no positive promise, would not quit their own dominions; so that *Leopold* was the only person who waited upon the king of *France*; and that monarch was so chagrined at the disappointment, that he quitted the pursuit, and left *Lewis* and the pope to battle each other<sup>1</sup>. *Leopold*, notwithstanding this miscarriage, would not abandon his enterprize; but assembling all the princes who opposed *Lewis* at *Rens* near *Coblentz*, where the pope's nuncios, and the envoys of *France*, were present, he proposed, that in order to quiet the troubles of *Germany*, *Charles the Fair* should be elected emperor. This proposal was strenuously opposed by *Berthold de Bucheck*, commander of the *Teutonic* order, and afterwards bishop of *Straßburg*; and the *French* envoys declared their master would never consent to wear a crown which belonged to *Lewis* of *Bavaria*<sup>2</sup>. This succession of disappointments obliged *Leopold* at last to listen to the advice of his friends, who exhorted him to desist from all opposition, and surrender to *Lewis* the imperial ornaments: he accordingly sent to that prince the lance, sword, and crown of *Charlemagne*, together with the other ensigns of royalty, in expectation of seeing his brother *Frederic* released. *Lewis* received these symbols with great indifference, and still refused to set the duke of *Austria* at liberty, until he found his conduct was blamed even by his own adherents.

Leopold of Austria sends the imperial ornaments to Lewis,

who makes peace with the princes of Austria.

THE archbishop of *Mentz*, shocked at such violent proceedings, which intailed misery and devastation on the empire, begged the emperor to consider, that *Germany* had never been so much united within itself, but that the popes, by their intrigues, had found means to disturb its repose; and observed, that the most salutary measure he could take in the present conjuncture, would be to make an accommodation with his enemies, and especially with the princes of *Austria*. In consequence of this advice, proposals of peace were made to *Frederic*, who was, by this time, heartily tired of his confinement; and it was agreed between them, that *Frederic* should be set at liberty, on condition of his renouncing all claim and title to the imperial dignity during the life of *Lewis*. This treaty being afterwards executed, the two princes met at *Mourpach*, where they were personally reconciled to each other<sup>3</sup>; and *Frederic*, as a proof of his sincerity, promised, by an authentic deed, that the princes of the house of *Austria* should never pretend to the imperial crown, when any prince of *Bavaria* should be competitor (G).

THERE was no great likelihood, however, that the articles of this accommodation would be inviolably observed; for the pope absolved *Frederic* from his oath, as an obligation laid upon him by compulsion, while he remained in captivity, and even promised to confirm his election. *Frederic* himself, and his brother, seemed to consider the treaty in the same light, and waited only for a convenient opportunity of acting openly against the emperor. But, before the necessary preparations could be made, *Leopold* was seized with a fever, of which he died in *Alsace*; and with him expired the hopes of *Frederic*, whose personal activity was destroyed by a malady which he had contracted in prison. Besides, he was greatly embarrassed by the pretensions of his brother *Otho*, who claimed an equal share of the succession of *Leopold*; though this dispute was afterwards referred to the decision of *John*, king of *Bohemia*<sup>4</sup>.

Is invited into Italy by the Gibelines.

By this peace *Lewis* found himself at leisure to mind the affairs of *Italy*, to which he was resolved to apply himself in earnest, not only with a view of being crowned at *Rome*, but also to fortify the party of the *Gibelines* against the pope, and the king of *Naples*, who, for the relief of *Florence*, which was besieged by *Castruccio* in the name of the emperor, had set on foot a considerable army, almost wholly composed of *French* and *Gascons*. The *Gibelines*, far from being discouraged at the fulminations of the pope against *Lewis*, were rather animated by them to maintain their party against the *Guelphs*, whose chief and patron was king *Robert*. Besides, the *Romans* had driven the creatures of the pope out of the city, and signified to his holiness, that, if he would not come and reside at *Rome*, they would take care of their own affairs. It was on account of his refusing to satisfy them in this particular, that they pressed the emperor to come and receive the crown at *Rome*.

A. D. 1327. Sets out for that country;

*LEWIS*, finding the conjuncture favourable, convoked a diet at *Spire*, where the princes and states of the empire granted to him the troops and supplies necessary for his expedition. In the beginning of the next year, therefore, he set out for *Italy*, and, at his arrival at *Trent*,

<sup>1</sup> VILLAN. l. ix. c. 268.

<sup>2</sup> GERHARD. de Rev. l. iii.

<sup>3</sup> VILLAN. l. ix. c. 294, 295. HERUART.

contra Bzov. HACSEM. de gest pont. Leodien. l. ii. c. 10. AVENT. ann. Boior. l. vii. p. 614. KRANTZ. l. ix. c. 14.

<sup>4</sup> ANON. LEOPIENS. ad ann. 1327.

(G) This condition, though mentioned by *Aventinus*, *Heiss*, and other writers, seems contradictory to the terms of the treaty, the first articles of which import, "That duke *Frederic* shall renounce his claim to the empire; that he shall deliver up to *Lewis* the title of his elec-

tion, if it could be called a title; that, during the life of the emperor *Lewis*, he should not aspire to the empire; and that, if ever the pope should solicit him to renew his claim, he should not hearken to his solicitations (4)."

(4) Hen. Rehdorf, ad ann. 1322.



a he was met by the chiefs of his party, the deputies of the towns, and the enemies of the pope, who received him as the deliverer whom they had so long and eagerly expected c.

HERE he convoked a diet, at which were present *Cau de l'Ascala*, *Passarini*, *Visconti*, *Gui de Tarlata*, bishop of *Arezzo*, deputies from *Castruccio*, and *Frederic*, king of *Sicily*, together with other chiefs of the *Gibelines*, and a crowd of schismatic *Franciscans*, with whom *Lewis* was always surrounded. In this assembly, the emperor took an oath to go to *Italy*, from whence he would never return until he should have received the imperial crown at *Rome*; and here he ordered the pope to be excommunicated as an heretic, unworthy of filling the pontifical throne d.

b FROM thence he repaired to *Milan* with the empress queen, where he was crowned king of *Italy* by the bishop of *Arezzo*, as the archbishop of *Milan* resided in *Genoa*, and refused to perform the ceremony, on pretence of the emperor's being excommunicated. The arrival of *Lewis* in *Italy* put the factions of the *Guelphs* and *Gibelines* in great commotion; the *Guelphs* sent envoy after envoy to press the king of *Naples* to march to the relief of *Tuscany*; *Rome* was divided between the partizans of *Lewis* and the pope's adherents; and there was a third party that refused to declare themselves for either, until the imperial faction having gained the ascendancy, compelled them to relinquish their neutrality, and side with *Lewis*. Thus reinforced, they elected *Sciarra Colonna* captain of the people, and sent ambassadors to *Avignon*, to summon the pope to come and reside at *Rome*, otherwise they would receive *Lewis* of *Bavaria* as their sovereign. His holiness was solicited to the same effect by the king of *Naples*, as senator of *Rome*; but he did not think proper to trust himself in a city where he had such powerful adversaries: he contented himself with exhorting the *Romans* to preserve their fidelity to their pontiff, and shut their gates against *Lewis*, whom he represented as an enemy to God and man. At the same time he directed his legate *John d'Ursini*, who resided at *Florence*, to publish new bulls against the emperor, and, by his personal presence, to keep the peace at *Rome*. In obedience to this order, the legate advanced towards that city, in hope of effecting a reconciliation between the *Romans* and *Robert* king of *Naples*, who had lately attempted to introduce his brother the prince of *Morea*, at the head of a thousand horse, to support the faction of the nobles. As the people shut their gates against this body of troops, the prince ravaged the territory of *Viterbo*, and some *Genoese* galleys, in the service of *Robert*, surprized the port of *Ostia*; so that the *Romans*, being extremely incensed against his *Neapolitan* majesty, would listen to no terms of accommodation. The legate, finding he could make no progress in the way of negotiation, joined the prince of *Morea*, who, entering the city by surprise, took possession of the church and quarter of *St. Peter*, and cut in pieces all those who opposed his arms. Next morning, however, the people ran to arms, sounded the alarm, assembled at the *Capitol*, from whence they marched to the gate possessed by the *Neapolitans*, which they attacked with such fury, that, after an obstinate and bloody dispute, the prince and legate were obliged to abandon the city in the utmost disorder, and retreat for shelter to *Ostia*.

c THESE transactions were very favourable to the emperor, who, having quitted *Milan*, held a diet at the castle of *Orzi*, in the *Brescian*; then he advanced into *Tuscany*, from whence he sent ambassadors to prepare for his reception at *Pisa*; but the inhabitants of that city refusing to receive him, because he lay under the sentence of excommunication, he besieged the town, which he compelled to surrender at discretion: then he entered in triumph, extorted a very large sum of money from the citizens, and, during his abode in this place, renewed the sentence which the emperor *Henry VII.* had pronounced against *Robert*, king of *Naples*, as a rebellious subject of the empire e. On the other hand, the pope published a new bull of excommunication and privation against *Lewis*, and forbade all persons, of what quality soever, under the most severe penalties, to furnish him with the means of subsistence. Notwithstanding this prohibition, the emperor began his march from *Pisa*, along the coast, towards *Rome*, without meeting with the least opposition from the king of *Naples*, who, supposing that the intention of *Lewis* was to invade his kingdom, and act in conjunction with *Peter*, king of *Sicily*, retired, in order to defend his own dominions. At *Viterbo*, the emperor received a deputation from the *Romans*, with whom he adjusted the articles of his entry, which was performed with great splendor. The governor and senators came forth to meet him and the empress, whom they conducted to the palace of *St. Peter*, where he staid four days with the princes of his train (H). Then he removed to *Santa Maria Major*, where

is crowned at Milan.

Great commotions among the Guelphs and Gibelines

The prince of Morea surprizes Rome, but is repulsed.

A.D. 1328. The emperor reduces Pisa.

Marches towards Rome;

where he is received amidst the acclamations of the people.

c Idem ibid.

d CORIO, p. 459.

e AVENT. ubi sup. Id. ibid. SPONDAN. Contin. Barre, tom. i. p. 589.

f RAINALD. ad ann. 1327. n. 20.

(H) The emperor was accompanied in this expedition by his nephews *Robert* and *Rodolphus*, dukes of *Bavaria*; *Henry de Lecktemberg*, chancellor of the empire; *Henry*, duke of *Brunswick*; *Albert de Lecktemberg*;

*Henry*, landgrave of *Alsace*; *Frederic*, burgrave of *Nuremberg*; *Menhard d'Ortemberg*; *William de Montfort*; and the grand master of the *Teutonic* order (5).

(5) *Burgund*. l. ii.



*Is crowned,  
with the em-  
press, in the  
church of St.  
Peter.*

*Sciarrra Colonna* presented him with the keys of the city and fortresses, which he garrisoned with his troops. In a few days, he and the empress were crowned in the church of *St. Peter* with great magnificence, the ceremony of the unction having been performed by the bishops of *Venice* and *Aleria*, who, as well as *Lewis*, had incurred the sentence of excommunication. In a word, the emperor, by his liberality and courteous behaviour, gained the affection of the *Romans* to such a degree, that his enemies durst not even avow their animosity or discontent <sup>a</sup>.

THE pope, finding himself disappointed in all the measures he had taken to prevent the coronation of *Lewis*, concerted other schemes for diminishing his power in *Italy*: for this purpose, he, by his emissaries, tampered with the governors of *Viterbo* and *Ostia*, who had actually agreed to receive *Neapolitan* garrisons in these places; but *Lewis*, being timely informed of their designs, sent forces to secure the towns, and apprehend the traitors, who were brought prisoners to *Rome*. <sup>b</sup>

*Is provoked by  
the pope to  
such a degree,  
that he is re-  
solved to be re-  
venged.*

THE emperor resided nine months in the capital, during which he set every thing to rights, and restored the repose of *Italy*, while the pope renewed his bulls of excommunication and deposition against him, refusing to listen to any proposals of accommodation, unless the emperor would divest himself of his sovereign authority, and, as a private person, submit to the sentence he should pronounce upon his election. In a word, he treated him with such indignity, that *Lewis* lost his patience, and resolved to be revenged upon him, by choosing another pope. In order to pave the way for this measure, he convoked a numerous assembly at *Rome*, where the pope was degraded, on pretence of his being an heretic, and a deserter of his flock; and all the subjects of the empire were prohibited from owning him as the head of the church. He afterwards published a decree, by which all the bishops, particularly the pope, were forbid to absent themselves from their see longer than three months, or to go farther than two days journey, without the consent of their chapters; and that, after having been recalled three times without returning, they should be no longer owned as bishops, but a new election take place, in the same manner as if they were dead; and, in consequence of the first decree, by which all heretics were made guilty of a capital crime, he pronounced sentence of death upon *James of Cahors*, so he named pope *John XXII.* as a person convicted of downright heresy and treason, for having encroached upon the rights of the empire (1), by discarding the emperor's officers, and supplying their places by his own authority <sup>c</sup>.

*Degrades him.*

*Condemns him  
to death.*

*Creates a Cor-  
delier pope in  
his place; and  
again receives  
the crown  
from his hands.*

THESE steps were no more than the preludes of the emperor's vengeance; for afterwards, assembling all the most considerable persons of his own court, as well as of the city of *Rome*, he set *Pietro de Rainaucci*, a *Cordelier*, upon a low chair on his left hand, ordered the assembly to be asked three times, whether or not they would receive this same Father *Peter* as pope? and being answered in the affirmative, he invested him with the papacy, putting the ring upon his finger, and the cloak upon his shoulders <sup>d</sup>. Then placing him upon his right hand, in the pontifical chair, he saluted him by the name of *Nicholas V.* took him by the hand, and conducted him to the chair of *St. Peter*, where this new pope celebrated mass, and bestowed the papal benediction upon the people. Some days after this ceremony, *Lewis*, in order to give more authority to *Nicholas*, was crowned again on the feast of *Pentecost*. <sup>e</sup>

*JOHN* was no sooner informed of the elevation of *Peter*, than he excommunicated the antipope, and all those who were present at the ceremony, except the poet *Petrarch*, whom he revered on account of his genius. Nor was *Nicholas* less active in returning these hostilities; for he published two bulls, confirming the deposition of *John*, and declaring, that all his adherents, whether ecclesiastic or lay, should be punished as heretics. In consequence

<sup>a</sup> Idem ibid. *BURGUND.* l. ii. p. 105.  
<sup>b</sup> 617. *SPONDAN.* Contin. Barre, tom. i. p. 592.

<sup>c</sup> *CIACON.* in *Joan.* XXII. *AVENT.* ann. Boior. l. vii. p. 616,  
<sup>d</sup> <sup>e</sup> *VADING,* ad ann. 1328.

(1) The abbot of *Fulde*, in an harangue to the people, observed, that the said *James of Cahors* was a deserter of the church, of which he pretended to be bishop, and a persecutor of the *Roman* people; that he had extorted vast sums of money on pretence of maintaining war against the *Saracens*, whereas it was used against the faithful, and the friends of the *Roman* empire, enforced by the preaching of a crusade, and the largesses of spiritual treasure; that he had turned against the *Romans* and imperialists those succours, which he had obtained from the king of *France*, and other princes, for the relief of the distressed king of *Armenia*; that he unjustly reserved to himself the distribution of ecclesiastic benefices, which he often simonically conferred upon the unworthy; that

he had, by the power of a new *Joab*, and the counsels of another *Abiathar* (meaning king *Robert* and cardinal *Ursini*) raised up pernicious schisms and wicked heresies in the church of God; that he had oppressed the cardinals and prelates in such a manner, that they durst not even murmur; that he had perverted the doctrine of Christ and the apostles, with regard to the temporal dominion of emperors, confounding spiritual with secular power, and rashly arrogating to himself the prerogative of confirming or rejecting emperors; and, lastly, that by ranking himself among the notorious heretics, in his false definition concerning the poverty of Christ and his apostles, he had forfeited all title to *St. Peter's* chair (6).

(6) *Ciaccon.* in *Joan.* XXII.



a of this bull, two persons actually lost their lives at the stake; and pope John was burnt in effigy.

THE emperor had resolved to recover the rights and dominions of the empire, which Robert, king of Naples and Apulia, had usurped by order of the pope: but having delayed this enterprize until Robert had time to put himself in a posture of defence, he was obliged to postpone the execution of his purpose: for when he marched out of Rome on the expedition, he found Robert strongly fortified in the Campania, and, in his attempt upon the province of Labour, had the mortification to see his troops several times repulled; nay, as the Neapolitans, by being masters of Ostia and Anagni, commanded the whole course of the Tiber, Lewis was so hampered for want of provisions and ammunition, that he could not help returning to Rome, where his presence occasioning a great scarcity, the people began to murmur, and their discontents being fomented by the cardinal d'Ursini, broke out into open rebellion. The emperor, whose troops had been worsted both within and without the city, seeing it would be impossible for him to resist a mutinous populace, as well as the Neapolitan troops, sent his pope immediately to Todi, under a strong escorte, whither he himself afterwards retired; and he had no sooner quitted Rome, than cardinal Ursini entered the city and harangued the people, who now acknowledged John as their lawful pontiff, and renounced the antipope and the emperor with all the marks of detestation and abhorrence.

The Romans revolt against the emperor and pope Nicholas.

MEAN while Lewis had an interview with Peter, the son of Frederic king of Sicily, at Corneto, where he bitterly complained, that his Sicilian majesty had been the cause of all his miscarriages, by failing to send the fleet, and a sum of money, which he had engaged himself by treaty to furnish; and Peter, finding him so ill disposed towards a continuance of the war, set sail on his return to his father's dominions, but was overtaken by a violent tempest, which destroyed the greatest part of his fleet.

Lewis retires to Corneto.

FROM hence the emperor repaired to Pisa, whither he was followed by Nicholas, and there he spent some months, during which he re-published his decree against pope John, and received an embassy from the Algerines, who craved his protection, in consideration of which they promised to assist him with fifty vessels well manned, and a very large sum of money. They were graciously received, and Lewis, in all probability, would have availed himself of the proposal, had he not found a more honourable resource in the friendship of the king of Bohemia, who promised to march to his assistance, at the head of a victorious army, with which he had conquered Lithuania for the knights of the Teutonic order. But, before he could execute his intentions in favour of Lewis, that prince, finding himself destitute of troops, and abandoned by the greatest part of his friends in Italy, whom he had disobliged by his violent proceedings, was obliged to retire into Bavaria, in order to re-establish his affairs.

Receives an embassy from the Algerines. A. D. 1329.

His back was no sooner turned, than the Pisans reconciled themselves to the see of Rome; the Romans recalled the cardinal legate, and put themselves under the auspices of pope John; the cities of Todi, Viterbo, and Pistoria, followed the example; the Visconti renounced the emperor's party, and received absolution from the holy see; and the antipope Nicholas, finding it impossible to conceal himself longer at Pisa, submitted to John, who, having received his abjuration of the papacy, absolved him of his crimes, and imprisoned him for life.

His friends in Italy abandon him.

Nicholas submits to pope John. A. D. 1330.

HAVING thus far succeeded in detaching almost all Italy from the interest of Lewis, and in making himself master of the person of his competitor, he still continued to press the German princes to a new election; but by this time they were so tired with civil discord, that his remonstrances were altogether disregarded; and even those princes who had opposed Lewis in the beginning, now expressed a desire of seeing him peaceably established on the imperial throne. In order to manifest his own pacific disposition, he sent an embassy to the pope, to sue for a reconciliation with the holy see, in consideration of which he promised to retract every thing he had done, said, or decreed, against his holiness. But all his advances were treated with disdain by John, who, far from granting his request, wrote two letters to the king of Bohemia, exhorting, and even commanding that prince, as a son of the church, to depose Lewis, and proceed to a new election.

Lewis sends an embassy to the pope;

who tampers with the king of Bohemia. A. D. 1331.

THESE remonstrances seem to have had no effect at first upon the Bohemian, who declared for the emperor, and marched into Italy as his lieutenant, at the head of an army, with which he reduced almost all the cities of Lombardy under obedience to the empire.

ELATED with this success, he began to harbour notions very different from those with which he crossed the Alps; and the pope, being well acquainted with his disposition, flattered his ambition so effectually, that, by the means of his legate, Bertrand de Poyet, the king of Bohemia engaged with him in a private treaty against the emperor. The nature of this agreement having transpired, alarmed both Guelphs and Gibelins to such a degree, that they

\* SPOND. ad ann. 1329. RAINALD. ad ann. 1329,



united against the *Bohemian*; and the emperor, being suspicious of his fidelity, resolved to cut out such work for him at home, as would soon recall him from *Italy*: for this purpose he excited against him *Frederic*, marquis of *Misnia*, *Otho*, duke of *Austria*, by this time reconciled to the house of *Bavaria*, *Uladislaus*, king of *Poland*, and *Charobert*, king of *Hungary*, who attacked his dominions at the same time, under various pretexts <sup>1</sup>.

He returns to Germany, and defeats all his adversaries.

*JOHN* of *Bohemia*, being informed of these transactions, left his son *Charles* as vicar in *Italy*, and marching into *Germany*, defeated all his adversaries one after another. Then repassing the *Alps*, in order to succour his son against the *Guelphs* and *Gibelines*, came up just as the young prince had obtained a complete victory; after which, he carried him in triumph to *Prague*, where, beginning to be jealous of his son's reputation, he bestowed upon him the marquisate of *Moravia*, that he might have a pretence for removing him from the capital of *Bohemia* <sup>m</sup>.

A. D. 1332.

MEAN while the pope employed his artifices so successfully with *Otho* of *Austria*, that this prince abandoned the emperor, submitted his dominions to the holy see, and declared himself vassal to the church of *Rome*. Nevertheless *Italy* groaned under the utmost misery and desolation; for although the *Guelphs* and *Gibelines* joined against the *Germans*, they still maintained a civil war among themselves with the most implacable resentment, and a number of private noblemen erected themselves into petty tyrants during this period of confusion <sup>n</sup>.

The king of Bohemia marches to the assistance of the Teutonic knights.

WHILE *Lombardy* suffered such a complication of disorders, *John*, king of *Bohemia*, marched to the assistance of the *Teutonic* knights, who had been worsted by the *Poles*, and penetrating as far as *Cracovia*, undertook the siege of that city, which the inhabitants defended with great obstinacy, until they were compelled by famine to demand a capitulation, which was soon succeeded by a treaty of peace, effected under the mediation of the king of *Hungary*. *Otho* of *Austria*, who was now become a partizan of the pope, being joined by the bishop of *Constance*, took this opportunity to besiege *Colmar*, which held for *Lewis* of *Bavaria*, and actually invested it with an army of thirty thousand men; but it was gallantly defended by the marquis of *Baden*, until the emperor marched to its relief with a strong body of troops, furnished by the king of *Bohemia*, who had found means to justify his conduct to *Lewis*, and by the count of *Wirtemberg*; so that *Otho*, losing all hope of succeeding in his enterprize, and perceiving that he himself was no other than a dupe to the see of *Rome*, resolved to make peace with the emperor, which was ratified accordingly. Now *Lewis* began to govern the empire in peace, though the public tranquillity was often invaded by feuds and animosities among the noblemen and cities, which produced all the terrible effects of a civil war, until they were restrained by associations like that of *Straßburg*, *Friburg*, and *Basil*, which, about this time, formed a league for their mutual defence <sup>o</sup>.

He is twice defeated near Verona.

A. D. 1333.

NOTWITHSTANDING the success of *Lewis* in *Germany*, pope *John* would not desist from his intrigues; but having confirmed *John*, king of *Bohemia*, in his interest, during an interview which he had with this prince at *Avignon*, he prevailed upon him to march into *Italy*, in order to support the concerns of the holy see against *Robert*, king of *Naples*, who was now become his most inveterate enemy, and the *Viscontis* and *Escoli*, who had joined his *Neapolitan* majesty, because they found their account in fishing in troubled waters.

ACCORDINGLY the *Bohemian*, being reinforced by a body of *French* troops, passed the *Alps*, as the champion of the church, engaged the enemy near *Verona*, was twice defeated, and returned to *Germany*, having lost his troops, money, and reputation.

Pope John dies at Avignon.

A. D. 1334.

THE emperor, mean while, remained in peace at *Munich*, without having any share in these transactions; but as the pope solicited, without ceasing, the *German* princes to revolt against his administration, and he himself, as well as a number of his friends, lay under the censure of the church, he resolved to assemble a council, in order to stigmatize and depose that restless pontiff, as a tyrant and heretic (K); but he was anticipated by death, which overtook his holiness in the ninetieth year of his age. This turbulent pope left immense treasures, and was succeeded in the papacy by *James Dufour*, surnamed the *White Cardinal*, who assumed the name of *Benedict XII.* <sup>p</sup>.

War between the emperor and the king of Bohemia.

THIS new pope seemed to tread in the steps of his predecessor, and even confirmed all the bulls which *John* had issued against the emperor, who did not so much regard these impotent fulminations, as he had affairs of greater importance to engross his attention. *John* of

<sup>1</sup> AVENT. ann. l. vii. p. 618. SPOND. Contin. ubi supra. NÄLD. ad ann. 1332.

<sup>o</sup> Annal. de l'Empire, tom. i. p. 415.

<sup>m</sup> DUBRARI. Hist. Boem. l. xxi. P VILLANI, l. x. c. 21.

<sup>n</sup> RAI-

(K) Among other errors in point of doctrine, *John* alleged, that the souls of the happy see only the human nature of Jesus Christ in heaven until the resurrection,

after which they will enjoy the beatific vision of the Divinity (7).

(7) Baluz. vit. Pap. Avent. t. i. p. 788. See the history of the popes.



a *Luxemburg*, second son of the king of *Bohemia*, had married *Margaret*, surnamed *Great Mouth*, heiress of *Carinthia*; and this princess accusing her husband of impotence, the marriage was dissolved by the bishop of *Frisingen*. Thinking herself at full liberty to dispose of her person, she espoused the margrave of *Brandenburg*, son of the emperor, who readily consented to a match which added *Tyrol* and *Carinthia* to his family; and this contract produced a war between the houses of *Bavaria* and *Bohemia*, which, after having been maintained for a whole year, with various success, was terminated by a very singular accommodation, in consequence of which young *John* of *Luxemburg* renounced all claim to his wife, and ratified her marriage with the margrave.

b THIS war being finished, *Lewis* exerted all his endeavours to appease the domestic troubles of the empire. The magistrates of *Strasbourg* finding themselves interrupted in their commerce by the incursions of *Walter* lord of *Schwanau*, who distressed them from the castle of *Erstein*, of which he was in possession, joined in an association with *Bâle*, *Friburg*, and all the imperial cities of *Alsace*, in order to reduce this formidable neighbour. Their first attempt was against *Erstein*, which they took at the very first assault; then they invested the strong fortress of *Schwanau*, situated on the bank of the *Rhine*, and, although *Walter* defended it with incredible valour for the space of three months, it was at length taken and demolished, but not before *Walter* had made his escape in the habit of a peasant.

c THE next disturbance was occasioned by *Berthold* bishop of *Strasbourg*, who refused to do homage to the emperor, because he was excommunicated, and ravaged the country belonging to the count *de Wirtemberg*, who was his declared enemy, being joined by a reinforcement of troops sent by the duke of *Lorraine* and bishop of *Metz*. He took several castles, and began to form schemes of importance upon some of the imperial towns; so that the emperor was obliged to take the field in person; but, finding *Berthold* strongly posted, he listened to the first overtures of peace, which was granted almost on the bishop's own terms, because he knew him to be an experienced warrior, and understood that he was on the brink of concluding a peace with the princes of *Austria*.

d *LEWIS* being informed of a misunderstanding between *Philip* of *France* and *Benedict XII.* on the subject of the crusade, resolved to seize this opportunity of being reconciled to the holy see, and with that view sent an embassy, with submissive letters, to the pope at *Avignon*, who received them very graciously, and expressed a desire of terminating the long quarrel which had subsisted between *Lewis* and the see of *Rome*. A negotiation was accordingly set on foot, but the pope's favourable intentions were defeated by the remonstrances of the kings of *France*, *Naples*, and *Bohemia*, who protested that, in case *Lewis* should be absolved from the censures of the church, they would take measures for electing a new king of the *Romans*.

e MEAN while *Philip* of *France* and *Edward* of *England* being on the eve of a rupture, these two princes employed all their art and insinuation to acquire partizans in *Germany*: the *English* monarch formed a strong alliance among the princes of *Germany*, at the head of which was the emperor himself, who created *Edward* vicar of the empire, and trusted so much to the strength of this new league, that he recalled his ambassadors from *Avignon*, and broke off the negotiation with *Benedict*: nevertheless, he wrote a letter to the pope, complaining of the king of *France*, as a violator of treaties, inasmuch as he had seized several fiefs belonging to the empire, in the diocese of *Cambray*, and solicited his holiness to assist him in making war upon that monarch.

f *BENEDICT*, instead of complying with this singular desire, exerted all his abilities to produce a rupture between *Lewis* and *Edward*, to procure intelligence to *Philip de Valois*, and to excite a spirit of jealousy in the *German* princes against the ambitious *Englishman*; nay, he even detached *Henry* duke of *Bavaria* from the interest of *Lewis*, whom he renounced as an excommunicated heretic.

THE pope's conduct on this occasion was chiefly influenced by his dependence upon *Philip*, who, in order to counterbalance the alliance of *Edward*, secured the assistance of the kings of *Bohemia* and *Navarre*, as well as of the duke of *Lorraine* and count of *Savoy*: and the spirit of pope *John* still reigned in the factions he had fomented against the emperor. *John* king of *Bohemia*, elated with the hope of the imperial crown's devolving to his son *Charles* of *Luxemburg*, in consequence of the assurances which he received from *France* and *Rome*, had fortified himself with the alliance of the kings of *Hungary* and *Poland*, and raised a powerful army in order to carry the war into the bowels of *Bavaria*; but the emperor assembling his troops, harassed him in such a manner, and pursued him so closely, that he was obliged to hazard a battle, in which, after an obstinate and bloody dispute, he and his auxiliaries were totally routed. This defeat neither quelled his courage nor diminished his

The emperor takes the field against Berthold bishop of Strasbourg.

Makes advances towards a reconciliation with the pope. A. D. 1336.

Edward of England forms a strong league among the German princes. A. D. 1337.

The pope and the king of France excite the king of Bohemia to rebel against the emperor.

<sup>1</sup> Hist. de Luxemb. l. xlviii. tom. vi. p. 584.

<sup>2</sup> BARRE, tom. vi. p. 573.

<sup>3</sup> RAINALD. ad ann. 1335.

<sup>4</sup> BARRE,



hope; for he trusted to the friendship and forces of the *French* king, to whom he sent his son *Charles*, in order to concert new measures for repairing his loss<sup>a</sup>.

The estates defend the rights of the empire against the pretensions of the pope.

Berthold bishop of Strasburg at length does homage to the emperor.

*LEWIS*, notwithstanding all the repulses he had sustained, still endeavoured, with all his might, to retrieve the affection of the holy see, in the person of *Benedict*, who rejected his advances, for fear of disobliging the king of *France*. The princes of the empire, ecclesiastic as well as secular, assembling at *Spire*, declared the empire independent of the pope, and *Lewis* of *Bavaria* lawful emperor: then they sent deputies to *Benedict*, desiring he would annul the sentences of his predecessor, otherwise they would proceed against him in another manner: and the pope refusing to give them satisfaction, a diet was convoked at *Frankfort*, wherein that famous constitution was made in form of a law, by which the independence of the empire was for ever established<sup>\*</sup> (L).

*LEWIS* next year, by his own authority, took off the interdiction which had been laid against him by pope *John XXII.* and expelled from their churches all those who refused to submit to his order. Copies of the manifesto published by *Lewis* in his own vindication, containing the steps which had been taken in the diet, were sent to *Benedict* by *Berthold* bishop of *Strasburg*, who represented his own inability to cope with the emperor, and desired the pope would allow him to do homage to that prince, otherwise he should be destroyed. This permission was granted by *Benedict*, who now began to perceive that he had carried his resentment too far, and *Berthold* went to *Spire*, to do homage to the emperor, who invested him with the temporalities of his diocese<sup>†</sup>. To this condescension the bishop was in a great measure determined by the remonstrances of *Albert*, surnamed *The Deformed*, duke of *Austria*, who wished to see the troubles of *Alsace* appeased, that he might have a fairer opportunity of acting against the *Swiss*, whom he had resolved to subdue.

He accordingly assembled all his forces and those of his allies, composing an army of forty thousand men, with whom he passed the *Rhine* at *Schaffhausen*, and advanced as far as *Kybourg*, where his van-guard was defeated by the enemy. Notwithstanding this check, he continued his route as far as the canal of *Zurich*, where he received the news of fresh disturbances in *Alsace*, which obliged him to abandon his enterprize, in order to succour the towns of his own dominions.

The Jews massacred in Alsace.

They are protected by the bishop of Strasburg

THESE disorders were occasioned by a spirit of fanaticism, in consequence of which the lower class of people assembled under the banners of an inn-keeper, distinguished by the appellation of *Armleder*, who erected himself into a prophet, and persuaded his followers, that, in order to revenge the death of Christ, it was their indispensable duty to extirpate the *Jews*. In obedience to this doctrine, which was first broached in *Franconia*, they assassinated great multitudes of that unhappy nation, and the carnage, which extended to *Alsace*, was so dreadful, that the *Jews* themselves, driven to despair, augmented the horror of the scene; for, rather than fall into the hands of such inhuman enemies, they made away with themselves, after having murdered their own wives and children, and concealed their riches, which they justly supposed had contributed to their disaster. The deplorable condition of these miserable wretches excited the compassion of *Berthold* bishop of *Strasburg*, who being moreover affected with the desolation of his own country, laid waste by that frantic herd of enthusiasts, formed an association with some other noblemen of *Alsace*, and assembling a body of troops, expelled them from that province. The *Jews* that remained were permitted to live in peace; and *Armleder* being taken, was executed as a sower of sedition, and an enemy to the public tranquillity<sup>‡</sup>.

A. D. 1339: The emperor becomes jealous of the English monarch.

THIS commotion having subsided, the troops of the empire and princes of *Germany* marched to *Mechlin*, where they joined the *English*, commanded by king *Edward*, who invested the city of *Cambray*, which was so valiantly defended by the *French*, that, on the approach of winter, he abandoned the enterprize. He afterwards ravaged *Picardy*, and offered battle to the king of *France*, which being declined, he retired into *Brabant*, and the greatest part of his *German* allies returned to their own dominions. Indeed, by this time, *Lewis* began to repent of having conferred the vicariate of the empire upon such a powerful prince, and of having engaged with an ally who drained *Germany* of her best troops, so that she could not spare a sufficient number to maintain the interest of the empire in *Italy*, where almost all the cities had made their submissions to the pope. When the princes returned

<sup>a</sup> HEISS, tom. ii. p. 174.    <sup>\*</sup> Extat. apud ALBERT DE ROSAT. Jur. conf. in l. bene a Zenone. 3. C. de quadr. proscript. Hier. Balb. Ep. Surcens. lib. de Coron. ad Car. v. & int. addit. ad REBDORF. HERUART. contra Bzov. AVANT. ann. &c. lib. vii. p. 621, & sequente.    <sup>†</sup> ALBERT. ARGENT. de gestis Bertholdi. p. 173. z Lunig. Arch. Imper. tom. vii. p. 12.

(L) All the electors, except the king of *Bohemia*, who was attached to *Philip*, assembling at *Constance*, in the territory of *Mentz*, declared, by a solemn protestation, that he who was elected king of the *Romans* by a majority of the princes electors, needed not the approbation, confirmation, or consent, of the holy see, to assume the title of king, administer the laws, and govern the estates of the empire (S).



- a from the *Low Countries*, the emperor assembled a diet, and having represented the posture of affairs in *Lombardy*, demanded such supplies of men and money, as would enable him to cross the *Alps*, and punish the revolted towns. But this expedition being found impracticable at the present juncture, when *Germany* was in a great measure drained of all her funds, he was fain to refer it to a more favourable opportunity. Mean while he was, by the emissaries and intrigues of the *French* king, so irritated against the king of *England*, who had neglected to pay the subsidies, and made a truce at *Tournay*, without his participation, that he abandoned the cause of that monarch, and deprived him of the vicariate, notwithstanding all the protestations and condescension of *Edward*, who tried every method he could devise to deprecate his anger. *Deprives him of the vicariate. A. D. 1340.*
- b *LEWIS* the more readily entered into the views of *Philip*, as he was flattered with assurances of being reconciled to the pope, by the mediation of that monarch, who accordingly wrote to the pope in favour of the *Bavarian*; but, in all probability, he was not sincere in his remonstrances, inasmuch as *Benedict* paid no manner of regard to his interposition. On the contrary, he amused the emperor with evasive excuses, while he disposed of the governments and signories of *Italy*, as administrator of the empire, which he deemed vacant. About this period, the restless king of *Bohemia* lost his eye-sight, and made his will, by which he bequeathed *Bohemia* and *Silesia* to his son *Charles*, afterwards emperor, *Moravia* to *John*, and *Luxemburg*, with the lands he had in *France* in right of his wife, to *Winceslaus*, born of *Beatrice* of *Bourbon*; though this last precaution was useless, for that province was seized by *Charles* the eldest son, while *Winceslaus* was yet in his infancy. *John king of Bohemia makes his will.*
- c IN the course of this same year *Lewis* was chosen arbiter to decide the quarrels of the house of *Denmark*. *Gerhard* count of *Rendsburg* and *Waldemar* duke of *Sleswic* had usurped the crown, which of right belonged to young *Waldemar*, educated at the court of *Munich*. But the administration of those usurpers was so odious to the *Danish* nation, that a general revolt ensued, and count *Gerhard* was assassinated by *Nicholas Jacobi*, a nobleman of that country, who chose this method of vindicating the liberty of his nation: then putting himself at the head of the *Danish* revolvers, he gave battle to the princes of *Holstein*, and, tho' he lost his life in the engagement, they were entirely defeated, and the lawful heir ascended the throne of his ancestors. *The emperor decides the differences which had arisen about the crown of Denmark. A. D. 1341.*
- d THIS young prince had been maintained and protected by the emperor, who now called an assembly at *Speindow*, where an accommodation between the new king and the princes of *Holstein* was effected, on condition that he should renounce all pretensions to the throne, give his sister in marriage to *Waldemar* III. and remain in quiet possession of *Jutland*.
- e ALL these contests being ended, *Germany* began to enjoy the peace with which she was so seldom blessed, and *Lewis* took this opportunity to establish wholesome regulations for the continuance of public tranquility. He caused the laws to be regularly executed against vagabonds and criminals of all kinds; he granted his protection to the innocent and industrious, and rewarded merit to the utmost of his power. His mild and prudent administration not only conciliated the affections of his people in general, but also conquered the animosity and prejudices of almost all the princes who had been his enemies; so that they now fought and cultivated his friendship. His court became numerous, gay, and polite; and, in order to render himself more popular, he instituted magnificent tournaments at *Munich*, after they had been four hundred years discontinued by the princes of *Germany*. *Gives magnificent tournaments at Munich.*
- f WHILE the emperor in this manner established his authority on this side of the *Alps*, his own interest in *Italy* was almost totally ruined. Pope *Benedict* dying at *Avignon*, he was succeeded by *Clement* VI. a native of *France*, and archbishop of *Rouen*, who confirmed by new bulls all the sentences of excommunication pronounced by *John* XXII. and *Benedict* XII. and endeavoured to excite all *Italy* to rebel against the emperor. *Lewis*, who may be said to have been a martyr to the independency of the empire, as *Henry* V. had been to the investitures, in order to manifest his own innocence, made advances to the pope, and, even in the midst of these acts of enmity, sent an embassy to him to treat of a reconciliation; but his holiness prescribed such unreasonable conditions, as the ambassadors had not power to accept; upon which they desired he would give them his demands in writing, that they might, upon their return to *Germany*, lay them before the emperor (M). *Lewis* having obtained *A. D. 1343. Clement VI. treats him with an high hand.*

<sup>a</sup> RAINALD. ad ann. 1341. n. 12.

<sup>b</sup> Hist. Luxemb. l. xxix.

<sup>c</sup> PONTAN. Rer. Dan. Hist. ad an. 1340.

<sup>d</sup> PANICROL. l. ii.

(M) These were the articles: *Lewis* shall deliver to the pope *William* of *Ockham*, with all his adherents; he shall retract all the decrees, annul the acts, and recant the slanders that were published against pope *John* XXII. and by a perpetual edict publicly acknowledge that the empire is in the gift of the sovereign pontiff, and that no person is or can be called emperor, without the sanction of his authority (9).

(9) *Arvent. ann. Boior. lib. vii. p. 627.*



*He excommunicates him, with all his adherents.*

A. D. 1346.  
Charles of  
Luxemburg  
is chosen king  
of the Ro-  
mans, and  
crowned by his  
own faction.

Lewis main-  
tains his dig-  
nity and repu-  
tation.

tained these articles, sent copies of them to all the states of the empire, and such a general indignation prevailed against the presumption of the pope, that the princes and states assembling at *Frankfort*, the articles were openly read, and rejected as an insult upon the honour of the empire, and a second embassy was appointed to wait upon *Clement*, and desire he would retract them; otherwise, the states would of themselves take such measures on that subject, as they should judge convenient. The pope, more than ever incensed at this instance of disregard, fulminated new excommunications (N) against *Lewis* and all his adherents; and, being instigated by *Philip* of *Valois* king of *France*, who, though he had made peace with the emperor, wished to see him employed at home, he set on foot and managed underhand intrigues and negotiations, in order to raise a faction among the princes, and induce them to proceed to the election of a new emperor<sup>c</sup>.

As all these steps were taken in favour of *Charles* of *Luxemburg*, son of *John* king of *Bohemia*, who was one of the most considerable members of the electoral college, and as he had already made sure of *Baldwin* of *Luxemburg*, archbishop of *Triers*, the king's uncle, their chief aim was to secure the other suffrages. The pope had already excommunicated *Henry* of *Verneburg*, archbishop of *Mentz*, because he was in the emperor's interest, and promoted to that see count *Gorlack* of *Nassau*, who was devoted to his service. The vote of *Walderan* of *Juliers*, archbishop of *Cologne*, was purchased with eight thousand marks of silver, and that of *Rodolphus* duke of *Saxony* for two thousand. These princes assembling at *Rientz* near *Coblentz*, elected *Charles* of *Luxemburg* king of the *Romans*, and, as the city of *Cologne* would own no other emperor but *Lewis* of *Bavaria*, he was crowned at *Bonn* by the new archbishop *Gorlack*, his election having been confirmed by the pope<sup>f</sup> (O).

THE other princes and states of the empire preserved their fidelity and attachment to *Lewis*, notwithstanding this schism, which served only to unite them more firmly in his interest; and, some time after this event, his son *Lewis*, marquis of *Brandenburg*, attacked and defeated the new king of the *Romans* in the *Tyrol*; so that the emperor maintained his dignity and good fortune to the last; and reigned with the love, esteem, and applause of his subjects.

PERHAPS this opposition might have been much more dangerous to *Lewis*, had not part of the pope's attention been employed on the affairs of *Naples*, which was conquered by *Lewis* king of *Hungary*, in revenge for the death of his brother *Andrew*, who had married *Jane* heiress of *Naples*, and been assassinated by her domestics: and at the same time *Clement* was greatly perplexed by a very extraordinary revolution in *Rome*, effected by an obscure notary called *Nicholas Rienzi*, who being elected tribune of the people, renounced the pope's authority, and restored the form of the antient republic, which, however, did not long subsist.

THE emperor's predecessors were used to move from one imperial city to another, that their courts might subsist at the expence of the inhabitants; whereas *Lewis* never oppressed his people in this manner; but, except when he was obliged to be present at the diet, staid at home in his own duchy of *Bavaria*, and generally amused himself at the chace, a diversion which at length cost him his life<sup>g</sup>: for while he one day exercised himself in hunting the bear, he was attacked, it is said, by a fit of the apoplexy, when falling from his horse, he immediately expired, after having recommended his soul to God, and his body was interred at *Munich*<sup>h</sup> (P).

Falls from his  
horse and dies.  
A. D. 1337.

His character  
and person de-  
scribed.

THIS prince, having lost his father when he was but twelve years of age, had been educated at *Vienna*, in *Austria*, with his cousins, under the tuition of his mother, who bestowed such care upon his education, that he surpassed all the princes of his age, both in the qualifications of the body and the understanding. He was very tall, though agile; his hair

<sup>c</sup> ARGENT. in Chron. Nauclet. gen. 45. <sup>f</sup> VILLANI. l. xii. c. 59. MUT. l. xxiv. <sup>g</sup> AVENTIN. ann. Boior. l. vii. p. 631. <sup>h</sup> Ibid. p. 630. VILLAN. l. xii. c. 105. HERUART contra Bzov. ad. ann. 1347.

*William* of *Ockham* was an *Englishman*, who wrote a book against *Charles* and *Clement*, whom he treats with great scurrility.

(N) In a bull published against *Lewis*, we read the following imprecation: "May the wrath of God, of St. Peter and St. Paul, crush him in this world and that which is to come. May the earth open and swallow him alive; may his memory perish, and all the elements be his enemies: and may his children fall into the hands of his adversaries, even in the sight of their father (10)."

(O) *Charles* of *Luxemburg*, who went to *Avignon* with his father, to solicit the pope's interest, engaged to annul all the decrees of *Lewis*, to acknowledge that the

county of *Avignon* belonged to the holy see, as well as *Ferrara* and the lands of *Matilda*, with the kingdoms of *Sicily*, *Sardinia*, and *Corfica*; and promised that, if he should go as emperor to receive the crown at *Rome*, he would quit the city that same day, and never return without the express permission of his holiness (11).

(P) He is said to have been poisoned by the widow of *Albert* of *Austria*; and prescribed some violent exercise by his physicians, after they had, without success, tried other methods of cure. In consequence of this advice, he had rode out to hunt the bear, when the operation of the poison became so violent that he dropped dead from his horse (12).

(10) *Annal. de l'Empire*, tom. i. p. 428. (11) *Idem ibid.* (12) *Spond. Con. ann. Ecclesiastic. tom. i. p. 685.*



a was sandy, his complexion florid, his nose was long, and his chin lengthened. He perfectly well understood the exercise of arms: he feared no danger; but was hasty, and too much addicted to love: in adversity he needed advice; he was master of himself in prosperity: he was gay, and polished in his manners; but there was rather too much vivacity in his behaviour, and he could not stay long in one place. The monks and nuns gave him the appellation of *most Christian* and *most Pious*, and expressed great veneration for his knives, napkins, and other things of that sort that belonged to him. For a long time he had no other possession than *Highbavaria*, till after the death of *John*, duke of *Low Bavaria*, he succeeded to his dominions<sup>1</sup> (Q).

b C H A R L E S IV.

c CHARLES IV. count of *Luxemburg*, son of *John*, king of *Bohemia*, and grandson of *Charles IV.* *Henry VII.* was born at *Prague*, and named *Wenceslaus*; but being sent by his father into *France*, to *Charles the Fair*, who had married *Mary* of *Luxemburg*, his aunt, they caressed him with great affection; and, as they had no children, gave him the name of *Charles* when he received the sacrament of confirmation. At the same time, they provided him excellent preceptors, under whom, exclusive of the *German* and *Bohemian* languages, which were natural to him, he made himself master of the *Latin*, *French*, and *Italian*. After the death of *Charles the Fair*, he returned to his father, whom he attended to *Italy*, where he was created viceroy of the empire, and ran the risque of being poisoned by *Azon*, viscount of *Milan*. At the age of seventeen, he was invested with the marquissate of *Moravia* by king *John*, his father. He repaired the castle of *Prague*, re-united to the crown of *Bohemia* a great many lands which the barons had usurped, and settled the affairs of that kingdom, which were in great disorder. He likewise had signalized himself in some military expeditions: he marched against *Bucer*, duke of *Munsterberg*, who refused to do homage to the king his father, and compelled him to submit: he went to war with the count of *Goritz*, who had sided with the dukes of *Austria*: he accompanied his father in an irruption into *Lithuania*: he made a second journey into *Italy*, where he obliged the *Venetians* to raise the siege of *Parma*, took from d them the city of *Belluna*, and then concluded a peace with that republic: he erected into an archbishop's see the bishopric of *Prague*, which had been suffragan to *Mentz*, and empowered the archbishop to perform the office of coronation to the kings of *Bohemia*. In a word, he acquired a good deal of reputation by his wise government; so that, upon the death of his father (R), he was, with the unanimous consent of the people, raised to the *Bohemian* throne<sup>k</sup>. The first step he took after this elevation, was to make new preparations for war against the emperor *Lewis*; and having raised a powerful army, he set out for *Bavaria*, in order to obey the dictates of revenge; but, in the middle of his march, receiving the news of that emperor's death, "Praised be God, said he, in the wonders of his providence, for having spared me the effusion of Christian blood, and deprived me of the e " opportunity of being avenged upon my enemies!" Then, changing his route, he advanced into the heart of the empire, and was acknowledged as king and emperor of the *Romans* by *Ratisbon*, *Nuremberg*, and four-and-twenty other imperial cities of the *Rhine* (S).

<sup>i</sup> AVENTIN. ann. ubi supra.

<sup>k</sup> Hist. Luxemb. l. li.

<sup>1</sup> HEISS, l. ii. c. 27.

(Q) *Lewis* first married the daughter of a count, whose name is not known; and she died without issue. His second wife was *Beatrix*, daughter of *Henry* duke of *Glogaw*, by whom he had *Lewis*, marquis of *Brandenburg*; *Stephen*, who was deformed; *Beatrix*, married to *Charles*, king of *Hungary*; *Anne*, wife of *Mustine Lescalle*, lord of *Verona*; and *Mathilda*, who espoused *Frederic the Severe*, marquis of *Misnia*. The emperor's third wife was *Margaret*, daughter of *William III.* count of *Holland*, by whom he had *William*, *Albert*, *Otho*, and *Lewis*; *Elizabeth*, first married to *John*, duke of *Low Bavaria*, and afterwards to *Ulric*, count of *Wirtemberg*; *Agnes* a nun; and *Anne*, wife of *Gunther de Schwartzburg*, who disputed the empire with *Charles IV.* king of *Bohemia*.

*Lewis* of *Bavaria* was the first emperor who had a double eagle engraved upon his seal. In his reign the count palatine founded the university of *Heidelberg*; and

there was such abundance of wine upon the *Rhine* and the *Moselle*, that it was used to slake lime. The people then contrived those huge tuns, one of which is still to be seen at *Heidelberg* (1).

(R) This was the blind king of *Bohemia*, who was slain in the battle of *Cressy* by the *English*, and whose motto, *Ich dien*, was adopted by the prince of *Wales* (2).

(S) Though he was acknowledged by the magistrates of *Nuremberg*, the citizens took arms, obliged him to fly, and declared for *Lewis* of *Brandenburg*, to whom they opened their gates. He was also affronted in divers other places: at *Worms* he was arrested by a butcher, who had furnished him with meat: at *Rottenburg* on the *Neckar* he presented himself in a tournament, under the name of *Schilbard* of *Rechberg*, where he was unhorsed by one *de la Pieve*, to whom he was obliged to pay the forfeit (3).

(1) Struv. period. ix. sect. 5. Heinec. de veter. Germ. aliarumque nation. sigil. Barre, tom. vi. p. 665. (2) Barre, tom. vi. p. 652. (3) Adzkreitter. p. ii. l. iv.

Thus



Several competitors set up in opposition to him.

Thus established, he returned to his kingdom of *Bohemia*, and next year began to build the new city of *Prague*. He had no sooner retired to his own dominions, than *Henry*, archbishop of *Mentz*, *Robert*, count palatine, *Lewis*, marquis of *Brandenburg*, and *Erich*, duke of *Saxony*, who had not assisted at the election, assembled at *Loeſtein*, and chose *Edward*, king of *England*, emperor; but that prince declining the dignity with suitable acknowledgements to the electors, they proceeded to the nomination of *Frederic*, landgrave of *Thuringia*, who, being afflicted with the gout, renounced his pretensions in favour of *Charles* for ten thousand marks of silver<sup>m</sup>. The same electors, notwithstanding this repulse, chose in his room *Gunther*, count of *Schartzenberg*, a nobleman of great courage, and unquestionable merit, who accepted the honour, on condition that the electors should conduct him to *Frankfort*, and publicly proclaim him emperor in that city. This condition he stipulated, because the magistrates and citizens of *Frankfort* pretended to have a right of refusing entrance to any king of the *Romans*, or emperor, who had not been unanimously elected, until he should have overcome his competitor, or at least tarried six weeks and three days before the city, without being questioned by his rival. The electors promised to comply with *Gunther's* demand, and actually assisted him in raising an army sufficient to compel the city to open its gates, in case of a refusal. Accordingly, being denied admission, he undertook the siege of it, which having lasted two months, the citizens were obliged to open their gates, because *Charles* had not marched to their relief. During his residence in this city, he fell sick, in consequence of his having taken a medicine which his physician had poisoned (T); and, during his illness, he was so powerfully solicited by the emperor *Charles* to quit his pretensions to the empire, that at length he resigned in his favour, for the consideration of two-and-twenty thousand marks of silver; and dying in a month after, was honourably interred by his competitor<sup>n</sup>.

A. D. 1349.

*GUNTHER*, in all probability, would have rejected such a scandalous composition, had he not felt his faculties and health greatly impaired by the poison he had received, and found himself abandoned by his best friends, whom *Charles* had found means to gain over to his interest by slight presents, and magnificent promises. Among these was *Lewis*, marquis of *Brandenburg*, who persuaded *Gunther* to resign the imperial crown, and was for this good office invested by the *Bohemian* with the marquisate of *Brandenburg*<sup>o</sup>.

Charles chastises the city of Frankfort.

*CHARLES*, however, was resolved to chastise the city of *Frankfort* for having received *Gunther*; and, without having any regard to their pretended right, he deprived them of their privileges and fair, which he transferred to *Mentz*. Nevertheless, he afterwards restored these privileges, but taxed the city in the sum of twenty thousand marks of silver. Being thus rid of all his competitors, he, by his address, prevailed upon those electors who had opposed him to confirm his election, and with his empress, who was daughter of the count palatine, received the crown at *Aix-la-Chapelle* from the hands of the archbishop of *Cologne*. During this ceremony, a quarrel arose between the marquesses of *Juliers* and *Brandenburg*, about bearing the sceptre; and *Charles* himself interposing, decided the dispute in favour of the marquis of *Brandenburg*, after having taken the advice of the princes<sup>p</sup>.

Is crowned.

*CHARLES*, being universally acknowledged, began to employ his mediation towards reconciling the partizans of *Lewis* with the holy see, and the re-establishment of peace in the empire, when all at once this happy prospect was destroyed by an insurrection against the *Jews*, whom the people considered as the authors of a dreadful plague, that ravaged the coasts of the *Mediterranean*, and diffused its contagion thro' *Savoy*, *Switzerland*, *Alsace*, *Suabia*, *Franconia*, and some other provinces of the empire.

A dreadful plague attributed to the practices of the Jews;

THE miserable *Jews*, detested on the score of religion, had lived under the immediate protection of the emperors ever since their first settlement in *Germany*; and as many of them had acquired large fortunes by usury, they became the objects of envy as well as of abhorrence; so that it was in the power of any enthusiast or artful schemer to expose their nation to the fury of the populace, according to the dictates of avarice or superstition. At this juncture they were said to have poisoned the wells and fountains; and this extravagant notion prevailed to such a degree, that the *Jews* were put to the torture in *Bonn*, and several other cities; and, tho' they still refused to own the imputed crime, a great number of those

<sup>m</sup> SPOND. an. Contin. Bar. t. i. p. 686. AVENT. ann. l. vii. p. 634. <sup>n</sup> Vide auct. sup. citat. KRATZ. Sax. l. ix. c. 26. <sup>o</sup> STRUV. period. ix. sect. 6. <sup>p</sup> ALBERT. ARGENT. SPINER. ad ann. 1349.

(T) The physician's name was *Fredank*, supposed to be bribed by *Charles*. When he presented the medicine, he was desired by one present to take it before the emperor. *Gunther*, perceiving him hesitate, ordered him to swallow part of it, and he obeyed; upon which the

count took the remainder: but observing the physician's countenance changed, he suspected the treachery, and endeavoured by vomits to expel the poison, which therefore had not an immediate effect. As for *Fredank*, he died in three days (1).



a unfortunate wretches were poniarded, burnt, and drowned, by the incensed populace; nor was it in the power of the civil magistrates to prevent such cruel sacrifices. At *Strasburg*, the common people, under the conduct of a butcher, deposed the magistracy, and investing their chief with absolute power, he ordered two thousand *Jews* to be burnt alive, confiscated their effects, and decreed, that no individuals of that nation should be admitted into *Strasburg* for the term of one hundred years. who are massacred at Bonn, and divers other places in Germany.

Tho' the populace were the perpetrators of this inhuman tragedy, they were instigated and abetted by the bishop and several other noblemen, who owed considerable sums to the *Jews*, and took this method of discharging their debts; nor would they listen to any pacific terms, until the emperor promised, in behalf of the sufferers, that the sums due to them should never be demanded (U).

*CHARLES*, finding his finances exhausted by those largesses, in consequence of which he ascended the imperial throne, and being moreover importuned by some of the princes to perform the promises he had made to them before his election, endeavoured to raise subsidies, by imposing new taxes and tolls upon rivers, which had well nigh involved the whole empire in confusion; for the magistrates of *Strasburg* not only refused to pay these impositions, but even blocked up the *Rhine* with stakes and chains, so as intirely to obstruct the navigation. A. D. 1350. Charles imposes new tolls upon the Rhine;

THIS project miscarrying, the emperor had recourse to another expedient: he mortgaged the domains of the empire to divers noblemen and cities, and allowed others to redeem those that were already mortgaged; by which means he raised a considerable sum of money. *Haguenau* purchased, at a very high rate, an exemption from being comprehended in the number of those towns which the noblemen united to their domains. It was confirmed in all the privileges conferred upon it by *Richard* king of the *Romans*, and particularly in that of its being unalienable from the domains of the empire. The same prerogative was afterwards bestowed upon all the towns of the prefecture of *Alsace*; but they could never obtain an independency of the jurisdiction of the grand bailie, nor of the princes whom the emperor had invested with that dignity. The imperial towns of *Alsace*, indeed, employed all their endeavours to free themselves from the authority of the princes, which, they apprehended, would in time degenerate into oppression; and they made strong remonstrances on the subject to *Charles*, who, without paying the least regard to their claims, mortgaged the prefecture of the province to *Robert*, count palatine of the *Rhine*, for fifty thousand florins; and the towns were, after some restitution, obliged to submit. and establishes the jurisdiction of the grand bailie in Alsace.

IN the midst of these transactions, the enemies of *Lewis* of *Bavaria*, marquis of *Brandenburg*, renewed the old imposture of the pretended *Waldemar* in the person of one *Muller-Meinckez*, who confidently asserted, that he was the real margrave returned from *Palestine*, and insisted upon being repossessed of his dominions, which, he said, were usurped by *Lewis* of *Bavaria*. As he resembled the late margrave, and mimicked his deportment, in consequence of having been his groom, the common people espoused his cause, which was likewise supported by the dukes of *Saxony*, and the princes of *Anhalt* and *Mecklenburg*, enemies to *Lewis* of *Bavaria*. The imposture of the pretended Waldemar is revived, and occasions great disturbances in the north.

THE king of *Denmark*, incensed at the countenance they gave this impostor against his friend and brother-in-law *Lewis*, equipped a considerable fleet, and made a descent upon the territories of *Mecklenburg*, which he ravaged with fire and sword: then he undertook the siege of *Berlin*, tho' he had not time to finish that enterprize; for the duke, who had already defeated *Lewis*, surnamed *the Roman*, brother of the margrave, appeared at the head of a strong army, and a battle must have ensued, had not the ministers of both princes advised an accommodation, which was effected under the arbitration of the king of *Sweden*, who

<sup>a</sup> LUNIC. t. vii. Arch. Imp. p. 18.

<sup>r</sup> LUNIC. Arch. Imper.

(U) During this plague, the sect of *Flagellants* revived; and this taste for self-discipline became so general, that crowds of people of all ranks, sexes, and condition, abandoned themselves to this cruel superstition. Two hundred of these disciplinants from *Suabia*, crossing the *Rhine*, repaired to *Spire*, and assembling before the cathedral, stripped off their cloaths, and whipped themselves with scourges pointed with iron. The extremities of the weather could not stop their career: they would not speak to any woman: they lay upon the hard ground, and admitted none into their association but such as had wherewithal to maintain themselves during the term pre-

scribed for their penance: they walked by twos and threes in procession, with their eyes fixed upon the earth, crosses on their cloaths and hats, and a rich standard carried before them: their number acquired the addition of one hundred at *Spire*, and increased considerably at *Strasburg*: in short, this confraternity was augmented to some thousands, and became so formidable, that the pope fulminated bulls, the emperor issued edicts against them, and the princes refused to admit them into their dominions; by which precautions, all bad consequences were prevented, and the society in a little time dispersed (1).

(1) *Chronic. Alfac.*



decreed, that *Lewis the Roman* should ransom his people who were taken prisoners, and absolve from their oath of allegiance those towns of *Mecklenburg* antiently included in *Wandalia*; and that he should marry the daughter of the duke of *Mecklenburg*, who, on his part, should abandon the pretended *Waldemar*.

Diet at  
Sprenberg.

*CHARLES*, who had likewise protected this pretender, and even issued a decree in his favour, thought proper to renounce him publicly in a diet held at *Sprenberg*; and *Lewis*, surnamed *the Roman*, being declared lawful possessor of the estates of *Brandenburg*, this counterfeit competitor disappeared.

Charles sends  
succours to the  
empress dow-  
ager;

AFTER the assembly at *Sprenberg*, in which *Eric*, duke of *Saxony*, ceded to the king of *Denmark* a certain tribute, called *Stuergelde*, paid by the regency of *Lubec*, which had been mortgaged to the *Saxons*, *Charles* returned to *Prague*, which was the place of his residence. Here he had established a famous university, while yet no more than king of *Bohemia*, and set proper persons at work to form a code of laws to regulate the police of his kingdom. From hence he detached a body of troops to the *Low Countries* to the assistance of the empress-dowager, heiress of those dominions, and at war with her own son *William*, who endeavoured to deprive her of one-half of her possessions. She was a princess of a masculine spirit, and with the succours she received from *England* and *Bohemia*, took the field against this undutiful child, whom she defeated in a pitched battle, and compelled to retire into *Holland*, of which he was count. But he soon re-appeared, at the head of a more formidable army, assembled from *Cleves*, *Guelderland*, and the neighbouring provinces, and in his turn obtained a complete victory over his mother, who was obliged to fly for refuge into *England*. An accommodation was afterwards effected by the mediation of the *English* monarch, on condition that the empress should rest contented with the possession of *Hainault*, and *William* remain master of *Holland*, *Zealand*, and *Friezland*.

who is de-  
feated by her  
son.

A. D. 1551.

The archbi-  
shop of Milan  
takes Bologna,  
and threatens  
Florence;

BUT the emperor did not interest himself so much in this contention, as in the deplorable condition of *Italy*, where an infinite number of petty tyrants, declaring themselves independent of the empire, as well as of the holy see, committed every species of outrage upon those who were unable to resist their power. The chief of these oppressors was *John Visconti*, archbishop of *Milan*. He made himself master of the city of *Bologna*, in direct contradiction to the remonstrances of the pope, who for that reason thundered out a bull of excommunication against him and his three nephews, *Galeazo*, *Bernabo*, and *Matthew*, the sons of *Stephen Visconti*.

NOTWITHSTANDING these anathemas, the archbishop, under the specious pretext of defending the liberty of the people against the encroachments of the *Florentines*, began to make preparations for enterprizes of greater moment: in order to oppose this formidable prelate, a league was formed between the republics of *Florence*, *Pisa*, and some other states; and *Charles* sent letters to the pope, in which he promised to cross the *Alps*, and chastise that rebellious son of the church.

but is after-  
wards recon-  
ciled to the  
pope.

THE archbishop, apprized of his intention, was alarmed at the prospect, and forthwith made strong advances towards an accommodation with the pope, who being himself jealous of the imperial power, and very unwilling to see *Charles* in the midst of *Italy*, gave ear to his solicitations, which were backed with a large sum of money, and granted him the investiture of *Milan* and *Bologna*, after having absolved him from the censure of the church.

The town of  
Zurich re-  
volts.

A. D. 1352.

The dukes of  
Austria form  
a league  
against it.

THIS reconciliation did not divert the emperor from his purpose of crossing the *Alps*, though his march was delayed for some time by the domestic troubles of *Germany*. The inhabitants of *Zurich*, thinking themselves aggrieved by the mal-administration of justice, expelled their magistrates, who interested the count *de Hapsburg* in their behalf, and even prevailed upon him to undertake the surprisal of the city. He accordingly, with some accomplices, entered the town in disguise; but being discovered, he was taken prisoner and loaded with chains; and the people, running to arms, ravaged his lands, and took possession of his castle of *Raperswille*. These proceedings alarmed the dukes of *Austria*, whose possessions lay contiguous to those of the count: they therefore espoused the quarrel, and formed a league with *Strasburg*, *Basil*, *Colmar*, *Scelestadt*, and *Friburg*, in order to curb the insolence of *Zurich*. This town, seeing the storm ready to burst upon its head, fortified itself with the alliance of *Sultz*, *Uri*, *Undewald*, and *Lucerne*, which last, though belonging to the house of *Austria*, resolved to take this opportunity of establishing its own independency.

*ALBERT* of *Austria*, surnamed *the Sage*, having made suitable preparations for the war, demanded the enlargement of the count *de Hapsburg*, which being refused by the inhabitants of *Zurich*, he took the field, fully resolved to besiege the city; but several noblemen, foreseeing the miseries of a civil war, interposed their good offices, and arbitrators were



a chosen to decide the difference, which was compromised, on condition that the count *de Hapsburg* should be set at liberty, and all the places restored, which had been taken from the house of *Austria*. *The difference is accommodated;*

THIS peace, however, was not of long duration. The town of *Zug*, having enjoyed a transient taste of the sweets of liberty, allied itself more strictly than ever to the confederated *Swiss*. *Albert* complaining to the emperor of this association, as a direct infraction of the last treaty, and a dangerous example in the empire, *Charles* interested himself in the dispute; and, repairing to *Constance*, appointed proper persons to treat with the *Swiss*, and endeavour to terminate the affair in an amicable manner: but the confederates persisting in their refusal to submit to the house of *Austria*, all that he could obtain was a suspension of arms, until a more solid accommodation could be effected: in the mean time he made a progress through *Alsace*, where he established several wholesome regulations for the maintenance of the public tranquillity. *but breaks out afresh.*

b HAVING performed this visitation, he returned to *Strasburg*, where, being importuned by duke *Albert* to take vengeance on the rebellious *Swiss*, he levied an army, and advanced against the enemy, whom he found already ranged in order of battle; but a dispute arising between the duke of *Austria* and the bishop of *Constance* about leading the van, the spirit of the officers was exhausted in vain altercation; and the emperor, judging it improper to begin the attack while his commanders were so divided among themselves, retired at leisure from the neighbourhood of *Zurich*, while *Albert* remained to form the blockade of that city. *Charles takes the field in person against the Swiss, A. D. 1353:*

c ON his return from this expedition he was made acquainted with the death of pope *Clement VI.* and the succession of *Innocent VI.* to whom he sent letters of congratulation, which were answered by the new pontiff in very gracious terms; but he could not yet execute his design of going to *Italy*, because he was detained by fresh commotions in *Germany*. He was obliged to go and suppress a popular insurrection at *Nuremberg*; and to decide a competition between two pretenders to the archbishopric of *Mentz*, one of whom had been deposed, and the other substituted in his room, by pope *Clement VI.* He confirmed the ancient privileges of the church of *Triers*, incorporated *Lusace* with the kingdom of *Bohemia*, renewed the peace with the house of *Bavaria*, and received from *Lewis* the imperial ensigns, which before this period he would not surrender. Then he made a circuit through the provinces to establish peace, and conciliate the affections of the people: he made a public entry into *Mentz* as king of *Bohemia*; for the magistrates would not receive him in quality of king of the *Romans*, because he had not yet received the imperial crown. During his stay in this city, he erected the counties of *Luxemburg* and of *Bar* into duchies, in favour of his brother *Winceslaus*, and his cousin *Robert de Bar*, whose lordship of *Pont-à-mousson* was likewise raised into a marquisate and principality of the empire. *A. D. 1354.*

d HAVING regulated the affairs of *Germany*, and appointed his father-in-law, *Robert* count palatine, vicar of the empire, he resolved to cross the *Alps*, according to an agreement which he had made with pope *Innocent VI.* By the beginning of *January* he had arrived at *Milan*, where he was crowned king of *Lombardy* on the day of *Epiphany*. From thence he repaired to *Pisa*, where he tarried some time, in order to compose the divisions of *Tuscany*, and to receive homage from the cities of that province; then he visited *Sienna*, from whence he rode post to *Rome*, which he entered in disguise with some of his nobles on *Holy Week*, during which he visited the principal churches of the city; but on the day of the resurrection, which was the fifth of *April*, he made a solemn procession from his camp into the city, where he was joyfully received by the pope's legate, senators, clergy, and people of *Rome*, and on *Easter-day* crowned with the empress's, who had followed him from *Germany* for that purpose. *Sets out for Italy; receives the iron crown at Milan; A. D. 1355.*

e THIS ceremony was no sooner performed than he quitted the city of *Rome*, in consequence of the agreement he had made with the pope, although the *Romans* came to offer him the government of *Rome* as his hereditary right, and intreated him to re-establish their ancient liberty. He told the deputies he would deliberate upon the proposal; but, being apprehensive of some treachery, he sneaked out of the city in the evening, on pretence of going to take the diversion of hunting; and afterwards ratified and confirmed, by authentic acts, all the promises he had made to *Clement* and the reigning pope, so much to the prejudice of the empire in *Italy*. *and the imperial crown at Rome.*

f HIS pusillanimous conduct excited the indignation of the *Germans* and the contempt of the *Italians*. The noblemen of his retinue looked upon his coronation as the æra of the empire's decay, as all her rights in *Italy* were now totally annihilated. He sustained divers

<sup>a</sup> ALBERT. ARGENT. CHRON. p. 162.

<sup>x</sup> BARRE, t. vi. p. 706. & seq.

<sup>y</sup> FLEURI, t. xx. l. 96.



and is insulted  
in divers  
parts of  
Italy.

insults on the road in his return to *Germany*: there was an attempt made to burn him in his lodgings at *Pisa*, from whence he escaped with great difficulty, after having seen several persons of his train massacred by the populace. The greatest part of the towns attached to the empire shut their gates against him: at *Cremona* he was obliged to wait without the walls two long hours for the answer of the magistrates, who at length permitted him to enter as a simple stranger, without arms or retinue, and continue for the space of one month only<sup>a</sup> (X).

Supports the  
Guelphs  
against the  
Gibelines.

HE seemed to have renounced intirely the politics of his predecessors; for he not only discouraged and rejected the proffers of the *Gibelines*, who espoused the interests of the empire, but he affected to treat them as enemies to religion, and actually sent a reinforcement of troops from *Bohemia* to the assistance of the *Guelphs*, who by these means recovered some places which had been taken from the holy see; and, in consideration of these services, he was applauded and flattered by the pope and his dependents with the most fulsome adulation.

Troubles in  
Lower Ger-  
many.

WHILE he acted this absurd part in maintaining the temporalities of the pope, he seemed to neglect the troubles which agitated the northern parts of *Germany*. A war had broke out between the dukes of *Mecklenburg* and *Stettin* about some frontier fortresses, and was carried on with great violence for some years, until *Waldemar*, king of *Denmark*, undertook the office of arbitrator, and effected an accommodation. Then marching against the princes of *Sclavia* and *Verle*, who had revolted, he defeated their forces and ravaged their dominions, where he committed great cruelties. After this expedition, he consented that a dispute, subsisting between him and the counts of *Holstein*, should be referred to the arbitration of *Eric* duke of *Saxony*, and *Gerhard* count de *Hoja*: they decreed, that his *Danish* majesty, to whom the counts of *Holstein* had ceded one-half of *Fionia*, should relinquish all pretensions to that county, and release the *Holstein* prisoners which he had taken in the last war<sup>b</sup>.

Returns to  
Germany.  
A. D. 1356.

BESIDES these contests, there were other disputes which hastened the return of *Charles* to *Germany*; namely, those proceeding from an opinion of equality, which prevailed among the princes of the empire; and this opinion was derived from the election of the emperors, the form of which was not as yet reduced to writing. The number of electors was not yet fixed, nor the quality limited to any particular princes; for the principal states were in general called electors, because all had equally the right of voting. The emperor therefore resolved to settle this point, that due subordination should take place, and future elections be performed without confusion or disorder. For this purpose he ordered a diet to be convoked at *Nuremberg*, to which the electors, princes, counts, noblemen, and deputies of the free towns, repaired in great number: but, before the chief design of their meeting was brought upon the carpet, the emperor issued a particular decree, touching the difference which *Lewis* and *Stephen*, dukes of *Bavaria*, had with *Robert* count palatine of the *Rhine*. The emperor had made an agreement with his nephews, the counts palatine, that the right of voting as an elector should be alternately exercised by the chiefs of the two houses; and now the dukes of *Bavaria* wished to see this convention confirmed by *Charles*, who, from his hatred to the posterity of *Lewis*, pronounced a sentence, by which this right of voting was vested intirely in the count palatine, and the other branches of the house of *Bavaria* were excluded from this privilege.

Convokes a  
diet, in which  
the famous  
edict called  
The Golden  
Bull is pu-  
blished.

*LEWIS the Roman* approved of this decree, and for this instance of complaisance received the investiture of the marquisate of *Brandenburg*; but *Lewis the elder* and *Stephen* presented a memorial to the diet, containing a detail of their pretensions; and this being overlooked, protested in form against the decree<sup>c</sup>.

THIS affair being discussed, the assembly deliberated upon the other more important affair; and it was not only resolved, that many customs, which had never been reduced to writing, should, in the form of constitutions, be augmented, with several regulations for

<sup>a</sup> BARRE; t. ii. p. 718.

<sup>b</sup> MEURSIUS Hist. Dan.

<sup>c</sup> REBDORF ad an. 1456. n. 18.

(X) The poet *Petrarch*, who adhered to the party of the *Gibelines*, reproached him in a letter couched in these terms: "You have then promised upon oath, that you will never return to *Rome*. What shameful conduct in an emperor, to be compelled by *Rome* to content himself with the bare title of *Cæsar*, and exile himself for ever from the habitation of the *Cæsars*! to be crowned emperor, and then prohibited from reigning, or acting as chief of

"the empire: what an insult upon him who ought to command the universe, to be no longer master of himself, but be reduced to obey his own vassal (1)."

*Charles* is justly reproached for his too great complaisance to the pope; for, by the treaties which were made between them, they seemed to act in concert for the destruction of the empire; one by his avarice, and the other by his ambition to extend the patrimony of *St. Peter*, to the prejudice of the imperial fiefs (2).

(1) *De Vit. Solit.* l. ii. sect. 4. c. iii.

(2) *Spond. Cont. Baron.* t. i. p. 737.



- a the public good; but also to compose and publish the celebrated edict touching the form and ceremonies of the election of emperors, the number of electors, their particular functions, rights, and privileges, together with every circumstance relating to the government of the empire. This is the famous edict called *The Golden Bull* (Z), composed of thirty articles, three-and-twenty of which were confirmed in this assembly, where the emperor sat on his throne, wearing the crown and other imperial ornaments, and heard them read and published with the unanimous consent and approbation of all present.<sup>d</sup> Towards the latter end of that same year another diet was held at *Metz*, where the other seven articles were added in presence of the same electors, princes, and states, as well as of the cardinal-bishop of *Alva*, *Charles* the eldest son of *France*, who was duke
- b of *Normandy*, dauphin of *Vienne*, and the emperor's own nephew.<sup>e</sup> This edict being published, with all the formalities necessary to make it a fundamental law of the empire, the emperor, in order to put the articles in execution, prepared a magnificent entertainment, at which each of the electors should exercise his own particular function. The emperor and empress in their royal robes, having heard a solemn mass, repaired to the place appointed for the festival, accompanied by all the prelates and princes; and being seated at a table raised upon a scaffold in the market-place, *Lewis* archbishop of *Mentz*, *Connon* archbishop of *Triers*, and *Frederic* archbishop of *Cologne*, as arch-chancellors of *Germany*, *Gaul*, and *Italy*, appeared on horseback, each having a seal hanging from his neck, and a letter in his right hand. They were followed by the four secular electors, likewise on horseback.
- c The first of these was *Winceflaus*, duke of *Saxony*, with a silver peck full of oats in his right hand, as arch-marshal of the empire; and, as it was his function to regulate the precedency, he alighted, and put each of his colleagues in his proper place. Then *Otho*, marquis of *Brandenburg*, dismounting, presented the emperor and empress with water to wash in an ewer of gold, placed in a basin of the same metal. *Robert the Red*, count palatine of the *Rhine*, served up the victuals in plates of gold; and *Winceflaus* duke of *Luxemburg* and *Brabant*, the emperor's nephew, representing the king of *Bohemia*, who was the emperor himself, placed upon one corner of the table a golden flaggon full of wine, of which he presented a draught to the emperor in a cup of gold. After the electors rode the marquis of *Misnia*, and the count of *Schwartzenburg*, great huntsmen, sounding their horns, who, being followed by their hounds, killed a stag and a bear in presence of the emperor, who, after dinner, having bestowed presents upon the electors, princes, counts, and noblemen, gave
- d them leave to depart, and put an end to the diet.<sup>f</sup> A. D. 1357.
- FROM *Metz* the emperor marched against the dukes of *Bavaria*, who had formed a league with the princes of *Austria*, in order to maintain their rights, which they conceived were invaded by the golden bull; and he compelled them to renounce this alliance, and agree to an accommodation on reasonable terms. Then he took the route to *Prague*, where he finished the citadel of *Carlestein*, not without attracting the jealousy of his subjects, whom, however, he found means to appease, by reminding them of the care he took to increase and confirm their prerogatives in the golden bull.
- e BUT one article of that famous constitution produced great disturbance in some of the imperial towns. This related to the *Phalburgers*, or false burghers; and ordained, that the burghers belonging to any prince should not be received as free citizens in the imperial towns. The design of this law was to prevent subjects from withdrawing themselves from the obedience and dominion of their natural lords; but under this pretext the princes endeavoured to deprive the people of the undoubted right they have from nature to shift the place of their residence, in order to better their situation in life. Among others, the inhabitants of *Strasburg* were expressly forbid to give the freedom of their city to strangers; and this prohibition they rejected, as an infringement of their privileges.
- f WHILE *Strasburg* thus defended its rights from innovation, *Alsace* was ravaged by a troop of robbers, who distinguished themselves by the appellations of *Malandrines*, *Tard Venus*, or late comers, and *Great Companies*. They were originally formed of deserters from the armies of *France* and *England*, and grew to such a pitch of insolence and power, that the emperor was obliged to assemble the forces of the empire, which drove them out of *Germany*. Then they marched towards *Avignon*, in order to lay the pope and cardinals under contribution; but finding it impracticable to make themselves masters of that place, which was defended by the marquis de *Montferrat*, the greatest part of them inlisted under

The emperor prepares a festival, at which each elector performs his own peculiar function.

Charles marches against the dukes of Bavaria. A. D. 1358.

Disturbances occasioned by the Phalburgers;

and a band of freebooters, called Tard Venus.

<sup>d</sup> BARRE, t. vi. p. 724 & seq.    <sup>e</sup> SPOND. CONT. t. i. p. 744. KRANTZ. l. ix. c. 29. Chron. Comit. de Mark. ex MEIB. t. i. p. 406.    <sup>f</sup> HEISS, l. ii. c. 27.

(Z) So named from a golden seal, called *Bulla*. A translation of this famous edict will be inserted at the end of this history of the empire.



the banners of that experienced commander, who led them against the *Milanese*, whom he defeated in several engagements <sup>a</sup>.

The emperor  
returns to  
Bohemia.

ON his return to *Bohemia* his whole care was engrossed in accumulating treasure, and extending the frontiers of his hereditary kingdom, which he considered as his real patrimony. He had already augmented it with the addition of *Silesia*, which he held of *Poland*, and *Lusatia*, which was a fief of the empire; nay, he even sold new privileges to several cities, and for money increased the rights and power of other dominions. He left no stone unturned to enrich himself; but anticipated the wish of those who wanted to sell, give, mortgage, or alienate, the lands and privileges of the empire, as if he had entered into a league with foreign princes, in order to weaken its power <sup>b</sup> (A).

A. D. 1358.  
Encourages the  
liberal arts,

IN other respects he was not a bad prince, although the *Germans* have no great cause to applaud his reign, because he expressed no zeal for the glory and dignity of the empire. It must be confessed, nevertheless, that he possessed some qualities that were very commendable: he was perfectly well acquainted with the languages, and an encourager of the liberal arts. An illustrious proof of his munificence in this particular is the university of *Prague*, which he founded on the model of that of *Paris*, having procured copies of its statutes, while he was employed in his studies in *France*. He expressed great aversion to the ambition and pomp of ecclesiastics, which was at that time excessive, and even made public remonstrances to the bishops, when they gave him reason to complain on this head <sup>c</sup>. He applied himself with extraordinary care to the administration of justice, and usually sat in person as a check upon the judge; but, on the other hand, he was inexcusably remiss in the affairs of *Italy*, where every thing relapsed into the utmost confusion. He had sold, for a large sum of money, to the dukes called *Sforza*, the vicariate of *Lombardy*, with the state of *Milan*; and he found his own private interest in neglecting to recover the cities of *Padua*, *Verona*, *Vicenza*, together with the other dominions of the empire and their jurisdictions, which the *Venetians* had gradually appropriated to themselves, and now peaceably enjoyed.

and is particularly  
attentive to the ad-  
ministration of  
justice.

He sells the  
imperial ju-  
risdictions in  
Italy.

The princes of the empire, excited by the universities of *Germany*, represented to him, that, among the bulls of pope *Clement VI.* there were some that reflected disgrace upon him and the *Germanic* body, especially that which imports the emperors to be vassals of the pope. In consequence of this representation, *Charles* wrote to his holiness, desiring that this odious insinuation might be cancelled; but *Innocent VI.* gave him to understand, that it was become a fundamental law of the church; and, in order to amuse the emperor in his turn, sent the bishop of *Cavaillon* as his prelate into *Germany* to demand the tenth of all ecclesiastical revenues for the benefit of the holy see. This extraordinary demand alarmed the clergy and the princes of *Germany* to such a degree, that the emperor convoked a diet at *Mentz*, to deliberate upon the subject, and the result of their deliberations was a flat refusal delivered to the nuncio, with heavy complaints of the pope's presumption <sup>d</sup> (B).

A. D. 1359.  
Difference be-  
tween the em-  
peror and  
pope.

Troubles in  
the north of  
Germany.

AT this period the provinces situated in the center of *Germany* enjoyed peace and tranquillity; but *Charles* seemed to neglect the northern parts, which were almost always involved with *Waldemar* king of *Denmark*, who, by imposing a severe tax upon the *Futlanders*, had provoked these people to revolt, and they were supported by the duke of *Sleswick* and the counts of *Holstein*. In the beginning of this war the confederates were success- <sup>e</sup>

<sup>a</sup> BARRE, t. vi. p. 757.  
Hist. Ecclesiast. t. xx. l. 96.

<sup>b</sup> AVENT. Ann. Boior. l. vii. p. 639.

<sup>c</sup> NAUCLER. gener. 46.

<sup>d</sup> FLAURI,

(A) The incorporation of these two provinces with the kingdom of *Bohemia* involved him in a war with the duke of *Austria*, who represented to the states the bad consequence of such an alienation from the empire; but his real motive was to appropriate to himself the province of *Lusatia*, upon which he had long looked with a wishful eye. In order to determine this difference, the two princes took the field; and the emperor perceiving himself greatly inferior to the enemy, he seduced by his promises three of the duke's principal officers, who persuaded their master that the emperor's forces were infinitely superior to his, and produced a forged list of his troops, which they pretended to have intercepted. In consequence of these treacherous representations, the duke thought proper to consult his safety by a precipitate flight: when the traitors came afterwards to demand their recompence of the emperor, he expelled them from his court with disgrace, and even

threatened to detect and deliver them to the duke, whom they had betrayed (1).

(B) The emperor, having resolved to reform the *German* clergy, communicated to the bishops the measures he had taken for that purpose, and threatened to sequestrate the revenues of those who should refuse to obey his orders. The pope, believing the honour and liberty of ecclesiastics at stake, desired the emperor to forbear meddling with the reformation of the clergy, which was his province, and insisted upon his restoring what the secular noblemen had at different times usurped from ecclesiastics. *Charles*, in order to pacify *Innocent*, whose resentment he dreaded, published the famous constitution called *The Caroline Bull*, cancelling all the statutes or regulations which had been made to the prejudice of ecclesiastical liberty, and denouncing the severest penalties against those who should aggrieve the persons of the clergy (2).

(1) Cuspinian. in Carol. IV. Cæjare.

(2) Goldast. Constit. Imper. t. ii. p. 92.



a ful; but, in the sequel, *Waldemar* defeated their army, razed the fortifications of *Gumberg*, conquered the inlands of *Langeland* and *Alsen*, and compelled them to sue for peace, which was accordingly ratified at *Stralsund*<sup>1</sup>.

MEAN while pope *Innocent* implored the assistance of the emperor against *Bernabo Visconti*, lord of *Milan*, who was then employed in the siege of *Bologna*, which was garrisoned by the troops of the holy see; but all that he could obtain from *Charles* was an imperial edict, commanding *Bernabo* to desist, which *Visconti* treated with great contempt; and *Bologna* would certainly have fallen into his hands, had not *Galeot Malatesta* entered in the night with a considerable reinforcement; and next day, making a vigorous sally, defeated the enemy with great slaughter.

*Bernabo Visconti besieges Bologna, and is defeated by Malatesta.*

b YET the emperor's indifference on this occasion was not so remarkable as his total neglect of the commotions in *Lower Germany*. The hans towns, being interrupted in their commerce by the *Danes*, had craved his protection in repeated solicitations, which being denied, they renewed their antient alliance, entered into a league with the king of *Norway*, the duke of *Mecklenburg*, and the count of *Holstein*, and equipping a considerable fleet, laid *Copenhagen* under contribution. The war was maintained for some time with various success, till at length, all parties being tired of hostilities, an accommodation took place, though not until his *Danish* majesty made satisfaction for the damage his subjects had done to the trade of the confederates<sup>m</sup>.

*The hans towns maintain a war against the king of Denmark.*

c IN the course of this year the empress was delivered of a son, who was baptized by the name of *Wincelaus*, and his birth was solemnized with great magnificence: but the noblemen, dissatisfied with the sloth and indolence of *Charles*, presented to him a remonstrance, importing, that the occupations of an emperor consisted in holding diets, visiting the provinces, administering justice, and maintaining good order. He paid, however, no regard to these representations; but replied to the deputies, that he was not at all disposed to maintain an emperor in the provinces with the revenues of *Bohemia*. In a word, he was by this time grown extremely covetous, and sold privileges to all the noblemen and towns that chose to pay the price he demanded. The town of *Dille*, in *Upper Alsace*, purchased the power of inflicting death upon certain criminals, and even of conferring the right of burghership on all persons whatever, not excepting the vassals of the noblemen, if they were not reclaimed within the year. The bishop of *Strasbourg* paid a round sum for uniting to his see the landgraviate (C) of *Alsace*, and several fiefs which had been possessed by the counts of *Oettingen*; and it might have been said of *Charles*, that he bought the empire wholesale, and sold it by retail<sup>n</sup>.

*Charles grows extremely avaritious.*

d *JOHN*, bishop of *Strasbourg*, by this new acquisition, excited the jealousy of the inhabitants of *Haguenau*, who committed hostilities upon his vassals, and obliged him to take the field at the head of an army, with which he ravaged their territory, and even invested their city: but a peace was soon concluded by the mediation of *Burcard*, burgrave of *Magdeburg*.

e THESE troubles were hardly appeased when other disturbances arose from the death of *Lewis*, duke of *Bavaria*, who having made no regulations in his will, touching the tutorage of his son *Menhard*, by his second wife *Margaret Maulstach*, heiress of *Carinthia*, his brother *Stephen* took charge of the young prince, who dying in a few months, his tutor was acknowledged duke of *Bavaria*, and received the investiture from the emperor: but *Margaret Maulstach*, who hated the *Bavarian* house, made a formal cession of all her right and pretensions upon the *Tyrol*, the county of *Goritz*, and the territory situated between the *Inn* and the *Adige*, to *Rodolphus* of *Austria*, who promised to take her for his wife; so that a war broke out between the houses of *Austria* and *Bavaria*; and pope *Urban*, who had succeeded *Innocent*, prevailed upon both parties to agree to a truce for three years, in consequence of which each competitor retired to his own dominions<sup>o</sup>.

*War breaks out between the house of Bavaria and Austria.*

f ABOUT this period, *Peter de Lusignan*, king of *Cyprus*, finding himself unable to withstand the power of the *Egyptian* sultan, repaired to *Avignon*, to solicit succours against the

<sup>1</sup> HUITFELD. Hist. Dan. t. iii. an. Boic. gent. par. ii. l. v.

<sup>m</sup> PONTAN. Rer. Danic. Hist.

<sup>n</sup> SPINER. t. ii. l. ii. c. 2.

<sup>o</sup> ADLZR.

(C) The dignity of landgrave was originally a commission given by the emperors to a certain nobleman, constituting him judge and governor of a province, *quamdū se bene gesserit*; but in the sequel it became an hereditary fief; and besides the rights and privileges attached to the dignity, there were certain fiefs united to it, of which some depended immediately upon the em-

perors, and others upon the bishop, or some powerful nobleman of the province; so that the landgraves not only received the investiture of their office, and its fiefs depending upon the empire, from the emperor himself; but they were likewise obliged to do homage for the other fiefs to the lord paramount (1).

(1) Carta Carol. IV. apud Obrecht. in Prod. p. 308.



The emperor solicited in vain to succour the king of Cyprus.

Reconciliation between the pope and Bernabo Visconti. A. D. 1364.

Charles marries the daughter of the duke of Pomerania.

Creates the abbots of Fulde, &c. princes of the empire.

Alsace is again invaded by the banditti,

who are expelled by the emperor. A. D. 1365.

Has an interview with the pope at Avignon;

and engages to march against the usurpers of the church lands.

infidels, and persuade the pope to set on foot a new crusade for the conquest of *Jerusalem*. His holiness and the king of *France* seemed very well disposed to promote this enterprize; but all their remonstrances had no effect upon the emperor, who was not the man to sacrifice the tranquillity he enjoyed to the prospect of uncertain conquest; nor would the *German* princes, though severally exhorted by *Urban* to engage in such a glorious expedition, assist his *Cyprian* majesty with any thing but fair promises, which they had no intention to perform.

*CHARLES*, however, to manifest his regard for the successor of *St. Peter*, interposed his good offices to terminate the war, which still raged in *Italy* between the pope and *Bernabo Visconti*; and finding the latter extremely obstinate, and averse to an accommodation, he ordered all the vicars of the empire in *Italy* to take up arms, and pursue that prince, as an enemy to God, and a rebel to the empire. It was owing to this vigorous step that *Visconti* began to listen to terms of peace, that were confirmed by a treaty; in consequence of which he was absolved from the sentence of excommunication.

THE emperor, notwithstanding his pacific disposition, involved himself in a quarrel with *Lewis*, king of *Hungary*, whose mother he had aspersed; and the licence of his tongue would have intailed upon him a very troublesome war, had not the affair been compromised by the mediation of the pope, who interested himself greatly in the cause of *Peter de Lusignan*, and foresaw that no substantial assistance could be granted to that monarch, while the princes of *Europe* were at variance among themselves. Immediately after this accommodation, *Charles*, being a widower, married *Elizabeth*, daughter of *Bugislaus*, duke of *Pomerania*, and grandchild of *Casimir*, king of *Poland*, who defrayed all the expence of the nuptials, which were celebrated, with incredible magnificence, at *Cracovia*: nor was her reception at *Prague* inferior to the pomp and splendor of her marriage; for the emperor seemed to have laid aside his natural disposition on this occasion. It must be owned, that he knew how to counterfeit those virtues he did not possess: he courted the esteem of strangers by a shew of hospitality; he engaged in great designs, which he had not spirit to execute; he embellished *Prague*, encouraged learning, projected a scheme for the reformation of monks, and raised the abbots of *Fulde*, *Weissembourg*, *Kempten*, and *Mourbach*, the most rich and powerful monks of *Germany*, to the rank and dignity of princes.

His tranquillity was again invaded by another body of freebooters, who made a fresh irruption into *Alsace*, where they plundered towns, villages, and passengers, with impunity; while another army of banditti, under the command of *Arnold de Carnolle*, surnamed the *High Priest*, fell upon *Champagne*, to the number of forty thousand, pillaged the open country, entered *Bar* and *Lorraine*, laid *Metz* under contribution, and afterwards marching into *Alsace*, made incursions to the gates of *Strasburg*. *Charles* being apprized of these outrages, and pressed by the princes of *Germany* to oppose the progress of such lawless ruffians, at length took the field, and having put the most exposed places on the *Rhine* in a posture of offence, marched towards *Strasburg*, where he was joined by a strong reinforcement. *Arnold*, who had committed dreadful ravages in the neighbourhood, finding himself unable to cope with the imperial troops, and having made certain proposals, which were rejected, took the resolution to retreat into *Burgundy*, where he was assassinated by his own followers, who were soon dispersed after the death of their chief.

On the emperor's return from this expedition, his council having represented to him, that he ought to act with more spirit in *Italy*, and hinder the rights and dominions of the empire from falling into the hands of the first comer, he resolved to go to *Avignon*, and conclude an alliance with *Urban V.* and some of the princes of *Italy*, against *Bernabo*, tyrant of *Milan*. There he was honourably received by the pope, and, during his stay, they treated each other with reciprocal marks of the most sincere friendship. The emperor was present in his imperial robes at a solemn mass which the pope sung on the day of *Pentecost*; after which, he went to the city of *Arles*, and was crowned by the hands of the archbishop. Then he returned to *Avignon*, where the treaty was concluded between him, the pope, and several *Italian* princes, against the usurpers of the church-lands, and those belonging to the empire in *Italy*; and as he obliged himself by the treaty to assemble, as soon as possible, a number of troops to march against these usurpers and their adherents, his holiness granted a tenth upon the clergy of *Germany*, to help him to defray the expence of the war. The enterprize, however, was not set on foot till three years after; so little had he at heart the concerns of the empire on the other side of the *Alps*; nay, as an authentic proof of this disregard, some historians relate, that, for one dinner which he received from *Lewis*, duke of *Anjou*, brother of *Charles V.* at *Villeneuve*, near *Avignon*, he yielded to *France* the sove-



a reign of *Dauphiny*, which had been reserved to the empire by the donation which *Humbert*, the last dauphin, made of that province to the crown of *France*.

THE chief design, however, of the assembly at *Avignon*, in which a great number of princes assisted, was to deliberate upon means for subduing those vagabonds who infested the provinces, and for assisting the king of *Cyprus* against the sultan of *Egypt*; but *Charles*, instead of consenting to the measures which were proposed for the relief of that prince, represented the necessity of forming a crusade against the *Turks*, who had already taken *Adrianople*, and threatened all Christendom with destruction.

b AFTER much altercation, the assembly broke up, without having come to any resolutions on these interesting subjects. The banditti continued their devastations to the very gates of *Avignon*, so as to endanger the person of the pope, who, on this account, hastened his departure for *Rome*, after that city had been deserted by the pontiffs for the space of sixty-two years; yet, as the *Viscontis* were masters of all the passages of the *Alps*, and *Urban* was not at all disposed to put himself in their power, he embarked on board a galley belonging to the queen of *Naples*, and made his entry into *Rome*, where he was received with great honours by the clergy and the *Roman* people.

Pope Urban repairs to Rome. A. D. 1367.

c HE had solicited the emperor to march against the *Viscontis*, who continued to tyrannize over the states and cities depending upon the *Roman* see; but *Charles* was resolved to gratify his own indolence, and excused himself from leaving his dominions, on pretence of the war which was now revived between the dukes of *Austria* and *Bavaria*. These princes had actually taken the field to decide their pretensions to the *Tyrol*; and the armies were in fight of one another, when *Waldemar*, king of *Denmark*, arrived from the emperor's court, and prevailed upon the contending parties to agree to the prolongation of the truce.

The dukes of Austria and Bavaria take the field against each other.

d *WALDEMAR* had no sooner transacted this affair to the satisfaction of the emperor, than he was called to his own dominions, in consequence of a revolt in *Sweden*; and in the mean time a war was kindled in *Lower Saxony* by count *Egon*, who endeavoured to make himself master of *Fribourg*, to which he had some pretensions as avoyer, or defender. The inhabitants, who had declared themselves independent, ventured to meet his forces in the field, and were defeated; and *Egon* ceded his right to the house of *Austria*, in consideration of a sum of money; so that *Fribourg* lost that liberty which it had maintained for several years.

A. D. 1368.

Fribourg falls under the dominion of the house of Austria.

e *VISCONTI* still persisting in his hostilities, and *Urban* in his solicitations, the emperor at length determined to cross the *Alps* at the head of an army. With this view, he employed some time in putting the affairs of *Bohemia* in order; and being supplied by the princes of *Germany* with a strong body of forces, he began his march for *Italy*. His first operations were directed against *Verona*, which he took by assault, while the duke of *Austria* reduced *Vicenza*, and compelled the inhabitants to renounce the alliance of the *Viscontis*. *Bernabo*, finding himself unable to cope with the imperial forces, joined by those of the pope, set on foot a negotiation, by means of his son-in-law, *Stephen* duke of *Bavaria*; and peace being made, the pope confirmed the treaty, which was not much for the honour of either.

Makes peace with the Viscontis.

He revokes the privileges of the rebellious towns.

NOTWITHSTANDING this accommodation, the emperor punished the towns and noblemen who had followed the fortunes of *Bernabo*, by revoking the privileges they had obtained from his predecessors, and remained deaf to all their remonstrances and intreaties, until they found means to appease him with sums of money; and then he not only restored, but augmented their prerogatives.

f HAVING nothing else to fear from this quarter, he continued his march to *Viterbo*, where he was met by his holiness, whom he accompanied to *Rome*, where he held the stirrup till the pope alighted, after having led his horse by the bridle to *St. Peter's*, in which the empress was crowned at the altar on the feast of *All Saints*, having been first anointed by the cardinal bishop of *Ostia*. This ceremony being performed, the emperor quitted *Rome*, and retired to *Tuscany*, where he staid some months, during which he exacted a great deal of money from the cities, and even from *Florence* itself, which was fain to purchase his forbearance. Then returning to *Germany*, he convened a diet at *Frankfort*, where measures were taken to maintain the peace of the empire; and in particular an imperial edict was published, in order to prevent the feuds that used to rage among the nobles. These precautions, however, did not hinder *Magnus*, duke of *Brunswic*, and *Gerhard*, Bishop of *Hildesheim*, from taking the field against each other: a battle ensued, in which the latter was victorious. The war was renewed by *Otho*, duke of *Lunenbourg*, who resolved to revenge the disgrace of his kinsman; and after they had fatigued each other with marches and coun-

The empress is crowned at Rome.

War between the duke of Brunswick and the bishop of Hildesheim. A. D. 1369.

\* THEOD. NIEM. Union. tract. 6.

\* Vit. Pap. AVENT. t. i.

\* HUITFELD. t. iii. ad ann. 1364.

\* Chron. Hirsang.

\* Vit. Urb. V.

\* Ric. Bzov. hoc ann.

\* STRUV. period. sect. 6.



Visconti re-  
news the war  
against the  
pope;

but is fain to  
sue for peace.  
A. D. 1370.

The Jutland-  
ers revolt, and  
oblige the king  
of Denmark  
to quit his do-  
minions;

but is after-  
wards restored

War between  
the emperor's  
brother Win-  
ceslaus and the  
duke of Ju-  
liers.  
A. D. 1371.

Proceedings of  
a diet at Nu-  
remberg.

ter-marches, a treaty of peace was concluded. This quarrel did not so much disturb the emperor, as did the war which broke out afresh between the pope and *Visconti*, which last obtained a victory over the troops of his holiness, and filled the whole country with outrage and devastation. *Urban* had recourse to *Lewis*, king of *Hungary*, who actually levied forces march to his assistance: but he could not obtain the permission of the emperor for his passing to the *Alps*, because *Charles* was jealous of his designs; yet he sent such intimidating messages to *Bernabo*, as induced him to recall his troops from the territories of the church, and make the first advances to a pacification, which the pope would have rejected, had not he been pressed to accept them by the emperor, who dreaded the thoughts of the *Hungarians* entering *Lombardy*, and therefore importuned *Urban* to embrace the proposals of *Bernabo*<sup>a</sup>. His holiness did not long survive this pacification; for he died in a few months, on his return to *Avignon*, and was succeeded by *Peter Roger de Maumont*, who assumed the appellation of *Gregory XI.* and sent intimation of his promotion to the emperor, and other Christian princes. Among these, *Waldemar*, king of *Denmark*, begged he would interpose the papal authority in his behalf with the counts of *Holstein*, and the duke of *Mecklenburg*, who supported the *Jutlanders* in a revolt, and even formed such a strong alliance with the king of *Sweden*, the duke of *Sleswic*, and other princes, that *Waldemar* was obliged to fly from his own kingdom to the court of the emperor, who would afford him no other assistance than some letters of recommendation to the marquis of *Misnia*, the duke of *Stettin*, and some other noblemen, whom he exhorted to take arms in defence of the *Danish* king.

His embassy to the pope met with no greater success; for *Gregory* having heard the complaints of the *Jutlanders*, who accused the king of tyranny and oppression, he advised him to reform his character, and strive to regain the affections of his people by a milder administration. Disappointed in his hope from the emperor and his holiness, *Waldemar* set on foot a private negotiation with the towns of *Wandalia*, which having detached from the league; he re-took possession of his dominions, confirmed the treaty of *Stralsund*, and obtained a deed from the hans towns, by which they obliged themselves to restore to the crown of *Denmark*, at the expiration of fifteen years, those places in *Scania*, which had been mortgaged to them for that term<sup>b</sup>. *Charles* (B), without interesting himself greatly in these contentions, enjoyed himself at his ease in *Prague*, where the arts and sciences flourished under his protection; but, in the midst of these literary amusements, he was alarmed with the news of a quarrel between his brother *Winceslaus*, duke of *Luxemburg* and *Brabant*, and the duke of *Juliers*, which last is said to have countenanced a band of robbers, who committed outrages on the highway. *Winceslaus*, being vicar of the empire in the *Low Countries*, and intendant of the highways, sent deputies to the duke of *Juliers*, to complain of his conduct; and these being treated with contempt, he raised an army, at the head of which he entered the dominions of the duke, who defeated and took him prisoner. The emperor, being apprised of his brother's disaster, resolved to take ample vengeance on the victor; and, in a diet at *Aix-la-Chapelle*, commanded all the dukes, counts, barons, and noblemen, there assembled, to furnish their proportions of troops, that he might lay waste the dukedom of *Juliers* with fire and sword. But he was diverted from his purpose by the intercession of the ecclesiastical electors, and the princes of *Bavaria*, who prevailed upon their cousin the duke of *Juliers* to release *Winceslaus*, and all the prisoners, without ransom, and ask pardon on his knees before the emperor, who raised him up, and embraced him, in token of reconciliation<sup>c</sup>.

So many mischievous consequences were produced by these petty wars between the noblemen of the empire, that *Charles*, in order to remedy this disorder, convoked a diet at *Nuremberg*, where it was decreed by an edict, that no prince or nobleman, who conceived himself aggrieved by another, should have recourse to arms, till the expiration of two months after the offence received; and this law, called *The regulation of sixty days*, was of signal service in the empire. This constitution being enacted, *Charles* relapsed into his former indolence, and seemed to renounce intirely the interests of the empire in *Italy*. He winked at the enterprizes of *Gregory* upon the kingdoms of *Naples* and *Sicily*: he refused to assist the holy see against the incursions of *Bernabo Visconti*, whom no treaty could restrain; and he lent a deaf ear to all the solicitations of the pope, who exhorted him to engage in a crusade

<sup>a</sup> BARRE, t. vi. p. 812.

<sup>b</sup> PONTAN. Hist. Dan.

<sup>c</sup> Hist. Luxemb. l. lv.

(B) While he was one day hunting in a forest, he observed a stag and a hound fall into a fountain, and afterwards lose their hair. In consequence of this re-

mark, he ordered the spring to be examined; and the water being found hot and medicinal, it was called by the name of *Carlsbad*, or *Charles's Bath* (1).

(1) Barre, tom. vi. p. 81.



a for the relief of *Hungary*, which was threatened with an invasion by *Amurath*, emperor of *Hungary* is threatened by the *Turks*.<sup>d</sup> A. D. 1373.

NOTWITHSTANDING this indifference towards the affairs of the empire, he exerted himself with great industry when the concerns of his own family were in question. For a considerable sum of money he purchased of *Otho* the marquisate of *Brandenburg*, with which he invested his second son *Sigismund*; and he, by his emissaries, privately canvassed among the princes of the empire, in order to secure the succession of the imperial throne to his eldest son *Winceslaus*. For this purpose he made a journey into *Germany*, where he managed matters with so much address, and applied his money to such good purpose, that, in consideration of an hundred thousand ducats paid to each of the electors, his son, though but fifteen years of age, was chosen king of the *Romans* at *Rentz*, where a diet was assembled for that purpose, and afterwards crowned at *Aix-la-Chapelle*. That he might not, however, intirely exhaust his ready money, he mortgaged to some of them the toll which he had upon the *Rhine*, and sold towns to others. Those of *Bopart* and *Oberwesel* were purchased by the elector of *Triers*: he disposed of *Kaiserlauter*, *Oppenheim*, *Obernheim*, and *Ingelheim*, to the elector *Palatine*, and some other cities to the duke of *Austria*; so that people were wont to say, He had enfeebled the empire, and plucked the eagle. At length *Charles*, having seen his son *Winceslaus* received in several of the imperial towns, returned to *Prague*, where he received the news of the pope's return to *Rome*, which did not greatly relish his presence, after having so long enjoyed the sweets of independence while the pontiffs resided at *Avignon*. Gregory, at the same time, wrote a letter to the emperor, desiring he would mediate a peace between his nephew the king of *France* and the *English* monarch; and *Charles*, who had this affair at heart, resolved to make a journey to *Paris*, that he might be nearer at hand to act as the emergency of the case should require. Having therefore quelled some intestine commotions in *Germany*, and seen a war between the king of *Denmark* and the duke of *Mecklenburg* happily terminated, he sent an intimation of his design to *Charles V.* of *France*, and set out by the way of *Brabant*, accompanied by his son *Winceslaus*, and a moderate retinue. At *Cambray* he was met by a number of noblemen, whom the king had sent to receive him; at *Compiègne* he was complimented by the duke of *Bourbon*, the count *d'Eu*, and several bishops; and he made his entry into *Paris* riding on horseback on the right-hand of the king, who treated him with great splendour and magnificence. Whatever his pretence might be for visiting *France* on this occasion, his real motives seem to have been the desire of seeing the *French* monarch, for whom he expressed great tenderness of affection, and a superstitious zeal for paying his devotions to *St. Maur*; for it does not appear that he transacted any other affair in *France*, except his declaring the dauphin his perpetual vicar in the kingdom of *Arles* and county of *Dauphiny*, and his permitting a private gentleman, called *Enguerrand de Couci*, to maintain by arms the right he pretended to have to the succession of the house of *Austria* by his mother *Catherine*, granddaughter of the emperor *Albert*. Charles makes a visit into Germany; bribes the electors, who chuse his son *Winceslaus* king of the *Romans*. A. D. 1376.

c *COUCI* having obtained this permission, and received a supply of troops from the king of *France*, he published a manifesto, ravaged the territory of *Strasburg*, and in the winter-season entered the country of the *Swiss*, where his soldiers perished with cold and hunger in such numbers, that he was obliged to retire into *Picardy*, and desert from his enterprise.<sup>e</sup> Enguerrand de Couci prosecutes his claim to the succession of the house of *Austria*.

As for the emperor, he, in his return from *France*, took the road to *Luxemburg*, where he prevailed upon duke *Winceslaus*, who had no issue, to declare him and his sons heirs of his duchy, and all its dependencies<sup>b</sup>; and, soon after his arrival at *Prague*, he died of a fever, having reigned about one-and-thirty years since the death of *Lewis IV.* his predecessor, leaving behind him the character of a good prince, but a bad emperor<sup>f</sup> (C). The emperor dies.

<sup>d</sup> TRITH. Chron. Hirfang. tom. vi. p. 861.

<sup>e</sup> SPOND. Cont. t. i. p. 818.

<sup>f</sup> KRANTZ. Sax. l. x. c. 3.

<sup>g</sup> BARRE,

<sup>b</sup> Hist. Luxemburg. l. lvi.

<sup>1</sup> Idem ibid.

(C) He was four times married; but had no children by his two first wives, who were *Blanche*, daughter of *Charles*, count of *Valois*, and sister of *Philip*, king of *France*; and *Agnes*, daughter of *Rodolphus the Young*, count palatine. His third wife was *Anne*, daughter of *Bugislaus*, duke of *Swenitz*, by whom he had *Catherine*, married to *Rodolphus IV.* duke of *Austria*, and *Winceslaus*, who succeeded him in the empire. Her dowry was the county of *Jawarin* and the duchy of *Swenitz*. His fourth wife was *Elizabeth*, daughter of *Bogislaus V.* duke of *Stettin*, who was niece or grand-daughter of *Casimir*, king of *Poland*. By her he had *Sigismund*, who

was king of *Hungary*, and afterwards emperor; and *John*, marquis of *Moravia*, duke of *Gorlitz* and *Swenitz*; with several daughters; namely, *Margaret*, wife of *Lewis*, king of *Hungary* and *Bohemia*; *Elizabeth*, married to *John Galeazzo*, duke of *Milan*; *Ann*, matched with *Otho*, duke of *Bavaria*, and margrave of *Brandenburg*; *Margaret*, married to *John II.* burgrave of *Nuremberg*; *Elizabeth*, wife of *Albert*, duke of *Austria*; *Margaret*, wife of *Amadeus*, count of *Savoy*; *Agnes*, married to *William the Ambitious*, duke of *Austria*; and *Helen*, queen of *Henry IV.* of *England* (1).



Anecdotes of  
Charles.

WHEN the princes once intreated him to quit *Bohemia*, and shew himself in *Germany*, he is said to have conducted them into his treasury, in which there was a prodigious quantity of gold and silver bullion, and spoke to this effect: "The city of *Prague* gave me birth; the kingdom of *Bohemia* furnishes me with all these riches: were I more attached to *Germany*, I should be obliged, like you, to pluck the eagle. You know very well how to strip her of her feathers when she flies towards your quarters, and she might, in her turn, be provoked to make reprisals; in which case, the wings of some of you would not grow again for a considerable length of time."

An account of  
his edicts and  
transactions.

Besides the golden bull, which we have mentioned, *Charles* published divers laws and constitutions. By an edict, dated at *Prague*, he decreed, that, in case the royal family should fail, the states of the kingdom should be at liberty to chuse a new king; and that same year he confirmed the right of electorate to the crown of *Bohemia*. He granted to *John*, duke of *Brabant*, a privilege, in consequence of which none of his subjects could be carried out of his own jurisdiction, nor arrested in the empire, for any cause whatever. He confirmed to the abbot of *Fulde* the dignity of arch-chancellor to the empress, together with a new privilege at the time of her coronation, and all other ceremonies; namely, the right of putting the crown on her head, and of taking it off again. He invested *Rupert the Old* with the right which he had to the electorate *Palatine*. He published a decree for exempting the estates of the clergy from all secular jurisdiction. Chancing to pass through *Westphalia*, he had the curiosity to go and see the tomb of the great *Wittichind*, which was repaired by his order; the arms of *Charlemagne* being placed at the head, and those of *Bohemia* at the feet\*. Finally, he ordered the feast of *Charlemagne* to be annually solemnized in the church of *Aix-la-Chapelle* (D).

\* THEOD. NEIM. Union, tract. vi. c. 24.

(D) It is generally supposed, that cannon were first used in the reign of this emperor, in consequence of the invention of gun-powder, which is attributed to an accidental discovery of one *Bertholdus Scharzz*, or the Black,

a monk of *Friburg*: yet there is in the arsenal of *Amberg* a piece of cannon made in the year 1303, so that those instruments of death must have been known before the reign of *Charles* (1).

(1) *Barre*, t. vi. p. 867.



## C H A P. VIII.

## Comprehending the Wars of the Huffites in Bohemia.

## W I N C E S L A U S.

- a **W**INCESLAUS, at the age of seventeen, succeeded his father in the government of the empire, and on the throne of *Bobemia*, at a time when the church was divided by a great schism. The *Romans* had elected *Urban VI.* who confirmed the election of this new emperor, and the *French* had chosen *Clement VII.* for pope. During these troubles, *Winceslaus* appointed *Jadoc*, marquis of *Moravia*, his vicar-general in *Italy*, laid injunctions upon him to inquire which of the two was the true pope, to acknowledge and protect him whom he should find to be canonically elected, and to expel by force the other, who had intruded himself into the chair. He likewise held a diet at *Nuremburg*, and afterwards at *Frankfort*, where, after having examined this affair of the popes, *Urban VI.* was acknowledged by the archbishops and bishops, and *Winceslaus*, together with the princes of the empire, engaged to protect him in the papacy<sup>1</sup>.

*Winceslaus  
succeeds to the  
empire;  
A. D. 1378.*

- b AFTER the diet of *Frankfort*, the emperor repaired to *Aix la Chapelle*, where he resided for some time, because the plague raged in *Bobemia*; and here he gave himself up to all kinds of debauchery, neglecting the affairs of the empire to such a degree, that the provinces became a prey to those banditti, whom we have already mentioned by the name of *Late Comers* and *Grand Companies*: and the princes and towns were obliged to engage in associations for their mutual defence. These free-booters, however, were afterwards taken into the pay of *Winceslaus*, who, on his return to *Prague*, by his misconduct, provoked his subjects to revolt, and, in order to punish them for their rebellion, allowed those vermin to destroy the country without remorse. Having pillaged the whole kingdom of *Bobemia*, they enlisted in the service of *Jane* queen of *Naples*, who had lately married *Otho* of *Brunswick*, and was in the sequel barbarously put to death by *Charles Durazzo*, even after she had declared that prince her successor to the crown.

*A. D. 1381.  
resides at Aix  
la Chapelle;*

*his misconduct  
in Bohemia;*

- c NOTWITHSTANDING the seeming attention which *Winceslaus* paid to the peace of the church, he was a prince of a depraved taste, and the most vicious inclinations. His cruelty seemed to be presaged, by his being the occasion of his mother's death when he was born, and the impurities with which he profaned the font at his baptism, and the altar at his being crowned king of *Bobemia*, looked like omens of the unworthy actions, with which he dishonoured his reign<sup>m</sup>. His whole conduct was a series of debauched cruelty and baseness. In imitation of his father, he disposed of all the rights of the empire in *Germany*, which remained unfold; and as for the cities and provinces of *Italy*, which his father had alienated, he exacted money from them for a confirmation of their privileges. He expedited blank patents, signed and sealed, to be filled up at the pleasure of the purchasers; by which means the rich and powerful were authorized to oppress the weak and poor<sup>n</sup>. This was accordingly done with such impunity and licence, that there was no security for commerce, no policy, no order in the empire. Such confusion could not fail to produce civil wars. The cities of *Suabia* and the *Rhine* took arms against the princes in their neighbourhood, of which the chief were the count palatine, the count of *Wurtemberg*, and the duke of *Austria*.

*his depraved  
taste, cruelty,  
and baseness.*

*He sells the  
rights of the  
empire.*

- d THE electors, and other princes and states, tired of all these disorders, and chagrined to see *Germany* without a head, and the privileges of the empire alienated, in order to fill the purse of *Winceslaus*, sent an embassy to *Prague*, beseeching him to come and reside among them. When this proposal was made him, "Our dear ambassadors (said he), all the world knows that we are emperor, and if there is any person in the empire, who is desirous of seeing us, let him come to *Bobemia*, and we will freely give him audience<sup>o</sup>." This was all the answer they could obtain, and the electors were so scandalized at the contempt with which he received their advice, that, seeing no prospect of his reformation, they of themselves took cognizance of the general affairs of the empire, and interposed in the quarrels and disputes subsisting between several states, which they with difficulty accommodated; to such a degree was their animosity inflamed.
- f THE towns of *Suabia*, *Franconia*, and the *Rhine*, formed what they called the *Great League*, and the princes formed associations for their mutual defence: by these precautions the public tranquility was maintained, and even *Lower Germany* secured from those shocks, which were occasioned by a revolution in *Sweden*. At the death of *Olaus*, king of *Denmark*,

*A. D. 1385.  
Troubles in  
Germany ap-  
peased by the  
interposition of  
the electors.*

<sup>1</sup> SPOND. Cont. t. ii. p. 11.  
gener. 47. KRANT. Wand. l. x. c. 1.

<sup>m</sup> Chron. Riddag. ex MEIB. v. iii. p. 373.  
<sup>o</sup> Hist. Luxemb. l. lvii.

<sup>n</sup> TRITH. in Chron. Naucier.



Margaret  
queen of Den-  
mark, ac-  
quires the  
crown of Swe-  
den.

A. D. 1387.

Leopold of  
Austria over-  
come and slain  
by the Swifs.  
A. D. 1388.

The sloth and  
barbarity of  
Winceslaus.

Otho of Brun-  
swick takes  
possession of  
Naples for  
Lewis of An-  
jou.

Pope Urban  
dies, and is  
succeeded by  
Boniface IX.  
A. D. 1390.

Insurrections  
against the  
Jews in Ger-  
many.  
A. D. 1391.

his mother *Margaret* ascended the throne, with the unanimous consent of the people, and even recommended herself so strongly to the *Swedes*, who were oppressed by their own king *Albert*, that they renounced their allegiance to that monarch, and made her a solemn tender of the crown; in consequence of which she marched to their assistance, defeated *Albert*, who was deposed, and obliged to retire to the dominions of his brother, the duke of *Mecklenburg*, and then she assumed the reins of government, and was distinguished by the appellation of the *Semiramis of the North* <sup>a</sup>.

NOTWITHSTANDING all the measures which had been taken to prevent civil broils in *Germany*, war broke out between the house of *Austria* and the confederate towns, which had shaken off the yoke of dependence. *Leopold* of *Austria*, son of *Albert the Sage*, confiding too much in his own strength, raised a considerable army to reduce the *Swifs*, eight cantons of which had already withdrawn themselves from his dominion. He accordingly gave them battle, which he lost, together with his life, so that they intirely freed themselves from the *Austrian* chains, and their dependence upon the empire, while their success encouraged other cities to follow their example <sup>b</sup>.

THE towns of *Alsace*, *Suabia*, and the *Rhine*, made preparations for defending themselves against those princes, who attempted to domineer over them: *Spire*, *Worms*, and *Mentz*, levied a body of forces, which ravaged the territories of *Robert the Young*, count palatine, who took the field, and made reprisals with great cruelty; the inhabitants of *Strasburg*, aggrieved by the marquis of *Baden*, plundered the lands of the margraviate, and destroyed the town of *Brumpt*, belonging to the count *de Linange*, who joining the marquis of *Baden*, and the old count palatine, made incursions to the very gates of *Strasburg*, and laid waste the whole country, from *Husbergen* to *Malshheim*, with fire and sword: in a word, *Alsace* was, by these mutual ravages and cruelties, reduced to the last extremity; when peace was re-established by the mediation of some princes of the empire <sup>c</sup>.

*WINCESLAUS*, without giving himself the least trouble about these transactions, still resided in *Bohemia*, plunged in all manner of debauchery, by which he rendered himself every day more and more contemptible in the eyes of his subjects (E). He ordered *John Nepomucene*, his wife's confessor, to be drowned, because he would not reveal the particulars of her confession; and in all other respects behaved with such barbarity and indiscretion, that his subjects looked upon him with detestation and abhorrence. But while he thus attracted the odium and contempt of all good men, his brother *Sigismund* distinguished himself by his valour and capacity, and at length ascended the *Hungarian* throne, after the death of *Charles Durazzo*, who had been elected by the *Hungarians*, and assassinated by order of the queen-mother; because her daughter, the princess *Mary*, was defrauded of her right by his election <sup>d</sup>.

THE death of *Durazzo* involved the kingdom of *Naples* in great confusion. One party espoused the cause of his son *Ladislau*, still a minor, and another adhered to the interest of *Lewis* of *Anjou*, who pretended to the crown; while pope *Urban*, though equally courted by both, remained neutral, in hope of raising his own nephew to the throne, after the other two competitors should have enfeebled each other. Mean while *Otho* of *Brunswick*, the last husband of the unfortunate *Jane*, was appointed captain-general for *Lewis* of *Anjou*, and marching to *Naples*, at the head of an army composed of *French* and *Germans*, reduced the whole kingdom to the dominion of his principal. *Urban* could not help repining at his success, which not only rendered his own scheme impracticable, but likewise strengthened the interest of his rival *Clement VIII.* who patronized the duke of *Anjou*: he found himself, moreover, hated for his severity and ambition, and abandoned by *Bologna*, and several other towns, who embraced the party of his competitor. These concurring mortifications affected him so nearly, that he died of chagrin; and, in a few days after his decease, the fourteen cardinals residing at *Rome* elected *Peter Thomacelle* in his room. This new pontiff assumed the name of *Boniface IX.* and excommunicated *Clement*, who retorted the sentence upon him with equal animosity <sup>e</sup>.

THE repose of *Germany* was about this period disturbed by insurrections against the *Jews*, who being accused of having poisoned the fountains, and insulted the host (though in reality their wealth was all their crime), were burned in their synagogue at *Prague*, butchered at *Spire*, without distinction of age or sex, plundered in almost every province, and, as the authority of *Winceslaus* was not sufficient to protect that unhappy people, at last obliged to escape into *Lithuania*, where they found an asylum in the favour of *Jagellon*, who was enamoured of a *Jewish* damsel <sup>f</sup>.

<sup>a</sup> HUITFEL. Hist. Dan. t. iv.  
REN. Virg. æt. clx. p. 151.

<sup>b</sup> Delices de la Suif. t. i.

<sup>c</sup> WENCHER. coll. i. p. 145.

<sup>d</sup> SOLOM.

(E) In this year the doctrine of *Wickliff* was introduced into *Bohemia*, by a gentleman of that country who had studied in *England* (1).

(1) Heiss. Hist. l. xi. c. 28.



- a THESE disturbances were succeeded by commotions in *Alsace* and other provinces on the *Rhine*; the inhabitants of *Strasburg* reclaimed some towns which *Charles IV.* had mortgaged to *Robert* count palatine, alleging that the emperor had no power to dispose of their property; and, the count refusing to comply with their demand, they took the field, in order to subdue him by force. This war produced nothing but mutual ravages, and the *Strasburgers* were fain to retreat for the safety of their city, which was endangered by an affair of greater consequence. *Rapclstein*, an *Alsatian* nobleman, on whom they had conferred the right of burghership, imprisoned an *Englishman*, called *Harleston*, because he had served in the army of *Linguerand de Couci*, when that nobleman laid waste the territory of *Strasburg*. The king of *England* demanded the release of his subject: the emperor commanded the *Strasburgers* to let him at liberty; and they disregarding the order of such a weak prince, he put the city to the ban of the empire. *Troubles in Alsace.*  
*Strasburg is put to the ban of the empire.*  
A. D. 1392.
- b ABUNDANCE of noblemen, jealous of the power of *Strasburg*, took this opportunity to engage in a league to humble her pride: the bishop himself joined in the confederacy; and an army being raised, the allies undertook the siege of the place, which, however, they could not reduce. At length peace was effected by the mediation of the bishop of *Bamberg*, though the emperor would by no means consent to the treaty, until the citizens purchased his condescension with a present of thirty thousand florins.
- c PEACE being thus re-established, *John*, *Stephen*, and *Frederic*, dukes of *Bavaria*, agreed to a partition of their dominions, which had hitherto been undivided, and subscribed a pactum or treaty for regulating the order of succession, and the alienation of their fiefs; by which any one of them was restricted from parting with his lands, until he should have first offered the purchase to the other two, and obtained their consent to alienate his property; and all disputes were referred to arbitration. *Partition of the dominions of Bavaria.*  
A. D. 1393.
- d MEAN while *Winceslaus* continued immersed in debauchery, and seemed industrious in acquiring the implacable hatred of his people, by the extraordinary taxes he imposed, and the cruelties he exercised indifferently upon all sorts of people; not even respecting the magistrates of *Prague*, whom he ordered to be beheaded without form of process. Nay, in order to familiarize himself to blood and carnage, he descended so low, as to contract an intimacy with the common executioner, whom he distinguished by the appellation of his gossip (F). Nevertheless, some authors allege, that this cruel disposition was not natural to him. He is said to have been twice poisoned, and the medicines he took prevented the doses from having their whole effect: but they left an extraordinary heat and dryness in his constitution, which he was obliged to assuage with drinking. Thus he contracted the habit of drunkenness, which sometimes inflamed him to such a degree of fury, that it was dangerous to be near him; for, in one of those fits of intoxication, he is said to have ordered his cook to be roasted alive. *Winceslaus's cruelty the effects of poison which he had received.*  
A. D. 1364.
- e THE noblemen of *Bohemia*, perceiving that his cruelty and excesses daily augmented, thought it highly necessary to lay him under some restriction; and by the advice of his brother *Sigismund*, king of *Hungary*, actually confined him in close prison, from which, however, he found means to escape. After having laid several months in a dungeon, he obtained permission from the senate to be conducted to a bath to refresh himself. There perceiving a fisher's little boat on the banks of the river hard by the bath, he embarked with the woman who attended him (both being naked), and, rowing to the other side of the river, retired to a fortress, which he had formerly caused to be built as an asylum against the enterprizes of his enemies. He was suffered to resume the reins of government; but as he did not reform his behaviour, his subjects had recourse to his brother *Sigismund*, king of *Hungary*, who marched into *Bohemia* at the head of a strong army, compelled the emperor to submit, was declared regent of the kingdom, changed the ministers and officers of state, and redressed the grievances of the people. *He is confined by the noblemen of Bohemia, and escapes from a bath.*  
A. D. 1396.
- f hended, was kept prisoner, sometimes in one castle and sometimes in another, till at length he was privately sent into *Vienna*, and committed to the care of *Albert* archduke of *Austria*, who ordered him to be shut up in one of the towers of the city: from thence also he made his escape by the assistance of an old fisherman, called *Grundler*, who used to come and *Is committed to the care of Albert duke of Austria.*

<sup>1</sup> Arch. Imp. t. vi. p. 30.  
<sup>2</sup> Hist. Luxemb. lvii.

<sup>3</sup> ADLZK. Annal. Boior. Gent. part ii. l. 6.

<sup>4</sup> DUBRARI. l. xxiii. p. 606.

(F) This executioner is said to have perished at last by the hands of his prince. *Winceslaus*, sending for him one day, said he wanted to know the situation of a man's mind, when he expected to have his head severed from his body; he, therefore, bound up his own eyes, and, kneeling, desired his friend to cut off his head.

The executioner, instead of obeying this order, struck him with the flat part of the sword: upon which *Winceslaus* ordered him to be blinded in his turn, and, taking the sword in his own hand, actually shortened him by the head (2).

(2) *Aust. in Chron. Belg. p. 326,*



*Escapes by the assistance of one Grundler, a fisherman, and resumes his authority.*

distribute his charity among the prisoners. *Winceslaus*, perceiving him one day from his window, promised him an ample recompence, provided he would assist him in procuring his liberty (G). *Grundler*, induced by his promises, conveyed to him a silken cord, by means of which he descended from the tower; then, being rowed by him across the *Danube*, he returned to *Bohemia*, regained possession of the city of *Prague*, by means of some noblemen who were his friends, and was permitted to resume his authority, on condition of amending his way of life <sup>a</sup>.

*Measures taken to terminate the schism in the church.*

DURING these vicissitudes in *Bohemia*, the theologicians in *Germany* endeavoured, by their writings, to finish the schism in the church, occasioned by the two competitors for the papacy. The university of *Cologne*, though it had owned *Boniface* as the lawful pope, nevertheless inclined to the convocation of a general council, as the only sure method of re-establishing the peace of the church; and wrote to the university of *Paris* on this subject. The death of *Clement VII.* which happened at this period, seemed to be a favourable conjuncture for attaining such a desirable end. The archbishops of *Mentz* and *Cologne*, and several other princes and prelates of the empire, conjured the cardinals at *Avignon* to desist from a new election, until some measures could be taken to terminate the schism; and the king of *France* wrote to the same purpose: yet, in spite of all these remonstrances, they elected *Pedro de Luna*, cardinal of *Arragon*, who assumed the name of *Benedict XIII.* His election was no sooner known in *Germany*, than the archbishops of *Cologne* and *Mentz*, together with the other princes, convoked a diet at *Frankfort*; where, after due deliberation, it was resolved to exhort both competitors to abdicate the papacy, so as that a canonical election might take place; and this was the declared opinion of the *French* king, whose ambassadors were present in the assembly. <sup>b</sup>

*Diet at Frankfort.*

*Deputies sent to Rome.*

IN consequence of the determination of the diet, deputies were sent to *Rome*, to communicate the sentiments of the king of *France*, and the princes of *Germany*; but although they were caressed by *Boniface*, who affected to heap favours upon them, they could never bring him to treat upon the affair of the cession, which he evaded with great dexterity. *Winceslaus*, though he did not assist at the diet, believing his own personal importance sufficient to determine this dispute, proposed an interview to *Charles* king of *France*, at *Rheims*, where, though he was almost constantly intoxicated with strong liquor, he agreed with the *French* monarch to send the bishop of *Cambray* to *Rome*, in order to persuade *Boniface* to resign the papal chair. *Boniface*, having consulted his cardinals, answered, that he would willingly comply with the request of the emperor and the king of *France*, provided they would oblige the pretended pope of *Avignon* to quit his pretensions also, and appoint a proper place, where he might appear with his cardinals to proceed to a new election. In consequence of this answer, the same deputy was dispatched to *Benedict*, who flatly refused to comply with the proposal, and declared he would maintain his dignity to his latest breath: an instance of obstinacy which incensed *Charles* to such a degree, that he and his kingdom renounced *Benedict*, the marshal *de Boucicaut* was ordered to invest *Avignon*, and the anti-pope was kept prisoner in the castle for the space of five whole years <sup>a</sup>.

*The emperor has an interview with the king of France;*

*who renounces and imprisons Benedict.*  
A. D. 1398.

*Margaret, queen of Sweden, Denmark, and Norway effects the union of these three kingdoms;*

*and goes to war with the Teutonic order.*

PERHAPS his confinement would not have been of such long duration, had not the revolutions in the North hindered the kingdoms of *Sweden*, *Denmark*, and *Norway*, from attending to the schism in the *Roman* church. *Margaret* was engrossed by the project of uniting these three kingdoms, and employed her endeavours to engage the *German* princes in the support of her scheme. Being importuned by the *Swedes* to marry, she lent a deaf ear to their remonstrance on this head; but, in order to quiet their apprehensions, she appointed the son of *Wratislaus*, duke of *Pomerania*, her successor, and her choice was approved by the states of the three kingdoms assembled at *Colmar*, where also they formed that union which she had so much at heart, and confirmed it by the famous edict called the *Union of Colmar*. After this transaction she engaged in a war with the *Teutonic* order, about the island of *Gothland*, which the knights refused to surrender, on pretence of having acquired the right of conquest, by expelling the tyrants by whom the greatest part of it was possessed. *Margaret*, finding her arms did not succeed to her expectation, had recourse to the mediation of the emperor, who appointed a congress at *Helfinbourg*; to which he sent his deputies, and there a treaty of peace was concluded, on condition that the knights should cede the island to *Margaret*, in consideration of a sum of money to indemnify them for the expence of the war <sup>b</sup>.

*WINCESLAUS*, having in this manner restored peace to those northern countries, espoused *Sophia*, daughter of *Stephen* duke of *Bavaria*; and after this marriage, his extra-

<sup>a</sup> BARRE, t. vii. p. 58.

<sup>a</sup> FROISSARD. l. iv. c. 97.

<sup>b</sup> HUITFELD. Hist. Dng. t. iv. ad ann. 1397.

(G) He was not ungrateful to his deliverer; for, as soon as he re-ascended the throne, he sent for *Grundler* and his whole family from *Vienna*, ennobled, and granted to him a considerable revenue (3).

(3) *Reimarq. sur Heiss, ubi sup.*



a vagance increased to such a degree, that his revenues were not sufficient to defray the prodigious expence of his household. Notwithstanding the promise he had made at his restoration, he regarded the affairs of the empire as little as ever, except in those things that related to his own private emolument; and, as he neglected nothing that could produce money, he received, with extraordinary demonstrations of joy, an embassy from *John Galeazzo*, count of *Vertus*, nephew and successor of that *Bernabo Visconti*, who, as we have already observed, had seized the sovereignty of *Milan*, *Placentia*, *Cremona*, *Pavia*, *Lodi*, *Brescia*, *Bergamo*, *Vercelli*, *Novara*, *Tortona*, and others belonging to the *Milanese* and *Lombardy*, which depended upon the empire.

The emperor espoused *Sophia*, daughter of *Stephen*, duke of *Bavaria*.  
A. Dr 1399.

b THE subject of this embassy was to buy of him the feignories and royalties of all these countries, together with the title of duke of *Milan*. These *Winceflaus* sold for a considerable sum of money, without the participation or consent of the princes of the empire. This was one of the reasons, that some time after induced them to think of dispossessing him in good earnest. They perceived, that he seemed to take pleasure in dismembering the empire for his own sordid views, at a time when it was but too much divided by the schism which prevailed in the church; and when Christendom was weakened by the enterprises of the *Türks*, who had gained divers signal advantages over the Christians, which were followed by the famous victory obtained over them by *Bajazet*, near *Nicopolis*.

*Winceflaus* sells the royalty of sundry cities and territories in Italy.

c THE electors, after long delays, concluding that the public safety demanded a chief capable of re-establishing and protecting the peace, as well as of supporting the dignity of the empire, assembled at *Boppard*, and afterwards at *Frankfort*, in order to deliberate upon the present posture of affairs; and notwithstanding the representations of *Winceflaus*, who sent the margrave of *Nuremberg* to inform the electors, that he could not quit *Bohemia* on account of some domestic troubles, and the coronation of his empress, they convoked a diet at *Frankfort*, where they resolved to oblige the emperor to chuse an administrator, and made him acquainted with their determination. But *Winceflaus* absolutely refusing to comply with their decision, they entered into a confederacy, confirmed by oath, to redress the grievances of the *Germanic* body, preserve the rights of the empire, and prevent the alienation of its domains.

d THE result of this association was a diet at *Mentz*, to which they invited the emperor; and he refusing to appear, it was determined that he should be obliged to make a formal renunciation of the empire, and the imperial insignia, after which they would proceed to a new election. *Winceflaus*, far from abdicating the throne by a voluntary renunciation, gave the electors to understand, that he annulled, by anticipation, all the resolutions of their assembly, and that he would put all those to the ban of the empire, who should presume to execute their decrees. Without paying the least regard to his menaces, they, by the advice of pope *Boniface IX.* assembled at the castle of *Laenstein*, on the *Rhine*, in the archbishopric of *Triers*; and, having declared *Winceflaus* incapable, pronounced and published the sentence of his deposition, revoking at the same time all the rights, exemptions, privileges, and domains, sold or mortgaged by his own particular authority, without the consent of the princes and states of the empire<sup>d</sup> (H). Then, proceeding to the election of a new

The electors assemble at the castle of *Laenstein*;

depose *Winceflaus*, and elect *Frederic* duke of *Brunswick* and *Lunenburg*, who is assassinated: he is succeeded by *Robert* count palatine.

<sup>c</sup> AVENT. Ann. Boior. l. vii. p. 642.  
ann.

<sup>d</sup> Tom. Rer. Ger. URSTITII in fin. BZOV. in hoc ann. HARTMAN in

(H) The authors of this deposition, were *John de Nassau*, archbishop of *Mentz*, *Frederic de Severden*, archbishop of *Cologne*, *Wernier de Königstein*, archbishop of *Triers*, *Robert*, elector count palatine of the *Rhine*, and *Rodolphus*, duke of *Saxony* and *Lunenburg* (4).

After having summoned *Winceflaus* to appear, and waited ten days in vain for his arrival, they proceeded to his trial; and the sentence of deposition was pronounced by the archbishop of *Mentz* to this effect. "In the name of the Lord, *Amen*. We *John*, by the grace of God, archbishop of *Mentz*, arch-chancellor of the holy Roman empire in *Germany*, to all men who now are, or may be hereafter, we give to understand, that, for many years, intolerable abuses have been introduced into the church of God, and, far from being repressed, multiply daily, to the great scandal of the good, and the utter perdition of the wicked. But the most melancholy circumstance is, that he, whom the holy empire, and the church have appointed to reform these disorders, is himself the author of them; and, instead of remedying these evils, his pernicious example, and wicked government, have annihilated the *Police* of the empire, and occasioned civil wars in *Germany* and in *Italy*."

"For which reason, upon the pressing remonstrances of the holy church, the princes, noblemen, towns, and subjects of the empire, we the co-electors, and we for our own share, have often cautioned the most serene prince *Winceflaus*, king of the *Romans* and of *Bohemia*, and represented to him, either verbally or by letter, his scandalous conduct, his negligence in the administration of affairs, his tolerating or authorizing, by his own example, the most enormous abuses, his dismembering the empire considerably, without assembling diets, or consulting the princes; and of all the grievances, of which he is attainted and convicted, we have drawn up an abstract, of which these are the particular articles,"

"He has sold to *France* the town of *Genoa* and its territory, notwithstanding the opposition of the states of the empire, on which that fief depends: he has surrendered to *Galeazzo Visconti* the *Milanese*, and even *Lombardy*, under the title of duchy: he has alienated several domains, which had devolved to the empire on the death of the proprietors: he has sold to divers persons blank patents, sanctioned by his own seal, to be disposed of at their pleasure, to the great prejudice of the empire: he hath granted impunity to thieves and robbers: he hath,

(4) *Struv. Period. ix. sect. 7.*



a new emperor, they raised to that dignity *Frederic* duke of *Brunswick* and *Lunenbourg*, a wise and valiant prince; but he being basely murdered by the count of *Walddeck*, when he went to *Frankfort* to take the imperial crown, they elected *Robert* count palatine in his place<sup>f</sup>.

A. D. 1400.  
Winceslaus  
bears his dis-  
grace with  
resignation.

*WINCESLAUS* was so little mortified at the news of his deposition, that, when he received them, "We are overjoyed (said he) to be delivered from the burden of the empire, because we shall have more leisure to apply ourselves to the government of our kingdom;" and indeed, during the nineteen years that he afterwards reigned in *Bohemia*, his conduct was considerably amended, and he applied himself seriously to calm the disturbances which had been raised by *John Huss*, professor of theology in the university of *Prague*, who had embraced the doctrine of *Wickliffe* (1).

His death.

AFTER he had reigned twenty-two years as emperor, and fifty-five as king of *Bohemia*, being one day at dinner informed of a tumult in the city of *Prague*, he rose from table in great consternation; and one of his domestics imprudently saying, he knew three days before that this disturbance would happen, *Winceslaus* flew upon him, pulled him to the ground by the hair of his head, and would have instantly put him to death, had he not been restrained by the interposition and remonstrances of those who were present; such was the excess of his passion, that he fell down in an apoplectic fit, and in a few days after expired (K), in the fifty-seventh year of his age<sup>g</sup>.

## R O B E R T.

Robert refused  
entrance by the  
citizens of Aix-  
la-Chapelle.

ALTHOUGH *Rupert* or *Robert* count palatine of the *Rhine*, duke of *Bavaria*, surnamed *the Short and the Debonair*, had been formally chosen emperor by all the electors, in the field of *Reintz* upon the *Rhine*, then consecrated and confirmed in the church of *Cologne*, by the archbishop of that metropolitan; yet the inhabitants of *Aix-la-Chapelle* would not allow him to be crowned in their city, alleging they were not yet absolved from the oath they had taken to *Winceslaus*; but the true reason was their affection and attachment to that prince. They were, therefore, put to the ban of the empire, and otherwise maltreated, until they had taken the oath of allegiance to *Robert*. But the citizens of

<sup>e</sup> KRANTZ. Metrop. xi. c. ii. <sup>f</sup> FABR. Ann. Misn. ad ann. 1405. <sup>g</sup> Æn. Hist. Boem. c. 37. DUBRAR. 1. xxiii. ad fin. COCHLÆ, lib. iv. ad fin.

with his own hand, or by the help of his executioners, murdered, drowned, or burned, prelates, priests, and a number of other persons of distinction: in contempt of Christianity, he hath made a league with the king of *Poland*, protector of the *Tartars*, against the knights of the *Teutonic* order: he hath, without sense or danger, squandered away the revenues of *Bohemia* and the empire, and put the government of his kingdom into the hands of unexperienced and evil-minded persons, who have loaded his subjects with excessive taxes: in his negotiations with the princes of the empire, he hath practised such equivocation and dissimulation, that none of them will trust his word: he hath destroyed the university of *Prague*, founded by the emperor his father: he hath expelled the doctors, and put many of them to death, without form of process or previous sentence: finally, he hath abandoned himself, night and day, to debauchery; he hath intirely neglected the affairs of the empire; and, having been more than once exhorted and solicited to reform his conduct, he hath persecuted those who gave him such salutary advice."

"We therefore, the electors, having invoked the holy name of God, and sitting in our tribunal of justice, moved by the grievances afore-mentioned, and other causes of still greater importance, have, by our present sentence, deposed *Winceslaus*, a dissipator of the *Germanic* body, as an useless member, and as a chief unworthy to govern the holy *Roman* empire; and as such we have deprived him of the dignities thereunto annexed: we likewise intimate to all princes, potentates, knights, cities, dominions, and subjects of the holy empire, that they are absolved from the oath of allegiance they owe him as emperor."

"Moreover, we caution and forbid them to obey the said *Winceslaus* for the future, or to serve him under any title whatever; but require them to reserve their obedience

and service for a more useful and worthy prince to be substituted in his place."

"On the faith of which, we *John* archbishop of *Mentz* have taken care to make a transcript of the present act of deposition, sealed with our great seal. Enacted and solemnly published at *Landstein*, in the year after the nativity of Christ 1400, on *Friday, August 20*, a little before nine o'clock, in the eleventh year of the pontificate of our holy father pope *Boniface IX.* in the presence of the noble princes *John* and *Robert*, *Frederic* burgrave of *Nuremberg*, *Philip* of *Nassau* and *Sarbruck*, *George de Leiningen*, *John de Zeigenstein*, *Conrad* count palatine of the *Rhine*, *Renard de Wisterburg*, *John d'Isenburg*, *Reinard de Hanau*, and several other lords, knights, and persons, both secular and ecclesiastic (1).

(1) *Wickliffe's* doctrine had gained ground in *Bohemia*, and been embraced by several masters of the university of *Prague*, particularly by *John Huss*, who became the head of a sect, which grew very formidable to the church. *Winceslaus* found his account in conniving at the progress of this reformation, by the taxes which he levied on pretence of quelling the tumults which it daily occasioned. He was even heard to say, that he must take especial care of a goose (the interpretation of *Huss* in the *Bohemian* tongue) which laid him such eggs of gold (2).

(K) *Winceslaus* was twice married: his first wife was *Jane* daughter of *Albert* duke of *Bavaria* and count of *Holland*; who was crowned with him at *Aix la Chapelle*, and died in the year 1387. After he had escaped for the second time from prison, he, in order to fortify himself on the side of *Germany*, espoused *Sophia* daughter of *Stephen* duke of *Bavaria*; but he had no issue by either, tho' the annals of *Poland* import, that he had one daughter named *Euphemia*, married to *Uladislaus II.* king of *Poland* (3).

(1) *Windeck. Hist. Sigismund.* c. 15.  
supra. (3) *Heiss Hist.* l. xi. c. 28.

(2) *Spond. Contin. Bar.* tom. xi. p. 159. *Remarq. sur Heiss, ubi*



- a *Nuremberg* were more fortunate ; for, in consideration of a present of the wine of *Bocharac*, that prince discharged them from the oath which they had taken in his favour <sup>h</sup>.

NOTWITHSTANDING this tame resignation of *Winceslaus*, several powers of *Europe* disapproved of his deposition. The king of *France*, in particular, sent ambassadors to *Mentz*, to express his concern for the difference between *Robert* and *Winceslaus*, and desired that a certain day might be fixed, when all parties should assemble, and treat of an accommodation. For this purpose he offered his own good offices, and demanded that *Robert* would consent to a year's truce, and be personally present at the assembly, while he undertook for the appearance of the king of *Bohemia*, who had already referred himself to his arbitration.

The king of France offers his mediation between Robert and Winceslaus.

- b He himself likewise engaged to be there in person, or, in case of impediment, to send thither some princes of the blood. *Robert*, and the electors of *Mentz* and *Cologne*, pretended to listen to this proposal of an accommodation ; which, in order to effect, they promised to be at *Cologne* on the day of *Epiphany* of the following year ; but as their sole intention was to gain time to strengthen their party, the negotiation did not succeed <sup>i</sup>. That which was set on foot by the king of *Hungary*, and the principal noblemen of *Bohemia*, had no better effect, altho' they had assembled and agreed to assist *Winceslaus* in his endeavours to recover the imperial crown. This affair miscarried, because, when they were deliberating upon measures for raising money to defray the expence of the war, *Winceslaus* refused to contribute, and the assembly, being incensed at the sordid refusal, broke up abruptly, without having come to any resolution. The king of *Bohemia*, indeed, earnestly intreated
- c them to renew the negotiation, and *Sigismund*, in consequence of his intreaties, consented to an interview, when he promised to supply him with considerable succours, provided he would yield to him some territories, and bequeath to him the kingdom of *Bohemia* at his death ; conditions that were so displeasing to *Winceslaus*, that he retired without taking leave of his brother <sup>k</sup>.

The king of Hungary and the noblemen of Bohemia interest themselves for the deposed emperor.

MEAN while the new emperor employed his whole care in remedying the disorders and divisions which had crept into the empire, during the reigns of *Charles IV.* and his son, and in reclaiming the dominions which they had alienated. For this purpose, in the first year of his reign, a diet was convoked at *Frankfort*, where he deliberated with the electors, princes, noblemen, and deputies of towns, upon ways and means for re-establishing tran-

Robert remedies the disorders of the empire, and reclaims the dominions and rights which had been alienated.

- d quility, order, and security in the empire ; and, in consequence of these deliberations, several laws were enacted and put in execution. As the electors, in their sentence of deposition pronounced against *Winceslaus*, had alleged, among other things, that he had, for a sum of money, created *John Galeazzo* duke of *Milan*, tho' he was no other than governor of *Lombardy* ; and that the new duke, not contented with this promotion, pretended to withdraw those countries from the sovereignty of the empire, and by force of arms make himself master of *Florence*, *Mantua*, *Bologna*, and other towns and countries, to be incorporated with his duchy ; *Robert* found himself under a necessity of raising an army for restoring the affairs of *Italy* to their former situation ; being moreover invited to this expedition by pope *Boniface*, and the *Florentines*, who promised to advance two hundred thousand florins for the expence of the undertaking <sup>l</sup>. He therefore made long marches to
- e *Italy*, and encamped before the city of *Brixen*, in the duchy of *Milan* : but *Galeazzo*, being well provided with cavalry, had in all their skirmishes the advantage of the imperialists, whom he fatigued and diminished in such a manner, that, notwithstanding considerable succours which arrived that same year, with the archbishop of *Cologne* and *Leopold* duke of *Austria*, *Robert* was obliged to return to *Germany*, without having been able to strike any one stroke of importance. Besides, his return was rendered necessary, because the other states refused to perform their promise to second the enterprize, being in this particular influenced by the elector of *Mentz*, who, not contented with hindering the ecclesiastics from paying the tenth which the pope had granted to *Robert* for his *Italian* expedition, had
- f also alienated their affection from the emperor. For these reasons he was obliged, next year, to march back into his own country <sup>m</sup>, without having advanced his own cause in *Italy*, either against *Galeazzo* duke of *Milan*, or done any thing in favour of the pope, against *Ladislaus* king of *Naples*, who some years after took the city of *Rome*, and expelled *Boniface* <sup>n</sup> (L).

He is pressed by the pope and Florentines to undertake an expedition into Italy ; where he is worsted by John Galeazzo, and obliged to return to Germany without having done any thing of consequence. A. D. 1402.

<sup>h</sup> KRANTZ, x. Wand. i. <sup>i</sup> HEISS, l. ii. c. 29. <sup>k</sup> Id. ibid. <sup>l</sup> SPOND. Cont. Baron. t. xi. p. 114. Chron. Magdeb. ex MEIB. t. ii. p. 348. <sup>m</sup> ARET. lib. xii. ANTON. tit. xxii. c. 3. sect. 35. <sup>n</sup> AVENT. Ann. &c. lib. vii. p. 646.

(L) *Ladislaus* was so successful in *Italy*, that he aspired to the empire, publicly assumed the title, and ordered this motto to be wrought in embroidery upon his robes ; *Aut Caesar aut nihil* (1).

(1) Remarq. sur Heiss, l. xi. c. 29.



Galeazo aspires to the throne of Italy; but dies in the midst of his career.  
A. D. 1403.

THE retreat of *Robert* leaving the field free to *Galeazo*, he proposed no less than the conquest of the whole kingdom of *Italy*; and fortune at first seemed to declare in favour of this undertaking; for he made himself master of the city of *Bologna*, and was on the eve of reducing *Florence*, when he was attacked by a malignant fever, which put an end to his life. As he left but one daughter, who was not of age, the pope availed himself of this opportunity to wrest from the *Milanese*, *Bologna*, *Perugia*, and some other places. The city of *Milan* shook off the yoke of *Galeazo*: *Verona* submitted to the vicar of the empire established at *Padua*, but some time after the *Venetians* possessed themselves of that city. *Ladislaus*, who had been invited to ascend the throne of *Hungary*, found himself, in consequence of a strange revolution, unable to cope with his competitor *Sigismund*, and at the same time in danger of losing his hereditary kingdom of *Naples*, the nobility of which had revolted in his absence. Thither, therefore, he repaired with all imaginable dispatch, and punished the rebels with such severity, as seemed to be rather the effect of cruel revenge, than the sacrifice of deliberate justice.

The emperor employs himself in aggrandizing his own electorate.

THIS was a favourable conjuncture for retrieving the authority of the empire in *Italy*, if *Robert* had undertaken a second expedition into that country; but this he found impracticable, because the electors of *Mentz*, *Cologne*, and *Triers*, opposed the levy of the tenths. He, therefore, employed himself at home, in pacifying the troubles of the empire, in reducing the towns that refused to acknowledge him for emperor, and aggrandizing the dominions of his own electorate; for which purpose he purchased of *William*, bishop of *Straßburg*, the fiefs of *Gegenbach*, *Ortemberg*, *Offenbourg*, *Zell*, *Hermanbach*, and several other lordships of *Alsace*, tho' not without great opposition from the chapter and body of burghers, who would by no means consent to this alienation; and the emperor did not think proper to use violent methods for the support of his acquisition, as he was not yet quite fixed on the imperial throne.

Makes war on Bernard marquis of Baden;  
A. D. 1404.

*BERNARD*, marquis of *Baden*, had established tolls in his dominions, contrary to the regulations of the public peace, compelled passengers to pay ransom, and imposed excessive duties upon commerce; so that complaints of these exactions were laid before the emperor, who desired *Bernard* to suppress these iniquitous impositions; but he, instigated by the elector of *Mentz*, refused to obey the orders of *Robert*, who declared war against him, took the castle of *Mulberg*, and compelled him to sue for peace; which was granted, on condition that he should, for the future, attempt nothing against the liberties and immunities of the noblemen, cities, and subjects of the empire.

who joins in a confederacy against him, with *Straßburg* and the towns of *Suabia*.  
A. D. 1405.

NOTWITHSTANDING this accommodation, he afterwards engaged in a treaty with *Eberhard* count de *Wurtemberg*, the magistrates of *Straßburg*, and the towns of *Suabia*; the principal article of which imported, that, should the emperor presume to encroach upon the rights and privileges of any one of the confederated parties, the rest should assist the said party with their troops and money. *Robert* complained of this injurious association, which supposed that he had an intention to invade the privileges of his subjects, and even summoned the towns of *Suabia* to appear at a general diet, and explain their motives for this confederacy, which, however, subsisted to the day of his death.

War breaks out between the house of Austria and the city of *Basil*.  
A. D. 1406.

IN spite of all his endeavours to preserve the peace of the empire, a war broke out between *Catharine* of *Burgundy*, wife of *Leopold* of *Austria*, and the inhabitants of *Basil*; and notwithstanding the interposition of *Lewis* count palatine of the *Rhine*, who attempted to compromise the dispute, hostilities were committed with various success, and great cruelty on both sides (tho' the *Austrians* were the greatest sufferers in the desolation of the province of *Suntgau*), until peace was at last established, after the war had raged for the space of two years. The negotiations were renewed by means of *Rodolphus*, marquis of *Hochberg*, allied to the city of *Basil*. A congress being appointed at *Ensisheim*, the peace was happily concluded, and a league, offensive and defensive, for the term of six years, took place between the town of *Basil* and *Frederic* duke of *Austria*, successor to *Leopold*, who died without male issue; tho' his widow *Catherine* was left in possession of *Suntgau*, and the territories belonging to the house of *Austria* in *Alsace*.

John Huss preaches the doctrine of Wickliffe at Prague.  
A. D. 1408.

DURING this contest in *Alsace*, *Bohemia* was involved in new disorders, in consequence of a new doctrine in religion, first broached by *Wickliffe*, in *England*, and now adopted by *John Huss*, rector of the university of *Prague*; who, tho' opposed by the archbishop, and censured by pope *Alexander V.* elected by the council of *Pisa*, continued to preach, and make converts with great success, under the protection of *Winceslaus* and his queen, who even condescended to reconcile him with the archbishop.

Is excommunicated by pope John XXIII.  
A. D. 1409.

*JOHN XXIII.* who succeeded *Alexander*, cited *Huss* to appear at his tribunal, and the rector, refusing to obey, was excommunicated. At the same time the pope laid the city of *Prague* under interdiction, and forbade all the priests to celebrate mass, baptize, marry,

° GUESTIN. Hist. Venet. l. iv. de l'Emp. t. ii. p. 489.

[P BARRE, t. vii. p. 96.

¶ STRUV. Period. xi. sect. 7.

† Annal.



a or perform any other religious function, while *Hufs* should reside in that capital. The publication of this sentence was followed by troubles and sedition: *Winceflaus* shut himself up in the fortrefs of *Visigrade*, and *John Hufs* retired to *Huffinet*, the place of his nativity, where he appealed from the judgment of the pope, to the holy trinity, and wrote to the cardinals, offering to give an account of his faith, even at the hazard of the fire, before the university of *Prague*, and in the presence of those who had attended his lectures and sermons<sup>s</sup>.

THE success of *John Hufs*, however, was extremely prejudicial to the university of *Prague*; for he was no sooner admitted into that body, than, by his cabals and interest with *Winceflaus*, he deprived the *Germans* of two in three votes which they had in the election of a rector; and this deprivation incensed them so much, that they abandoned the university; some repairing to the academy at *Leipsic*, lately founded by *Frederic William* duke of Saxony; and others settling at *Erford*, *Ingoldstadt*, *Rostock*, and *Cracovia*<sup>t</sup>.

His success  
prejudicial to  
the university  
of Prague.

THE church of *Rome* not only suffered from these innovations, but also continued in a state of distraction from the schism which still prevailed, and which the emperor attempted in vain to extinguish.

The schism of  
the church  
continues.

BENEDICT XIII. and Gregory XII. tho' they had sworn to resign the pontificate, still found new pretences to evade the performance of their oath; and in the mean time their dispute was attended with very tragical consequences. *John* of *Bavaria* was appointed bishop of *Liege* by *Gregory*, and *Theodoric de Pervis* nominated to the same see by *Benedict*. This competition produced a civil war, in which were engaged the counts of *Flanders*, *Namur*, *Holland*, and the elector of *Cologne*, as the supporters of *John*; while the party of *Pervis* was supported by *Liege*, *Louvain*, *Brussels*, and all the towns of *Brabant*, which raised fifty thousand men for his service. *Pervis*, at the head of this army, invested *Maastricht*, to which *John* had retired, and carried on the siege with such vigour, that the place was reduced to the utmost extremity; when it was relieved by the duke of *Burgundy*, who marched to the succour of *John*, defeated his adversary in a pitched battle, and conducted him in triumph to *Liege*, which was abandoned to pillage. *John*, upon this occasion, condemned one hundred and twenty noblemen to lose their heads; a greater number was hanged; and four-and-twenty were thrown headlong into the *Meuse*, together with the legate of *Benedict*, and all the officers of *Pervis*. The savage prelate, not contented with these sacrifices to his revenge, re-united to his see all the privileges of the city of *Liege*, the county of *Loos*, the *Hasbaye*, *St. Tron*, and the duchy of *Bouillon*: he suppressed the offices of bailie, provost, mayor, and sheriff, and fined the province and the town of *Liege* in two hundred thousand crowns, for which he took hostages<sup>u</sup>.

A cruel war  
kindled by a  
competition for  
the bishopric  
of Liege.

WHILE *Gregory XII.* who was acknowledged pope in *Italy*, convened a council in *Aquila*, to which he invited *Robert* and other Christian kings; and *Benedict XIII.* who was owned for pope in *France*, held another council at *Catalonia*; the cardinals convoked a third at *Pisa*; and the emperor, assembling the electors at *Bacharat*, and afterwards at *Nuremberg*, appointed the meeting of a diet in the city of *Frankfort*; at which were present two cardinals, one from *Gregory*, and another from the sacred college. After long and public debates, the opinions of the assembly were divided between the two popes, the greatest part of the archbishops, prelates, and princes, espousing the cause of the cardinals; and the emperor, together with the archbishop of *Triers*, the duke of *Bavaria*, and some others, declaring for *Gregory*, who proposed that a council should be held at *Udina*, in the *Friuli*, under the direction of the emperor, by whose decision he promised to abide<sup>x</sup>. *Robert*, therefore sent an archbishop, two bishops, two doctors, and his chancellor, as ambassadors to *Pisa*, to prove, by learned arguments, that the cardinals ought not to have deposed *Gregory*; but finding they could gain no converts to this opinion, and that the cardinals being attached to *Winceflaus*, would not even own their master for emperor, they appealed from the council of *Pisa* to an œcumenical council, and retired without taking leave. Notwithstanding this appeal, the council proceeded to the deposition of the two popes, and raised *Alexander V.* to the papal chair; by which election the schism was augmented. The emperor wrote to several princes, assuring them, that the council of *Pisa* was not canonical, and that he would continue to acknowledge *Gregory* as the true pope, until a lawful and canonical sentence should be pronounced against him.

A. D. 1410:  
The emperor  
declares for  
Gregory;  
sends ambassa-  
dors to the  
council at Pisa;  
writes to several  
princes in  
his favour.

As for *Alexander*, he notified his elevation to the sovereigns of *Europe*, and, in his letter to *Winceflaus*, bestowed upon that prince the title of king of the *Romans*; a circumstance which intailed upon him the hatred of *Robert*, who complained of the insult to the princes of *Germany*, and prohibited them from acknowledging *Alexander* as pope. This last, in

Pope Alexan-  
der dies, and  
is succeeded by  
John XXIII.

<sup>s</sup> RAINALD. ad an. 1409.    <sup>t</sup> ÆN. SYLV. c. 35.    <sup>u</sup> MONSTREL. a l'Ann. 1408. p. 51.    <sup>x</sup> NIEM. 3. de Schism. 39.    GÖBEL. in Cosmod. & ap. Mag. Chron. Belg.    <sup>y</sup> Moine de Saint Denys, l. xxviii.



order to weaken the force of the emperor's resentment, found means to detach several German bishops from his party, by creating them legates of the holy see; and these exerted all their endeavours to establish the authority of the council at *Pisa*. But the efforts of their zeal were in a little time suspended by the death of *Alexander*, in whose room seventeen cardinals, in the conclave, elected *Balthazar Cossa*, cardinal dean of *St. Eustache*, who assumed the name of *John XXIII.* and was acknowledged by the greatest part of *Europe*; for *Benedict* was owned by no nation but *Spain* and *Scotland*; and all *Gregory's* influence extended no farther than some dominions of *Italy* and *Germany*, in which the authority of *Robert* prevailed <sup>a</sup>.

Ladislaus king of Poland engaged in a war with the Teutonic order.

*LADISLAUS*, king of *Poland*, was diverted from interesting himself in these events, by a war in which he was engaged with the knights of the *Teutonic* order, who had detained twenty of his ships laden with corn for the use of the *Lithuanians*, and refused to make proper satisfaction. Both parties had recourse to arms; the knights made an irruption into *Poland*, and were defeated with great slaughter, near *Kalisch*. This misfortune was the more severe, as it produced a revolt in the towns of *Prussia*, which returned to the dominion of *Poland* <sup>b</sup>.

Robert takes the field against the elector of Mentz; but dies.

By this time *Robert* had almost extinguished all the factions in *Germany*, and would have enjoyed the peaceful fruits of his policy and discretion, had not *John*, elector of *Mentz*, who was his indefatigable enemy, still found fresh expedients to keep him in vexation. He had been the instrument of forming associations and leagues against the imperial authority; he had traversed him in all the steps he took for terminating the schism in the church; and another cause of misunderstanding between them was a castle, which the elector began to build in *Hochst* against the will of the emperor, who put his troops in motion, in order to hinder him by force from proceeding; but this design was frustrated by a fever, which attacked him at *Oppenheim*, and put a period to his life, in the ninth year of his reign <sup>c</sup>. He was buried at *Heidelberg* (M), where, before his elevation to the throne, he had founded an academy, which was confirmed by pope *Urban VI* <sup>c</sup>.

His character.

The distribution of his hereditary dominions.

THIS prince acquired the surname of *Short*, on account of his stature, tho' he was extremely vigorous and active. Yet he is more celebrated for his justice and clemency to men, and his piety to God, than for his magnanimity, or warlike exploits. He had made some progress in letters, was endowed with uncommon penetration, and there is no other blemish in his character, than that of being a little addicted to the love of money. During his last illness, he named seven trustees (N) for the distribution of his dominions among his children; and, according to their regulation, *Lewis with the long Beard*, otherwise surnamed *the Blind*, whose elder brothers, *Rupert*, *Pepin*, and *Frederic*, were dead, succeeded to the electorate of *Palatine* and the lordship of *Amberg*. *John* had *Sulzbach*, *Nuburgh*, and the county of *Cham*. *Simmerin*, *Deux Ponts*, *Lutzelstein*, fell to the share of *Stephen*, and *Sintzheim* was *Otto's* patrimony (O). <sup>d</sup>

### J O S S E, or J O D O C U S.

Jodocus elected, tho' never acknowledged;

AFTER the death of *Rupert*, *Jodocus*, or *Josse*, marquis of *Moravia*, is said to have been elected emperor <sup>a</sup>, and to have lived six months after his election; but as he was never acknowledged, he cannot justly be ranked among the emperors. Not but that he was regularly elected at *Frankfort* by a majority of the members assembled at the diet convoked by *John* archbishop of *Mentz*: tho' *Sigismund* was at the same time proclaimed king of the *Romans* by the archbishop of *Triers* and the count palatine; so that at this period there were three emperors and three popes, and each had a number of adherents; for *Winceslaus* still maintained his title to the imperial throne <sup>c</sup>.

dies in Moravia. A. D. 1411.

*SIGISMUND*, hearing that his cousin *Josse* was elected, threatened to invade the marquisate of *Moravia*, and was actually employed in making preparations for that expedition, when he received the news of his death; which happened at *Brin* about three months after his election <sup>f</sup>.

<sup>a</sup> Chron. Sponheim. <sup>b</sup> DOUGL. Hist. Polon. l. x. <sup>c</sup> SPOND. Contin. BARON. t. ii. p. 175. <sup>d</sup> Cuspinian. p. 393. <sup>e</sup> GOLDAST. t. iii. GOBEL. Cosm. æt. vi. c. 90. AVENT. Ann. Boior. l. vii. p. 647. <sup>f</sup> ECCARD. t. i. Hist. Sigif. apud VONDER HARD.

(M) Some authors allege, that he was buried at *Spire*; but that he was interred at *Heidelberg* plainly appears from the testimony of *Cuspinianus*, who not only positively affirms that he was royally interred in the church of the Holy Ghost in this city, but even inserts the inscription on his monument (1).

(N) The trustees were *Raban*, bishop of *Spire*, *John* of *Hertzborn*, *John* of *Dalburg*, *Herman* of *Rodenstein*,

*Francis Wolbert* of *Sickengen*, *Rupert* of *Helmstadt*, and *Tham Knebel* (2).

(O) His daughters were, *Elizabeth*, married to *Frederic* archduke of *Austria*; *Agnes* wife of *Adolphus* duke of *Cleves*; and *Margaret*, matched with *Charles I.* duke of *Lorraine*. All these children were born to *Robert* by his wife *Elizabeth*, daughter of *Frederic* burgrave of *Nuremberg* (3).

(1) Cuspinian. p. 393.

(2) Remarg. sur Heifs, ubi sup.

(3) Id. ibid.



## S I G I S M U N D.

**T**HIS prince's death was no sooner known, than the archbishop of *Triers*, and the count palatine of the *Rhine*, pressed the electoral college to confirm the choice which they had made during the preceding year; but as it refused to decide an affair of such consequence, without the participation of the states, the archbishop of *Mentz* assembled a diet at *Frankfort*, where *Sigismund* was elected by the unanimous consent of the electors.

*Sigismund succeeds to the imperial throne.*

**SIGISMUND**, the son of the emperor *Charles VI.* and brother to *Winceslaus*, had, before his elevation to the imperial dignity, reigned seven-and-twenty years in the kingdom of *Hungary*, since the death of *Lewis* his father-in-law, whom he succeeded. As this prince was promoted to the empire on account of his great qualities, and the wise conduct he maintained in his own government, in the midst of many difficulties, it will not be unreasonable to say something in this place of the means by which he was raised to that throne.

**H**E had been sent while he was yet very young, to the court of *Lewis* king of *Hungary*; who had no other children than two daughters, *Mary* and *Heduvige*, the younger of whom had been promised to *Jagellon*, grand duke of *Lithuania*, who married her, and afterwards ascended the throne of *Poland*, while *Mary* the eldest was betrothed to *Sigismund*. *Lewis*, for this reason, caused him to be educated with great care, and prevailed upon the states of the kingdom to nominate him as his successor, on condition that his marriage with *Mary* should be consummated. But, before this condition could be fulfilled,

*A retrospective account of this prince.*

*His education in Hungary.*

*Lewis* died, and *Mary* succeeded to the throne, under the regency of queen *Elizabeth*, her mother, assisted by the counsels of *Nicholas Gara*, count or grand master of the palace, because *Sigismund*, being at that time but fifteen years of age, had not married the princess, nor was supposed capable of governing the dominions. This minister engrossed the whole authority under these queens, and became extremely arrogant in consequence of his success; yet, in order to render his power still more absolute, he began to sow suspicions and jealousies between his mistresses and the principal noblemen of the kingdom; a wicked piece of policy, which proved fatal to the state, by creating a general aversion against the government; and to such a degree did this disaffection prevail, that the nobles privately sent the bishop of *Zagabria*, with an offer of the crown of *Hungary* to *Charles Durazzo*,

*The queen mother Elizabeth listens to the counsels of Nicholas Gara.*

king of *Naples*, who was related to the young queen. That prince joyfully embraced the proposal, notwithstanding the dissuasions of his queen, and most faithful adherents; and, after having settled the affairs of *Sicily* to his own mind, began to prepare for his journey to *Hungary*. Queen *Elizabeth*, apprised of these secret transactions, and understanding that *Charles* was actually upon the road to take possession of the kingdom, and effect a marriage between *Mary* and his son *Ladislav*, in order to secure the crown to his own family by that alliance; the queen, I say, informed of these circumstances, resolved, if possible, to frustrate his designs, and, as the first step, solemnized the marriage of *Sigismund* with her daughter. This affair was no sooner concluded, than she sent *Sigismund* into *Bohemia*, because he was not yet powerful enough to maintain an open war against his competitor. In the mean time, *Charles* arrived at *Offen*, where the court of *Hungary* resided, and was very honourably received by the queens; who, dissembling their resentment, seemed even to concur with the *Hungarians* in raising him to the throne. He was no sooner acknowledged king, than he took the administration into his own hands, and the ceremony of his coronation was performed with great magnificence. But, as his promotion was entirely owing to popular passion and caprice, the noblemen and people in a little time grew tired of his government; and, changing their note, expatiated on all occasions upon the virtues of their queens. *Elizabeth*, who had amused *Charles* with the hopes of a treaty, by which *Sigismund* would resign the kingdom in his favour, having observed this happy change in the minds of the subjects, resolved to profit by the occasion, and rid herself of this new intruder; and this expedient she used to effect her purpose. She and her daughter, together with the *Palatine Gara*, invited him to their apartment in the palace, in order to communicate a letter, which she pretended to have received from *Sigismund*, touching his renunciation of the crown. *Charles* went thither without the least suspicion, and had no sooner sat down by *Elizabeth*, than the *Palatine* entered the room, accompanied by a man employed for that purpose; who, passing behind the king, cleft his head with a sabre, tho' he did not die till some days after he had received the stroke <sup>a</sup> (P).

*Charles Durazzo, king of Naples, invited to ascend the Hungarian throne.*

*Sigismund retires to Bohemia.*

*Charles takes the administration into his own hands;*

*is amused by queen Elizabeth,*

*and treacherously murdered by her direction.*

## ELIZABETH,

<sup>a</sup> SPOND. CONT. BARRE, t. ii. p. 44.

<sup>b</sup> THUR. in Car. Parv. c. 8. BONFIN. 3. Dec. 1. Car. Par. 3.

(P) He was wounded by one *Blasius Forgatch*, a man remarkable for his bodily strength and audacity, while the palace was secured against his attendants and friends by *Nicholas Gara*. After having received the wound, he



She resumes  
the supreme  
authority;

is put to death  
by Hiornard,  
governor of  
Croatia;

and her daugh-  
ter Mary  
thrown into a  
dungeon.  
Sigismund  
marches with  
a powerful  
army into  
Hungary, and  
is received  
with open  
arms.  
Mary, his  
queen is set  
at liberty by  
Hiornard.

He is crowned.

Revenge the  
death of his  
mother-in-  
law.

Loses his  
queen.

Resolves to  
punish those  
noblemen who  
had invited  
Charles to the  
throne.

ELIZABETH, thinking she had thus dissipated the faction of *Charles* by his death, re-established herself in her former authority, and few people presumed to call her conduct in question, as this cruel scheme had been executed in consequence of the assurances she had received of the fidelity of her subjects. Nevertheless, this murder did not pass unpunished; for some time after, the queens being on a progress through *Lower Hungary*, with the *Palatine Gara* and their ordinary retinue, *Hiornard*, governor, or judge provincial, of *Croatia*, who had been appointed by king *Charles*, resolved to surprise the assassins. For this purpose he assembled a good number of men, and laid an ambuscade upon the road; by which the court was surrounded, the *Palatine* and murderer of *Charles* were cut to pieces, and all the domestics of *Gara* killed, without pity, in their endeavours to save the life of their master. Nor was less inhumanity used towards the queen-mother *Elizabeth*, whom they pulled out of her vehicle, and dragged by the hair of the head before the judge provincial. There she, in a pathetic manner, pleaded her own cause; alleging, that king *Charles* had treated the princess *Mary* with contempt and derision, and unjustly dispossessed her of her kingdom. She, moreover, threw herself on her knees before him, implored his pardon for the assassination, and conjured him to remember the favours he had received from the late king *Lewis* her husband. The princess *Mary*, kneeling also before him, reinforced the supplications of her mother, beseeching him to manifest his gratitude to her father's house; but their grief, humiliation, and remonstrances, had no effect. *Mary* was inclosed in a dismal dungeon, and the queen-mother, notwithstanding all her tears and intreaties, miserably drowned in the rivulet of *Roseth*. Such was the fruit of her minister's violent counsels, to which she had paid a blind and implicit regard. *Sigismund* no sooner understood the particulars of this piteous catastrophe, than he set out with a powerful army, which he had gradually assembled, and marched strait into *Hungary*, where he was received with open arms, and universal applause. His arrival in that kingdom did not a little disconcert *Hiornard*, who had no reason to expect that his cruelty would pass unpunished. With a view, therefore, to divert, or at least diminish, the fury of the impending storm, he removed queen *Mary* into a comfortable apartment, and ordered her to be treated according to her quality. He even visited her in prison, and proposed that she should be allowed to return to *Hungary*, provided she would insure his life, his office, and his fortune. This was such a welcome proposal, that she confirmed the promise by an oath; adding, that she would look upon him as her father, from the moment she should obtain her liberty. In consequence of this promise, the judge provincial sent her with an escort of troops to *Offen*, where her husband king *Sigismund* waited for her coming, and where she was received with all the demonstrations of public joy.

SOME days after her return, the states of *Hungary* assembled at *Cronweissembourg*, where *Sigismund* was crowned, in the twentieth year of his age; and this ceremony was no sooner performed, than he resolved to revenge the cruelty which had been exercised upon the queen his mother-in-law: his wife, indeed, had promised, and even swore, that she would never punish the perpetrators of that murder; but she could not undertake for the conduct of her husband, who determined to make an example of the chief actor in that tragedy. He accordingly sent proper persons into *Croatia*, who apprehended the judge provincial and his accomplices, and conducted them to the city of the *Five Churches*, or *Fünfkirchen*. There, in consequence of a sentence pronounced by *Sigismund*, *Hiornard's* hands being tied behind his back, he was dragged through the streets, his flesh tore off with red hot pincers, and, being quartered, the four parts of his body were hung up in the four most conspicuous places of the city: while all his accomplices were beheaded, except the bishop of *Zagabria*, whose life was spared on account of his function, tho' he was expelled from the see, and his estate confiscated. *Sigismund* had not been many years in possession of his good fortune, when, upon a journey he received the news of his queen's death, which affected him to such a degree, that he detached himself from the world for some time, and indulged his grief in retirement at *Offen*. Whether this melancholy occasion recalled the remembrance of the revolt, in consequence of which *Charles* had been invited to the throne; or that he could no longer suppress the resentment which he harboured against the authors of that revolution, who seemed to brow-beat him in security, without having ever condescended to solicit his forgiveness; certain it is, he resolved to call them to a severe account for the rebellion in which they had been engaged; and employed an officer, whose name was *George Weidassen*, to arrest them privately, without reflecting on

<sup>1</sup> BONFIN. ubi sup. THUR. in Sigisf. cap. i.

<sup>\*</sup> SPOND. Bontin. tom. ii. p. 49.

he was thrown in prison, a poisoned plaister applied to his head, and, that not producing the desired effect, he was strangled. His body was buried without pomp, in the

church of *St. Andrew*; and afterwards, being dug up, lay a long time exposed, on account of his having died under a sentence of excommunication (1).

(1) Spond. Cont. Barrc, t. xi. p. 48.



- a the troublesome consequences of such a measure. A prince cannot too cautiously revolve every circumstance of a step which he proposes to take without the advice of his council, every member of which is, in some measure, an addition to the sagacity, as well as a sanction to the conduct, of his sovereign. *Weidassen*, having assembled a good number of troops, on pretence of going to visit *Lower Hungary*, fell in with the delinquents; who, suspecting his design, had united in a body and taken the field: but he attacked them in the night, took them all prisoners, loaded them with fetters, and sent them to the king at *Offen*. When they were brought to their trial before *Sigismund*, and some princes and noblemen, they would not make an obeisance to the king, nor answer to the questions that were asked; so much did they despise the danger of their situation. An instance of indifference
- b and disrespect, which provoked *Sigismund* to such a degree, that he ordered them to be instantly beheaded<sup>1</sup>; and the sentence was accordingly executed upon two and thirty noblemen, distinguished not only by their birth, but also by the services they had done the state. *Stephen Contus*, one of the chiefs of this confederacy, looked upon death with such fortitude and contempt, that he desired the executioner to strike him on the fore part of the neck, because he could never brook the thought of receiving a wound behind. This cruel execution made such an impression on many of the princes, that they conceived an abhorrence for *Sigismund*, whom they inveighed against as a tyrant, and against whom they afterwards rebelled.
- c *BAJAZET*, the *Turkish* sultan, taking the advantage of these intestine troubles, and probably invited by the malcontents of the kingdom, marched towards the frontiers, in order to invade the country; but chancing to intercept a messenger with a letter from *Emanuel*, emperor of *Constantinople*, to *Sigismund*, apprising this last of the *Turkish* expedition, he was so much incensed against the sender, that, postponing his design upon *Hungary*, he turned his arms against *Constantinople*, which he suddenly invested by sea and land: being there informed that *Sigismund* had taken the field with a numerous army, reinforced by *French* and *Germans*, to the amount of 100,000 men, and advanced to the city of *Nicopolis*, he instantly raised the blockade; and, marching thither with great expedition, attacked the Christians in the night, and cut their whole army in pieces<sup>m</sup>. In this battle, a great part of the *Hungarian* nobility was slain, and the kingdom sustained such a loss, as laid it open
- d to the incursions of the enemy (Q). As for *Sigismund*, who escaped the carnage by flight, instead of exerting his endeavours to repair this fatal overthrow, he abandoned himself wholly to his pleasures, without bestowing the least attention to the necessities of the state; so that the aversion and contempt of his subjects every day increased against him; the nobles and governors of provinces openly taxed him with indolence and mal-administration; and, finding the people ripe for revolt, secured his person, and committed him to the custody of the two sons of *Gara*, whom he had put to death, because they were known to be his most bitter enemies<sup>n</sup>. Then they proclaimed *Ladislaus* king of *Hungary*; and this prince, who was son of *Charles* king of *Naples*, entering *Dalmatia*, was received as sovereign in the city of *Zara*: nevertheless, the castle of *Buda*, and the other fortresses of the kingdom,
- e together with *High Hungary*, still faithfully adhered to the oath which they had taken in favour of *Sigismund*, even while he was a miserable prisoner, subjected to all the insolence and rancour of his most inveterate foes. Notwithstanding this deplorable situation, such was his address, that he gradually insinuated himself into the favour of *Gara's* widow, who, at length, fairly undertook to effect his enlargement. With this view she held frequent consultations with her sons, to whom she observed, that such attempts upon the person of a sovereign were usually attended with fatal consequences; that the people were unsteady in their resolutions, and might as suddenly restore as they had deposed the king; and, even if such a revolution should not happen, that the successor would revenge upon them the cause of *Sigismund*, through fear of meeting with the same ill usage. She likewise displayed
- f the honour and advantage which they might acquire by setting the king at liberty. These remonstrances were not lost upon her sons, whom the king promised, upon oath, to invest with *Moravia*, provided they would enable him to make the grant effectual. Thus persuaded, they enlarged, and conducted him to that province, from whence he repaired to *Bohemia*.

They are apprehended,

and put to death.

Bajazet marches towards the frontiers of Hungary, and defeats Sigismund at Nicopolis.

The Hungarians confine their king;

who regains his liberty, and retires to Bohemia;

<sup>1</sup> HEISS, l. ii. c. 30.

<sup>m</sup> CHALCOND. l. ii. LEUNCL. l. vi. THUR. in Sigif. cap. 6. BONFIN. 3. Dec. 2.

<sup>n</sup> THUR. in Sigif. c. 9, & seq.

(Q) Historians are much divided about the battle of *Nicopolis*. *Leunclavius* affirms, that it was fought in the year 1393; and *Juvenalis Ursinus*, archbishop of *Rheims*, an historian of those days, confirms this date, by observing, that *Sigismund* wrote a letter that same year to the king of *France*, describing the battle, and soliciting succours to repair his loss. On the other hand, *Bonfinius*, *Thorosius*, and *Aventinus*, agree in placing it three

years later; so that, in all probability, the *Hungarians* were twice beaten near the same place; but the overthrow they sustained in the year 1396 seems to have been the most important: for we do not find, that *Sigismund* made another effort against the victor. It appears also, that there was a great number of *French* in his army at this battle, who were probably sent in consequence of his solicitations, after his first defeat.



he returns and  
resumes his  
authority.

THERE having raised a considerable army, he marched back into his kingdom, and, without opposition, reduced the whole country to obedience. He kept the promise which he had made to his deliverers; and, during the rest of his reign, comported himself with such clemency and affability towards his enemies, as well as friends, that he soon retrieved the friendship and confidence of his people. From his own experience, which cost him so much, he extracted this maxim, that he who can neither forgive, nor occasionally connive, will never make great proficiency in the art of reigning.

He is called to  
the empire.

HIS reputation extended to the neighbouring nations; and the states of *Germany* thought they could not find a more accomplished prince to wear the imperial crown.

Sigismund  
alienates the  
electorate of  
Brandenburg.

THE news of his confirmation found him in *Hungary*, from whence he immediately set out for the empire; and, in order to fulfil the expectation of those who called him to this high dignity, he resolved to employ his whole attention in remedying two grievances, under which *Germany* at that time groaned; these were, the confusion, oppression, and disorder, which prevailed in the provinces, and the schism which had for thirty years distracted the church. He began his reign with alienating the electorate of *Brandenburg* in favour of *Frederic* burgrave of *Nuremberg*, sprung from the counts of *Hohenzollern*, a prince of great merit, from whom the present marquisses of *Brandenburg* are descended (R). For this purchase he gave four hundred thousand florins; but *Sigismund* reserved to himself and his brother the right of redemption for the same sum, in case the male heirs of the burgrave should fail.

A. D. 1411.

AT this assembly too, he mediated an accommodation between *William* count *de Berg* and *Theodoric de Meurs*, who had been at war for several years about the archbishopric of *Cologne*, for which *William* and *Theodoric* were competitors. The first had been confirmed by *Gregory XIII.* and the other by *John XXIII.* The dispute was left to the decision of arms. *Theodoric* defeated his adversary, and returned in triumph to *Cologne*, where he was received with extraordinary acclamations; while *William* was fain to sue for peace, which he obtained, on condition of renouncing all his pretensions to the archbishopric, and marrying *Theodoric's* niece, daughter of the count of *Tecklembourg*.

He exhorts  
Winceslaus to  
reform his con-  
duct;

THIS affair being happily compromised, the emperor endeavoured, by remonstrances, to reform the court of his brother *Winceslaus*, which was a scene of riot, luxury, and excess, and afforded a dangerous example to the whole kingdom of *Bohemia*; but all his representations proved ineffectual, even though *Sigismund* threatened to put him to the ban of the empire, unless he would amend his way of life.

engages in a  
treaty with  
Ladislaus,  
king of Po-  
land, against  
the Teutonic  
order.

THE next affair that engrossed the emperor's attention, was the war between *Ladislaus* king of *Poland*, and the *Teutonic* order, which, though generally disadvantageous to the knights, was still maintained by the industry of *Henry de Plaven*, the grand master, who raised sums of money, by mortgaging to *Winceslaus* some fiefs belonging to the order in *Bohemia*, and even found means to detach the duke of *Lithuania* from the interest of *Poland*. *Ladislaus*, in this emergency, made advances towards a peace, which was accordingly effected, on condition that his *Polish* majesty should relinquish all his pretensions upon *Prussia* to the *Teutonic* order. But he afterwards engaged in a private treaty with the emperor, who repaired to *Cracovia* on pretence of a visit; by which agreement the two princes promised to join their forces, invade *Prussia*, destroy the *Teutonic* order, and divide between them the conquered dominions. At the same time, both these princes made an offensive and defensive alliance with *Saladine*, cham of the *Tartars*, who engaged to assist them against all their enemies.

A. D. 1412.

SOME time after this agreement, he was obliged to march towards *Dalmatia*, in consequence of a quarrel with the *Venetians*, touching the possession of that country, on which they had laid violent hands, as well as upon many places that belonged to the empire: provoked by these invasions, he marched against them with an army of *Hungarians*, and reduced several castles and strong places; but as he had, by a public edict, commanded the *German* princes to take the field, and assist him in this war, and not one of them had obeyed the summons, he did not think it prudent to proceed at his own expence; but concluded a peace with the first opportunity. After this treaty, he advanced into *Lombardy*, under various pretences, though his sole aim was to finish the negotiation which he had begun with pope *John XXIII.* touching the convocation of a general council, by which the peace of the church might be restored, in extinguishing the schism produced from the fac-

Advances into  
Lombardy,  
and confers  
with pope  
John.

A. D. 1413.

<sup>o</sup> GÖBEL. Cosm. æt. vi. c. 90.  
l. xi.

<sup>p</sup> HEISS, ubi supra.

<sup>q</sup> Cosmod. ubi supra.

<sup>r</sup> DUGL. Hist. Polon.

<sup>s</sup> AVENT. Ann. Boior. l. vii. p. 659, & seq.

(R) At the same time he granted, by letters patent, to the city of *Nuremberg*, the privilege of keeping the imperial ornaments and the jewels of the crown, which are sent to the coronations of emperors by a solemn deputation from that city (13).



a tions of three pretended popes. Upon this subject, he had several conferences with the legates of *John*, who waited upon him in person at *Placentia*, and then accompanied him at *Lodi*, where they came to a determination of convoking a council. Bulls were accordingly expedited, appointing it to be held at *Constance*, and to be opened on the first day of *November*, in the following year<sup>1</sup>.

THE emperor, upon this occasion, published a memorial inviting all the bishops of Christendom to the council, and promising safe conducts to all those who should think them necessary; he sent ambassadors to *Charles VI.* of *France*, to solicit his personal appearance at this assembly; he wrote on the same subject to *Benedict XIII.* who had retired into the dominions of *Spain*; and in a letter to *Gregory XII.* who resided in the kingdom of *Naples*, b earnestly desired he would repair to *Constance*, and refer his cause to the decision of an oecumenical council, which he (the emperor) had agreed with *John* to assemble, in order to terminate the fatal disputes of the church<sup>2</sup>.

OVER and above these precautions, *Sigismund*, overflowing with zeal for the interests of religion, repassed the *Alps*, and made a progress through divers provinces in *Germany*, in order to dispose the minds of the people for concurring with his pious intention of finishing the schism. He reconciled the bishop and chapter with the citizens of *Strasburg*, and confirmed the privileges granted by his predecessors to the imperial towns united to the prefecture of *Alsace*; but the two antipopes exerted all their endeavours to traverse his design: both protested against the council with great virulence. *Benedict* convoked an assembly at c *Perpignan*, where he did not fail to fulminate bulls of excommunication; and *Gregory*, who sojourned at *Rimini*, appeared in public with the pontifical ornaments, and enjoyed the protection of *Ladislaus*, whom he had gained over to his interest.

THIS prince, contrary to the peace which he had lately made with pope *John*, took possession of the city of *Rome*, together with the church-lands, and resolved to make himself master of all *Italy*. With this view he marched towards *Tuscany*, with a powerful army to act against the *Florentines* and pope *John*, who had retired to *Bologna*; but being attacked with a violent disorder, which was the effect of poison, he retired to *Naples*, where, in a few months, he expired<sup>3</sup>. The peace of *Italy* being restored by his death, left the pope, cardinals, archbishops, and prelates, at liberty to repair to *Constance*, where *John* arrived d in the end of *October*. In the mean time *Sigismund*, who had returned to *Germany*, in order to be crowned before he should set out for the council, being at *Spire* upon some business which had called him thither, granted a safe-conduct, on the faith of which *John Huss* repaired to *Constance*, to give an account of his doctrine<sup>4</sup>. Then *Sigismund* set out for *Aix*, where he was crowned on the eighth of *November*; and the ceremony was no sooner performed than he departed, with his empress queen, and a very numerous court, for *Constance*, where he arrived on the twenty-third day of *December*, in the evening (S). Next day he assisted at the midnight mass, which pope *John* celebrated in his pontificals, the emperor himself being clothed in the imperial dalmatic, and performing the office of a deacon, according to the custom on such occasions. On his first arrival at *Constance*, he convoked a e general congregation, in which he gave an account of his negotiations with *Gregory* and *Benedict*, and, in particular, gave them to understand, that he had sent a doctor of laws to *Spain*, to expostulate with *Benedict*, who had promised to give the emperor a meeting at *Nice* in *Provence*, in the month of *June*. At the same time, measures were taken for preventing that confusion, which might have arisen from a concourse of above one hundred thousand strangers, who repaired to *Constance* on this occasion; and *Sigismund* left the fathers of the council at free liberty to treat of the affairs of the church.

IN the first session, which was held on the sixteenth of *November*, the meeting was prorogued to the second of *March*, in the next year, when they expected the emperor in person; and that day being arrived, the fathers of the council having deliberated upon expedients for removing the schism, and re-establishing the union of the church, concluded, f that nothing would so effectually conduce to this salutary end as the resignation of the competitors. *John* himself, who presided in the council, assented to this opinion, and promised authentically to renounce his title, provided *Angelo Corrario*, who had assumed the name of *Gregory XII.* and *Peter de Luna*, distinguished by that of *Benedict XIII.* would imitate him in that act of self-denial. He had no sooner made this declaration, than the emperor, rising from his chair, ran and embraced his feet, applauding him for such a Christian resignation; for which also he was solemnly thanked by the patriarch of *Antioch*, in the name of the whole council; but some days after he repented of this condescension, and, by the advice and assistance of *Frederic* duke of *Austria*, fled from *Constance* in the night, disguised in

*Ladislaus king of Naples, aspires to the conquest of Italy, and dies.*  
A. D. 1414.

*Sigismund grants a safe conduct to John Huss* =

*assist at the council of Constance.*

*John promises to renounce the papacy, retracts his promise, and flies into Switzerland.*

<sup>1</sup> SPOND. Contin. BARR. t. ii. ad ann. 1415.

<sup>2</sup> VOND. HARD. t. vi. p. 5.

<sup>3</sup> BARRE, t. vii. p. 144.

<sup>4</sup> SPOND. CONT. BARRE, t. ii. ad ann. 1415.

(S) For the particular transactions of this famous council, see the History of the Popes.



A. D. 1415.  
The council  
confirms his  
deposition.

The duke of  
Austria is di-  
vested of his  
dominions.

John Hufs  
appears before  
the council;

A. D. 1415.  
is accused of  
heresy;  
convicted, de-  
graded, and  
condemned to  
the flames.

Dies with  
great con-  
stancy.

Sigismund is  
displeased, be-  
cause no re-  
gard was paid  
to his safe-  
conduct.

a a lay habit, and retired to *Schaffhausen*<sup>2</sup>; whither he was followed by several cardinals, and from whence he afterwards withdrew to the castle of *Luffenberg*. Though this sudden retreat at first disconcerted the council, which *John* declared to be dissolved in consequence of his secession, they at length agreed that a council was superior to the pope; and, after many debates, and proceedings, confirmed the sentence of his deposition, decreed that no other pope should be chosen without the deliberation and consent of the council; and that he, together with his competitors, *Angelo Corrario* and *Peter de Luna*, should be for ever excluded from the papacy. *John*, finding them determined, thought proper to yield to the torrent, rather than run the risque of meeting with worse treatment in attempting to oppose it, and quietly acquiesced in the sentence, freely renouncing the pontificate, the marks of which he immediately resigned. Some days after this resignation, *Gregory XII.* b sent a legate to the emperor and council, to renounce his title in the same manner. As for *Frederic*, duke of *Austria*, he had been summoned by the emperor to appear and answer to the charge of being accessory to the flight of *John*; and as he did not think proper to obey, was outlawed, put to the ban of the empire, and divested of his dominions; which the *Swiss* were impowered to subdue for their own benefit<sup>2</sup>. They accordingly conquered the country of *Tergow*, which they afterwards refused to restore, upon the emperor's reconciliation with *Frederic*; who was obliged to confirm their conquest by an authentic deed.

In the following sessions of this council, the affair of *John Hufs* and *Jerom* of *Prague* was brought upon the carpet; the former, as hath been already said, had imbibed his new doctrine from the writings of *Wickliffe* (T), and converted to his opinions several masters c of the university of *Prague*, together with an infinite number of other people. Among others, his sect was espoused by *Jerom*, master of arts, whom he engaged as his colleague, and prevailed upon to preach against the primacy of the pope; who, being apprised of their presumption, had cited them both to appear at *Rome*. Though they refused to obey this citation, they afterwards condescended to appear at the council of *Constance*, in order to justify the doctrine they professed. *John Hufs*, being provided with a safe-conduct from the emperor, attempted to defend the articles of his faith before the fathers of the council, who were disposed to condemn him unheard, when *John* of *Cblum* and *Winceslaus* of *Duba*, having protested against such unjust proceedings, the emperor sent the count palatine and margrave of *Brandenburg* to desire the cardinals would hear what *Hufs* had to say in his own d defence. He was accordingly questioned in presence of *Sigismund*, and accused of heresy in thirty-nine articles, part of which he denied, and part he offered to defend; but his voice was drowned by the noise which was purposely made by the fathers of the council (U). At length, being asked if he was willing to abjure all the thirty-nine articles, he answered in the negative. He was immediately declared by the council a sower of sedition, a hardened heretic, a disciple and obstinate defender of *Wickliffe*. As such he was degraded by four bishops, stripped of his sacerdotal habit, and clothed with another dress. His hair was cut in form of a cross; upon his head was put a paper mitre, painted with the representation of three devils, and he was delivered over to the secular judge, who condemned him and his writings to the flames, and fixed the sixth of *July* for his execution. e

BEING brought to the place of punishment, he was tied to the stake, and surrounded with faggots of wood and bundles of straw, and before they were kindled, the duke of *Bavaria* and the count of *Papenheim* approached, and exhorted him to recant; but as he rejected their advice with disdain, protested his own innocence, and began to declaim against the emperor and fathers of the council, the duke retired, and ordered the executioners to do their duty<sup>b</sup>. That his adherents might not carry off his ashes, they were thrown into the *Rhine*; but this precaution did not hinder his followers to take up the earth on which he suffered; of this they transported parcels to their separate homes, and preserved them as sacred relics. Nay, they protested, in public writings, against the execution, as an act committed contrary to the law of God, of nature, and of nations, as well as to the inclination of the emperor himself. Certain it is, that prince took umbrage at these proceedings, which he thought prejudicial to his honour, on account of the safe-conduct which he had granted. But he was given to understand, that his word could not be called in ques- f

<sup>2</sup> THEOD. DE NIEM. in Vit. Jo. XXIII. ex Meib. t. i. p. 27. <sup>2</sup> COD. VICT. part ix. fol. 36. <sup>b</sup> Chron. Magd. ex MEIB. 353, & seq. AVENT. Ann. l. vii. p. 650. SPOND. Cont. t. ccvi. & seq.

(T) *Wickliffe*, who was principal of *Baliol* college in *Oxford*, wrote and preached against the infallibility and supremacy of the pope, the temporal power of ecclesiastics, the order of mendicants, auricular confession, and the doctrine of transubstantiation (14).

(U) *John Hufs* is said to have spoke to this effect. "I am come hither to prove my innocence, and give

an account of my faith; but I did not come until I had obtained the passport of the emperor, who is here present, and who undertook for the security of my person." So saying, he fixed his eyes upon *Sigismund*, who blushed at this address, as being ashamed of his breach of promise (1).



a tion, because the council, being superior to the emperor, his safe-conduct had been over-ruled and annulled by the sentence of the church, to which the princes ought to submit in matters of faith.

b AFTER the execution of *John Hufs*, the council resumed the affair of *Peter de Luna*, who still obstinately refused to quit his pretensions to the papacy. Upon this occasion *Sigismund* offered to go to *Spain* in person, and engage the mediation of *Ferdinand*, king of *Arragon*, with whom *Peter* had taken refuge, by which he hoped to effect a voluntary renunciation like that of the other two, before the council should proceed to extremity. His journey had before been resolved upon; but the time and place of meeting were changed. He set out for *Spain*, accompanied by twelve deputies from the council; and on his arrival at *Perpignan*, he entered into a negotiation with *Peter de Luna*, the result of which was sent to the council, though his interposition had not the desired effect.

*Peter de Luna refuses to resign his pretensions to the papacy.*

*Sigismund undertakes to mediate that affair, but miscarries.*

c THE obstinacy of *Benedict* incensed the emperor to such a degree, that he threatened to obtain by force that assent, which the other refused to give by fair means; and *Benedict*, in consequence of these menaces, retired suddenly to the fortress of *Paniscola*, where he resolved to preserve his pontifical dignity to his latest breath. This unexpected flight deprived him of all his partizans. The king of *Arragon*, with all the princes and bishops of his party, sent deputies to the emperor at *Narbonne*, with whom they agreed, that the council should invite all the former adherents of *Benedict* to come to *Constance*, and join their endeavours for re-establishing the peace of the church; and that, on their arrival, a new pope should be chosen. This agreement, known by the name of the *Capitulation of Narbonne*, being transmitted to the fathers in council, was forthwith put in execution; and *Sigismund*, that he might neglect nothing which could contribute to the peace of the church, or the re-establishment of concord among Christian princes, particularly the kings of *France* and *England*, resolved to visit *Charles VI.* by whom he was so magnificently received, that the people took umbrage at the honours that were paid to him; for he sat in parliament as if it had been his own tribunal, and created knights by his sole authority. From thence he crossed the sea to *England*, and proposed a truce between the two crowns, which, however, was not concluded, because in the interim, the *English* received an account of their having been worsted by the *French* at *Harfleur*; and as they had been very much elated by the victory of *Agincourt*, they could not brook the thoughts of peace, until they should have wiped off the stain of this subsequent disgrace. (X) *France*, in all probability, suspected *Sigismund* of partiality in favour of *England*; for his proposals of mediation were rejected: and indeed that suspicion seems to have been well grounded; for the emperor, before he quitted *England*, engaged in a treaty with king *Henry*, by which he obliged himself to assist the *English* monarch against *Charles VI.* in recovering *Guienne* and *Normandy*; and in consideration of this assistance, the king of *England* promised to compel *Charles*, and some other princes, to do homage to the emperor, for certain countries to which the empire had some old pretensions. On his return to *France*, he, at the earnest intreaty of *Amadeus VIII.* of *Savoy*, erected his county into a duchy, and invested him in the castle of *Chambery*.

*He repairs to France, and proceeds to England. A. D. 1416.*

d IN the absence of *Sigismund*, the affair of *Jerom* of *Prague* engaged the attention of the council. This man had repaired to *Constance*, with a design to assist *John Hufs* in making his defence; but perceiving he had nothing to hope from the clemency and justice of the fathers, he resolved to retreat with all expedition into *Bohemia*; but being apprehended upon the road, he was loaded with chains, and brought back to *Constance*, where, in order to avoid the punishment which had been inflicted upon his colleague, he solemnly abjured the heresies of *Wickliffe* and *Hufs*. He afterwards, however, espoused the same doctrines, was, in the twenty-first session of the same council, condemned as a wicked apostate to the flames, and suffered with great constancy and fortitude.

*Jerom of Prague is burnt for heresy.*

e THO' the public sessions of the council were less frequent in the absence of the emperor, something always occurred to employ the deliberation of the fathers. The bishop of *Trent*, who had been imprisoned by the duke of *Austria*, and deprived of the towns and castles depending on his see, complained to the council of these outrages; and *Frederic*, who remained as an hostage at *Constance* since his reconciliation with *Sigismund*, was ordered to release the bishop, and restore his lands, on pain of privation. But, instead of complying with this decision, he withdrew privately from *Constance*, and repaired to the *Tyrol*, which

<sup>c</sup> VONDER. HARDT. t. v. part ii. p. 12, 50. <sup>d</sup> THEOD. NIEM in vit. Joh. XXIII. p. 34, ex MEIB. <sup>e</sup> Ibid. p. 43. KRANTZ 10. Wand. 23. <sup>f</sup> MONSTREL. lib. i. cap. 164. <sup>g</sup> SPOND. Cont. tom. ii. p. 230.

(X) *Æmilius*, who assigns this reason as an obstacle to the peace, pretends, that 400 *English* were cut in pieces by the *French* at *Harfleur*. Perhaps there may have been some skirmish in which the *English* were worsted; but at the battle of *Harfleur*, which was fought in this very year, the constable of *France*, who had invested the town, was entirely defeated (1).

(1) *Mezeray Abregé Chronologique*, tom. ii. p. 655.



he found in great confusion, occasioned by the intrigues of his brother *Ernest*, who had usurped his dominions, and gained over the greatest part of the nobility and clergy to his interest; so that the two brothers began to make preparations for a bloody war.

The duke of Austria is put to the ban of the empire.

Frederic burgrave of Nuremberg, created elector of Brandenburg.

A. D. 1417.

MEAN while the council, incensed at the refusal and retreat of *Frederic*, complained of his conduct to the emperor, who caused him to be put to the ban; and the bishop of *Lodi*, president of the *Italian* nation at the council, ordered, in the name of the fathers, the syndics of the church of *Trent* to compel *Frederic* to set the bishop at liberty, and restore his domains. At the same time *Ernest* resolved to support his usurpation by force of arms; and abundance of bloodshed must have ensued, had not the neighbouring princes, interposed and brought about an accommodation; in consequence of which *Frederic* recovered the *Tyrol*, and *Ernest* returned to *Stiria*, which was his inheritance <sup>h</sup>.

*SIGISMUND*, on his return to *Constance*, bestowed the investiture of their fiefs upon *John de Nassau*, archbishop of *Mentz*, the elector of *Saxony*, the count palatine, the count of *Nillembourg*, and the duke of *Pomerania*; and upon this occasion, he conferred upon *Frederic*, burgrave of *Nuremberg*, the electorate of *Brandenburg*, which reverted to the emperor by the death of *Jesse*, marquis of *Moravia*; tho' this alienation was not made without the murmurs of the *Bohemians*, who alledged that it was a fief belonging to their kingdom: nor did the new elector find the *Brandenburghers* very well disposed to receive him; but in a little time conciliated their affection, by his mild and prudent administration. Among the princes who appeared at *Constance*, he who shone with greatest magnificence was *Frederic*, surnamed *the Warlike*, margrave of *Misnia*, and landgrave of *Thuringia*, who, by his noble qualifications, had acquired the emperor's particular esteem; notwithstanding which they now parted with great animosity. Besides the investiture of *Misnia*, *Frederic* demanded that of some towns in *Bohemia*, which he possessed by right of conquest: and *Sigismund*, who was himself heir of that kingdom, absolutely refused to comply with his desire; so that he left *Constance* in great wrath. But the emperor appeased him in the sequel, by putting him in possession of the electorate of *Saxony*, vacant by the death of *Albert III.* the last elector of the house of *Anbalt* <sup>i</sup>.

Peter de Luna deposed, and Martin V. elected pope.

Martin reconciles the emperor with the duke of Austria. A. D. 1418.

AFTER these transactions, the council proceeded against *Peter de Luna* for contumacy; and in the thirty-seventh session, the definitive sentence of his deposition was pronounced and published. Then their next care being to elect a new pope, *Odo* or *Otho Colonna*, a *Roman*, was proposed, and chosen on St. *Martin's* day, whence he took the name of *Martin V.* and his elevation met with universal applause. The conclave was no sooner opened after the election, than the emperor entered, and prostrated himself before the new pope; then his holiness, mounting a white horse, rode in procession to the cathedral, *Sigismund* holding the reins on one side, and the elector of *Brandenburg* on the other: during the cavalcade, the *Jews* of *Constance* did him homage in certain prayers, while certain elders held the pentateuch in his hand. The pope gave them his benediction, saying, "You have a law, but you do not understand it; may the Lord take the veil from before your eyes."

*MARTIN* being consecrated and crowned, sent the cardinal of *Pisa* to exhort *Benedict* to resign his pretensions; but all his remonstrances proved ineffectual. Then holding a public consistory in the episcopal palace of *Constance*, he endeavoured in vain to accommodate matters between the dukes of *Bavaria*, who had quarrelled about the division of their dominions; though his endeavours were more successful in reconciling the emperor with the duke of *Austria*, who promised to take the oath of allegiance, and pay 70,000 florins by way of fine to *Sigismund*, who, on his part, undertook to restore him to the possession of those dominions, which he had lost when he was outlawed. In consequence of this agreement, *Frederic* waited upon the emperor at *Constance*, and was absolved, by the pope's order, of the sentence of excommunication which he had incurred, by oppressing and imprisoning the bishop of *Trent*. *Sigismund* restored part of his dominions; but, as we have already observed, the *Swiss* refused to part with what they had conquered, and several towns had been mortgaged by the emperor; so that the duke could not recover them until the debts should be paid. *Sigismund's* finances being very scanty, he was fain to have recourse to various expedients for raising money. He borrowed a considerable sum from the city of *Bruges*; and the *English*, with the consent of the elector palatine, paid him part of the portion of the princess *Blanche*, who was married to that elector <sup>k</sup>. But all these resources being insufficient to defray the expence, pope *Martin*, after having crowned him king of the *Romans* with great solemnity, granted him a tenth of all the ecclesiastical effects in *Germany*, as a remuneration for the pains he had taken to establish the peace of the church; though this imposition gave great offence, and had well nigh involved the empire in trouble and confusion.

WHILE *Sigismund* practised these schemes for filling his exhausted treasury, *Holland*, *Hainault*, and *Brabant*, groaned under the miseries of a civil war, kindled by a contest be-

<sup>h</sup> VONDER. HARDT. tom. i. p. 200.

<sup>i</sup> BARRE, tom. vii. p. 196.

<sup>k</sup> Idem ibid.



- a tween *Jaquelina*, daughter and heiress of *William*, duke of *Friesland*, and *John* of *Bavaria*, her uncle, bishop of *Liege*, who pretended to the tutorage of his niece, and even to the succession of these provinces. The country was divided into two factions, one of which espoused the cause of the princess, while the other adhered to the bishop. The duke of *Burgundy* declared for his niece *Jaquelina*, who married the duke of *Brabant*, and obtained a victory over her competitor; while the emperor countenanced *John* of *Bavaria*, who having resigned his bishopric, in consequence of a dispensation from the pope, espoused *Elizabeth de Gorlitz*, duchess of *Luxemburg*, after *Sigismund* had promised to invest him with the dominions in dispute, as fiefs devolved to the empire, upon the demise of the last possessor without male issue. Thus supported, both parties carried on the war with equal vigour.
- b *John* equipped a fleet at *Dordrecht* and the *Brill*, with which he insulted the coast, and surprised some of the towns in *Holland*; while the duke of *Brabant* sent an army into the field, in order to maintain the pretensions of his wife.

His operations, however, were not successful; and *John* having made himself master of *Rotterdam*, the duke was fain to make advances towards a pacification. A congress being accordingly held at *Gorcum*, peace was concluded, on condition that the duke of *Brabant* should appoint *John* of *Bavaria* governor of *Holland*, *Zealand*, and *Friesland*, for the term of three years, and cede to him several towns; in consideration of which *John* renounced his pretensions to *Holland* and *Hainault*. *Sigismund*, for his part, acknowledged that this last province did not hold of the empire, and *Jaquelina* continued in possession of it, without being solicited to do homage for the fief to the emperor of *Germany*<sup>1</sup>.

c THE important affair of the schism being concluded, every thing else was regulated by the council, which at length broke up in its forty-fifth session. The disputes about religion still raged with greater violence than ever. The decrees against the *Hussites* were no sooner published, than *Wincefflaus*, king of *Bobemia*, began to put them in execution, forbidding all communicants to partake of both species; a prohibition which incensed the inhabitants of *Prague* to such a degree, that they raised a desperate tumult, forced the town-house, and murdered the magistrates who were concerned in publishing this order.

A tumult in Prague by the Hussites.

d THE news of this massacre filled the court of *Wincefflaus* with the utmost consternation, and made such an impression on that pusillanimous prince, that he was seized with an apoplexy, of which he died in a few days. *Sigismund* being acknowledged king of *Bobemia*, conferred the regency upon his brother's widow *Sophia*, who fortified herself in the castle of *Wistbade* against the *Thaborites*, or followers of *Zischa*, who was at this time general of the *Hussites*, and revenged the death of *Huss* and *Jerome* of *Prague*, by committing the most terrible outrages.

A. D. 1419.

e WITHOUT entering into the particulars of the war, in which *Bobemia* was involved by this persecution, we shall only observe, that *Sigismund* having succeeded to his brother *Wincefflaus* in the kingdom of *Bobemia*, was, after his coronation, obliged to employ that army against the *Hussites* which he had raised for an expedition against the *Turks*. He could not reduce them to obedience; for as they had been incensed to a degree of enthusiastic rage, by the tyranny which had been exercised over their consciences, and the cruelty with which they and their brethren had been persecuted, they were now also encouraged to persevere in their own defence, by several advantages which they had gained over the king's troops, by the valour and conduct of *John Zischa*, who is said to have retorted those barbarities upon the catholic party, to have sacrificed the priests, and to have destroyed the churches with fire and sword<sup>m</sup>. Nor was this famous leader's sagacity inferior to his valour. *Sophia*, being informed that he was in the territory of *Pilsen* with an handful of *Thaborites*, assembled a body of troops, which were reinforced by the lord of *Schwamberg*, and marched against him, in hope of surprising him unawares; but the event did not answer his expectation. *Zischa*, knowing himself too weak for such a formidable opposition, had recourse to a stratagem, which succeeded according to his wish. He posted his troops behind hedges, in such a manner, that the emperor's cavalry could not act against them without dismounting; and the women, according to his direction, went forth from this sort of intrenchment with bundles of linen in their arms, like so many children in swaddling cloaths, whom they offered as hostages for their husbands: perceiving that the imperial horsemen had alighted in order to attack on foot, they found means to unloose their bundles, by which the spurs and arms of the troopers were so entangled, that they could not disengage themselves; and *Zischa*, seizing that opportunity, attacked them with great fury, cut in pieces the best part of them, and obliged the rest to consult their safety by flight<sup>n</sup>.

A. D. 1420:

*Sigismund enters that kingdom,*

*and is defeated by Zischa, chief of the Hussites.*

f THOUGH *Sigismund* was very well informed of all these disorders, he did not think himself in a condition to repress them, because the fear of a *Turkish* invasion detained him in his

*Sigismund sends succours to the regent of Bohemia.*

<sup>1</sup> Hist. de Hainault. p. 375. t. i. l. vi.

<sup>m</sup> Chron. Magd. ex MEIB. tom. ii. p. 255

<sup>n</sup> Hist. Huss,



Convokes a  
diet at Brin.

Zisca defeats  
the duke of Au-  
stria.

War carried  
on by Eric,  
king of Den-  
mark, against  
the princes of  
Holstein.

Sigismund de-  
feated by  
Zisca.

The Hussites  
offer the crown  
of Bohemia to  
Jagellon, king  
of Poland,  
and after-  
wards to Co-  
rebut, nephew  
to the grand  
duke of Li-  
thuania.

A. D. 1421.  
The emperor is  
again worsted  
by Zisca.  
A. D. 1422.

Corebut ar-  
rives at  
Prague.

kingdom of *Hungary*: and indeed *Mahomet I.* who resided at *Adrianople*, was employed in preparations for making an irruption into that kingdom; but the vigilance of *Sigismund*, who fortified all the frontier places, disconcerted his design, and he turned his forces against the *Greeks*. The emperor was no sooner delivered of this apprehension, than he sent succours to enable *Sophia* to act against *Zisca*, who was by this time deprived of his eye-sight, and the arrival of these troops enabled him to obtain a truce for four months, at the expiration of which the *Hussites* broke out in a general revolt against the emperor. Alarmed at this rebellion, *Sigismund* convoked a diet at *Brin*, the capital of *Moravia*, where he received affectionate addresses from all the towns and noblemen of *Bohemia*; but absolutely refused liberty of conscience to the inhabitants of *Prague*, a great number of whom retired to their general at *Tabor*, who continued to surprize and pillage the towns and castles belonging to the catholics, so as to find his followers and his fame daily increased. He obtained a complete victory over *Albert*, duke of *Austria*, and *Henry de Kravatz*, commandant of *Moravia*; then he made himself master of the new town of *Prague*, and reduced the citadel of *Wissrhade*, which, however, was afterwards retaken by the imperialists.

WHILE the chief of the *Hussites* proceeded in his operations with such rapidity of success, *Lower Germany* was exposed to the calamities of war, by a quarrel between *Eric*, king of *Denmark*, and the princes of *Holstein*, who refused to hold the duchy of *Sleswic* as a fief of the *Danish* crown. They were supported in their right of independency by their uncle *Henry*, duke of *Brunswic-Lunenbourg*, and the dukes of *Pomerania*, *Mecklenburgh*, and *Stetin*; and though the emperor decided in favour of the *Danish* king, the princes chose rather to hazard the determination of arms, than comply with a sentence which they deemed oppressive and unjust. *Eric* equipped a formidable fleet, and assembled a numerous army, with which he marched into the duchy of *Sleswic*, and built several forts, and gained other advantages; while the counts of *Holstein* and their allies, reinforced by the *Frielanders*, *Hamburgers*, and *Henry of Osnabrug*, took the field, in order to oppose his operations. The war was carried on with various success for some time, until *Eric* was totally defeated in the battle fought at *Immerswed* in *Jutland*, and compelled to sue for a truce, during which he intreated the emperor to act the part of a mediator between him and his enemies; and, lest his interposition should not prove effectual, he strengthened his interest, by forming alliances with the towns of *Wandalia*, which afterwards enabled him to maintain the war.

BUT, before *Sigismund* could effect this accommodation, he was obliged to take measures for appeasing the troubles of *Bohemia*, which still groaned under the miseries of a religious war. With this view he assembled a body of troops, and being joined by *Frederic*, elector of *Brandenburg*, *William* and *Frederic the Warlike*, marquises of *Misnia*, *Albert*, duke of *Austria*, and the princes of *Bavaria*, he invested *Prague*, which was possessed by the *Taborites*; but in one of his attacks he was repulsed by *Zisca*, with great slaughter, and obliged to retreat into *Moravia*, while the *Hussites* undertook the siege of *Wissrhade*, in which they proceeded with incredible vigour. *Sigismund* having recruited his army in *Moravia*, marched to the relief of this fortress, and attacking *Zisca* in his intrenchments, had the mortification to see his whole army cut in pieces. That same day the citadel of *Wissrhade* surrendered to the *Hussites*, who, elevated with the repeated advantages they had obtained over *Sigismund*, resolved to choose another sovereign, who should maintain them in their religious liberties. They accordingly, by a solemn embassy, offered the crown of *Bohemia*, to *Jagellon*, king of *Poland*; and he declining the proffer, they made a tender of it to *Corebut*, nephew to the duke of *Lithuania*: and in the mean time, until that prince should assume the reins of government, they chose a regency of twenty persons, to take charge of the administration.

THE emperor, alarmed at these proceedings, sent a commissary to their diet, with proposals of accommodation, which they rejected: while the army of crusards, raised in *Germany* to war against the *Hussites*, and commanded by the archbishop of *Triers*, was defeated and dispersed by the invincible *Zisca*. *Sigismund* in person had no better success: he levied another army, advanced into *Bohemia*, made himself master of *Cuttemburg*, and resolved to besiege *Breda*, when *Zisca* attacking him with his usual impetuosity, routed the imperialists, of whom a great number was slain, acquired as much plunder as loaded forty waggons, and compelled the emperor to take refuge in *Hungary*.

IT was immediately after this battle that *Corebut* made his entry into *Prague*, where the catholics protested against his election, which was equally disagreeable to the *Taborites* under *Zisca*, who professed themselves enemies to monarchical government. The first step he took was to besiege *Carlestin*, whither the catholics had transported the crown; but the besieged made such an obstinate defence, that he was obliged to abandon the enterprise, especially as he understood some disturbances were raised in *Prague* by the *Taborites*, whom he quelled and punished with great severity.



- a *ZISCA*, incensed at his behaviour, and jealous of his power, exhorted the *Hussites* to send him back to his own country; and they refusing to close with this advice, he resolved to ruin the city of *Prague*. As a previous step to the execution of this design, he defeated the count *de Vartemberg*, who endeavoured to hinder him from surprising *Graditz*, which he afterwards entered in triumph. He expelled from the kingdom *Albert of Austria*, to whom the emperor had ceded *Moravia*, ravaged the circle of *Pilsen*, defeated *Corebut*, compelled that prince to abdicate the crown of *Bohemia*, and entered *Prague*, where he was received with great splendour and magnificence<sup>a</sup>. In a word, the repeated victories of this chieftain compelled *Sigismund* to propose such honourable and advantageous terms of peace, that *Zisca* set out in order to conclude the accommodation, in a personal conference with the emperor;
- b but he was unfortunately infected with the plague, of which he died upon the road. His death, no doubt, produced a manifest change in the affairs of the *Hussites*. Nevertheless, their resolution did not fail; nor did they slacken in their zeal for the common cause, which they cherished to such a degree of superstitious policy, as to stretch the skin of their deceased captain upon a drum, that the sound might awake the remembrance of his valour, and inspire them with the notion that they still marched to the battle under the auspices of *Zisca*<sup>c</sup>.

*Zisca declares himself enemy to Corebut, whom he defeats, and compels to abdicate the throne.*  
A. D. 1424.

*Zisca dies of the plague.*

- SIGISMUND*, instead of prosecuting the *Bohemian* war, indulged the indolence of his disposition at *Buda*, where he was visited by *Eric*, king of *Denmark*, who summoned the counts of *Holstein* to the tribunal of the emperor, and obtained a final sentence, importing, that all the southern *Jutland*, comprehending the towns of *Sleswic* and *Gottorp*, with the *Danish* forest, the isle of *Alsen*, and the province commonly called *Frischiden*, with all their rights and dependencies, did belong, under the title of a direct and profitable domain, to the crown of *Denmark*<sup>d</sup>. In the same assembly at *Buda*, *Sigismund* determined a dispute between the duke of *Savoy* and the prince of *Orange*, which last laid claim to the county of *Geneva*, in right of his great aunt; but, as the emperor had already granted the investiture of this county to *Amadeus VIII.* he now decided the process in his favour, and forbade *Lewis de Chalon*, prince of *Orange*, to assume the quality or arms belonging to the count of *Geneva*<sup>e</sup>.

*The emperor pronounces a final sentence against the princes of Holstein.*

- ABOUT this period the knights of the *Teutonic* order, of which some account hath already been given, degenerating from the courage and virtue of their predecessors, lost a great part of *Prussia*, which was wrested from them by the *Poles*, who had defeated them in several engagements. From this date we may derive the decay of the knights in those countries; for they continued to sustain one loss on the back of another, and to forfeit their reputation more and more, notwithstanding some assistance which they received from *Sigismund*, in the heat of his operations against the *Hussites*; which last entering *Silesia*, and separating into three bodies, at the same time attacked *Hungary*, *Poland*, and *Austria*, which they ravaged without mercy<sup>f</sup>.

*The Teutonic order degenerates from the valour of their predecessors.*

*The Hussites ravage Hungary, Poland, and Austria.*

- WHILE *Bohemia* continued a prey to those ravages, *Holland* and *Brabant* did not enjoy tranquility. These unhappy provinces were exposed to the cruelties of a civil war, by the partizans of *John of Bavaria* and the adherents of *Jaquelina*, who exercised all sorts of violence upon each other. That princess, disgusted by the duke of *Brabant* her husband, had prevailed upon *Benedict*, the antipope, to annul the marriage, and actually given her hand to the duke of *Gloucester*, brother of *Henry V.* king of *England*, who resolved to recover by force of arms the dominions of his new wife, which were in possession of her former husband. The duke of *Brabant* made preparations to oppose his progress; and being assisted underhand by *Philip*, duke of *Burgundy*, defeated the troops which the duke of *Gloucester* had sent to support the interest of the princess. Her last marriage was dissolved by a sentence of pope *Martin*; but as the duke of *Brabant* died in a few months after the decision, *Jaquelina* flattered herself with the hope of taking peaceable possession of her own dominions. In this, however, she was mistaken. The duke of *Burgundy* had employed emissaries in *Hainault*, *Friesland*, *Holland*, and *Zealand*, to detach their inclination from her government; and they succeeded so well in their endeavours, that the greatest part of the nobility and people refused to acknowledge her as their sovereign. In this emergency she referred her case to the duke, who, before he would undertake the office of mediator, obliged her to put the government of her dominions in his hands, and declare him her successor.

*Troubles in Holland and Brabant.*

*Jaquelina declares the duke of Burgundy her successor.*  
A. D. 1425.

- IN this manner *Philip* acquired *Hainault*, *Holland*, *Zealand*, and *Friesland*. He had already purchased the reversion of *Zutphen* and *Namure*; and he inherited the duchies of *Brabant*, *Lothier*, *Limbourg*, and the marquisate of *Antwerp*, by the death of his kinsman *Philip of Brabant*, who died without issue. All these acquisitions, added to *Flanders*, *Ar-*

<sup>a</sup> *ÆN. SYL. Hist. Bohem. p. 70.*  
*Gen. de Savoye, t. i. p. 462.*

<sup>c</sup> *THEOB. Bell. Huss. p. 115.*

<sup>d</sup> *SPOND. Cont. BARON, t. iii. p. 285.*

<sup>e</sup> *PONTAN. Hist. Dan.*

<sup>f</sup> *Hist.*



*tois*, the two *Burgundies*, and several towns situated upon the *Somme*, rendered *Philip* one of the most powerful princes of *Europe* \*.

Progress of  
the Thabo-  
rites in Bohe-  
mia.  
A. D. 1426.

*BOHEMIA* was still in agitation. The fanaticks were divided into three bodies, which assumed the appellations of *Thaborites*, *Orphans*, and *Horebites*; and their chief general was *Procopius the Shaven*, whom *Zisca* had recommended as his successor in command. This leader, who had been a priest, seemed to emulate his predecessor in courage, capacity, cruelty, enthusiasm, and success. He reduced the town of *Graditz* to ashes, committed terrible outrages against the catholics, defeated the duke of *Austria*, and obtained a complete victory over a numerous army which had been raised by the princes of *Germany*, and attacked the *Thaborites* in their intrenchments. After having obtained this signal advantage, *Procopius* reduced *Kamenitz*, routed *Meniard de Maisson Neuve*, pillaged *Austria*, took *Ritzen* on the confines of *Moravia*, and nothing seemed capable of resisting the torrent of his arms and his fortune †.

Sequel of the  
troubles in the  
north of Ger-  
many.

THE war in the north kept pace with the troubles in *Germany*. The princes of *Holstein* refusing to comply with the decision of the emperor touching *Sleswic*, *Eric* levied a numerous army, in order to maintain his pretensions, which, by the bye, were not very justly founded, inasmuch as neither he nor *Sigismund* had alleged any good reason to prove, that *Sleswic* alone was a personal fief, when all the other fiefs of the empire were hereditary. The towns of *Wandalia*, which had formerly espoused his interest, conscious of *Sigismund's* partial decision, and tired of a long war, which interrupted their commerce, and laid waste their country, presented a remonstrance to *Eric*, intreating him to listen to equitable terms of accommodation; but he paying little regard to their representations, they declared for the counts of *Holstein*, and equipped a considerable fleet for their service. Hostilities

The emperor  
endeavours to  
mediate a peace  
between *Eric*  
and the counts  
of *Holstein*.

were immediately recommenced; and though the allies sustained some disadvantages, *Eric* not only made advances to an accommodation with the towns, but also prevailed upon the emperor to give them notice, that, as almost all the princes and towns of the empire had resolved to join their forces for quelling the sedition in *Bohemia*, it was incumbent upon them to make peace with the king of *Denmark*, that he, as well as they, might be at liberty to join in this confederation; and that in case they should obstinately persist in acting offensively against his *Danish* majesty, he, the emperor, would take effectual measures to punish them for their contumacy and disobedience. In order to strengthen this intimidation, he sent *Nicholas Stack* to the city of *Lubec*, with proposals of peace to the senate; from thence he repaired to the counts of *Holstein*, who insisted upon the king of *Denmark's* declaring *Sleswic* an hereditary fief; and as for *Eric*, he agreed to comply with every thing the emperor should propose. A congress was appointed at *Nikoping*, in the isle of *Falster*; but as hostilities were not suspended, the conferences produced no effect, because the demands of the parties concerned rose or fell according to the success of their arms, which sometimes declared for one side, and sometimes for another. The princes of *Holstein* offered to refer their cause to the determination of the pope; but rejected the emperor as

Conferences  
began at Ni-  
koping.

judge or arbitrator, because he was related to the king of *Denmark*. *Sigismund*, on the other hand, forbade all the ecclesiastical judges whatever to take cognizance of this dispute, and ordered the electors of *Saxony* and *Brandenburg*, together with the duke of *Lunenburg*, to support *Eric* with their whole force, and compel the counts to obey the imperial decree. Perhaps this vigorous step contributed to detach the cities of *Stralsund* and *Rostock* from the confederacy; for they made a separate peace with *Eric*, who, about this period, gained some advantages over the allies; but the negotiations begun at *Nikoping*, and afterwards carried on at *Helsenbourg*, proved altogether ineffectual ‡.

They produce  
no effect.  
A. D. 1427.

Both parties  
have recourse  
to recrimina-  
tion.

INDEED both parties were extremely obstinate; nor did they abstain from the most virulent recrimination. The confederated towns accused *Eric* of having abolished the privileges and interrupted the freedom of trade, of oppressing the princes of *Holstein*, and of being author of a war that desolated the north of *Germany*. On the other hand, the king of *Denmark* reproached them as the favourers of rebellion, not only in the north, but also in *Bohemia*, where the *Thaborites* still carried all before them, under the conduct of *Procopius the Shaven*. Not but these sectaries were by this time divided into two factions, one of which, called the *Calixtins*, had favoured the return of *Corebut*, though they now shut him up in a monastery, on suspicion of having carried on an intelligence with *Procopius*.

*Procopius*  
still dominates  
in *Bohemia*.  
*Corebut* is  
shut up in a  
convent.  
A. D. 1428.

DURING the captivity of this prince, the *Thaborites* and *Orphans* ravaged *Silesia*, took a number of strong places, defeated the imperial army sent thither to reduce them, under the command of *Henry*, cardinal of *Winchester*, made an irruption into *Moravia*, which they laid waste; then pillaged the circle of *Glatz*, and proceeded in such an uninterrupted course of victory, that the emperor was fain to sue for peace, in a deputation to *Procopius*, who gave the deputies audience at *Cuttemburg*, and was by this time heartily tired of a war,

The emperor  
sends a depu-  
tation to the  
*Thaborites*.

\* Hist. de Hainault, l. xii.

† CZECHOSL. p. 578

‡ MEURSIUS Hist. Dan. ad an. 1328.



a which kept him in a continual alarm. He prevailed upon the different orders of the kingdom to assemble at *Prague*, and proposed that they should receive *Sigismund* for their king, provided he would indulge them with liberty of conscience. In a word, he sent some noblemen of his adherents with proposals of peace to the emperor, who was then at *Moravia*. A general truce was agreed to for three months, during which a diet was convoked at *Presburg*, where *Procopius* appeared as chief of the *Bohemian* deputation, and demanded, in the name of his constituents, that they should be allowed to communicate of both species; that *Sigismund* should confirm all their privileges, and promise upon oath to defend them against all innovation.

*A diet convoked at Presburg. A. D. 1429.*

b To these demands the emperor replied, that the first article was not in his power; and that, before he could grant the rest, he must examine into the nature of those immunities to which they alluded, and if he should find them equitable, he would confirm them without hesitation. This answer was deemed evasive, and even interpreted into a refusal by the *Thaborites*; so that the negotiation was laid aside, and hostilities recommenced. The *Hussites*, to the number of 20,000 horse and 30,000 foot, commanded by *Procopius*, *William de Rostka*, and *John Smirzlik*, entered *Misnia*, which they ravaged with fire and sword; and having routed *Polleutz*, general of the troops sent to the relief of that province by the emperor, subdued one place after another, until the whole country was reduced and pillaged. From thence they marched into *Thuringia*, which, finding in a posture of defence, they immediately quitted, in order to fall upon *Franconia*, where they ravaged the duchy of *Cobourg*, obliged a number of princes and towns to redeem themselves from plunder, and then returned to *Bohemia* with a very considerable booty <sup>a</sup>.

*The conferences break up, and hostilities are recommenced.*

*The Thaborites are everywhere successful.*

c HAD the princes of the empire united against these adventurers, their career, in all probability, would have been stopped long before this period; but such unanimity was prevented by intestine divisions and feuds that hardly ever ceased to rage among the towns and noblemen. *Conrad*, archbishop of *Mentz*, having been appointed *Sigismund*'s vicar in the empire, the electors of *Saxony* and the *Palatinate* took umbrage at his being invested with a dignity to which they claimed pretensions; and he prudently resigned the office, rather than endanger the public peace; but, notwithstanding his peaceful disposition, he was afterwards involved in an obstinate war with the landgrave of *Hesse*. *Ernest* and *Lewis*, dukes of *Bavaria*, had been for several years at variance about some fiefs of that province; and the electorate of *Triers* was subjected to the horrors of a civil war, by two competitors for the archbishopric <sup>b</sup>.

*Divisions among the princes of the empire. A. D. 1430.*

d THE kingdom of *Hungary* was no less exposed to continual alarms from the incursions of the *Turks*, under *Amurath II.* who, without paying any regard to the truce subsisting between him and *Sigismund*, committed terrible outrages in *Servia*, and generally defeated the small bodies of troops which the emperor sent to oppose his progress. All remonstrances to the sultan having proved ineffectual, *Sigismund* had recourse to *Uladislaus* king of *Poland*, and his brother *Withond*, grand duke of *Lithuania*, with whom he had an interview at *Lutzko* in *Upper Vohinia*, where a congress was opened to deliberate upon the affairs of *Hungary*, and the reduction of the rebels in *Bohemia*: but the *Poles* seemed extremely backward in engaging himself in these troubles. He had no affection for the person of *Sigismund*, who had supported the *Teutonic* order in their enterprizes against the *Poles*; and he was far from being desirous of entailing upon himself a war with the *Hussites* of *Bohemia*, who were by this time so much accustomed to victory, and even deemed altogether invincible. He therefore evaded the solicitations of the emperor when he demanded succours, and proposed, that the method of negotiation should be tried, preferably to the hazards of war.

*Sigismund has an interview with the king of Poland, and the grand duke of Lithuania at Lutzko.*

e AT this assembly *Sigismund* resolved to erect the duchy of *Lithuania* into a kingdom; and *Withond*'s vanity was so much flattered by the proposal, that his brother *Uladislaus* in vain used all his rhetoric and influence to divert him from such an extravagant project: nor did he pay the least regard to the remonstrances of the *Poles*, who gave him to understand, that they would never consent to any scheme so prejudicial to their country, which, by the erection of *Lithuania* into a kingdom, would be dismembered of one of its fairest provinces. *Uladislaus*, perceiving the obstinacy of his brother, solicited the interposition and good offices of pope *Martin V.* who, in pathetic letters to *Sigismund* and *Withond*, conjured them to desist from the prosecution of a design which would certainly kindle a civil war in *Europe*, and involve their allies in confusion and calamity. The emperor and duke lent a deaf ear to all these insinuations, and the day was fixed for the coronation; when *Uladislaus*, thinking it incumbent upon him to exert himself on this occasion, caused the emperor's envoys to be apprehended in their journey to *Lithuania*, while all the nobility

*He resolves to erect Lithuania into a kingdom.*

*The project is opposed by the Poles.*

<sup>a</sup> BYZINIUS *Diarium Bell. Huss.*

<sup>b</sup> BARRE, t. vii. p. 324.



of *Poland* took arms, and distributed themselves in different bodies, in order to guard the passages, and oppose the progress of *Sigismund's* ambassadors, who had halted in *Frankfort* on the *Oder*.

The grand duke dies at Trocko.

*WITHOND*, finding it would be impracticable for him to obtain the crown without the consent of the *Poles*, affected to lay aside the scheme, reconciled himself with his brother, and died at *Trocko*, whither he had accompanied *Uladislaus*, who had come to make him a friendly visit.

WHILE this idle scheme was on the carpet, the *Turks* extended their devastations with impunity, and the *Thaborites* ravaged *Bohemia*, and the neighbourhood without controul.

A crusade published against them. A. D. 1431.

POPE *Martin* being informed of this their progress, had sent orders to cardinal *Julian*, who was legate *à latere* at the court of *Sigismund*, to press the princes of *Germany* to engage in the crusade which he had ordained against those heretics. It was accordingly published anew at the diet of *Nuremberg*, where the emperor had assembled the electors and other princes, ecclesiastics as well as secular, a great many of whom embarked as volunteers in the expedition; and that each might contribute proportionably to the expence, *Sigismund*, with their own consent, made a regulation, which is the first register that ever was made for distinguishing the quota of money or soldiers to be furnished by each prince and state, not only for this purpose, but also for every other occasion, in which the interest of the empire might be concerned. In consequence of this regulation, the princes prepared for the war against the *Hussites*, which they undertook with the more eagerness, because they were excited by fresh instances of *Eugenius IV.* who had succeeded *Martin V.* lately deceased. The army which they assembled consisted of 40,000 horse, and the same number of infantry: the emperor bestowed the command upon *Frederic*, marquis of *Brandenburg*, and the legate resolved to attend the expedition in person. With these forces they marched into *Bohemia*, and committed horrible barbarities upon the *Hussites* that fell in their way; but as soon as the forces of that sect appeared, they were seized with an universal panic, and fled with great precipitation, notwithstanding all the remonstrances, prayers, and threats, of the legate, who finding his endeavours ineffectual, thought proper to fly with the rest. Such was the hurry and trepidation with which they fled, that all their baggage, furniture, and riches, together with the cross of the legation, and vestments of the legate, fell into the hands of the enemy.

The forces of the empire march into Bohemia, and are routed.

*ALBERT* of *Austria*, who had begun his march in order to reinforce the imperial army, was obliged to return to *Moravia*, and thence to *Austria*, before *Procopius*, surnamed the *Little*, in contradistinction to the other of that name, who had acquired the epithet of *Great Chieftain*. He found all the villages abandoned, and pillaged the whole country without opposition. Then joining his name-fake, they entered *Hungary*, where they reduced several places, and enriched themselves with booty; but some disputes arising between the *Orphans* and *Thaborites*, the two generals parted. *Procopius* the *Sbaven* marching towards *Moravia*, while the other remained in *Hungary*, though it would have been more for his advantage to retire with the plunder he had acquired; for the noblemen of *Hungary* no sooner understood that the *Hussites* were divided, than they took the field under the command of *Rozgon*, governor of *Hava*, and advancing to the river *Wag* gave battle to the *Orphans*, who were intirely defeated; so that scarce 2000 returned to *Bohemia* with *Procopius*.

The Hussites enter Hungary, and are defeated.

Pope Eugenius issues a bull for dissolving the council at Basil.

CARDINAL *Julian*, after his defeat, returned to *Nuremberg*, and advised *Sigismund* to summon the *Bohemians* to the council of *Basil*, in which he, the cardinal, was appointed to preside. Pope *Martin V.* had nominated *Julian* as his representative at this assembly, to concert measures for abolishing heresy, restoring the tranquility of the church; and this nomination was now confirmed by his successor *Eugenius IV.* who, nevertheless resolved to transfer the council from *Basil* to *Bologna*, where he might preside in person. His pretence for this translation was, that it would facilitate the union of the *Greek* and *Roman* churches: but his real motive was the dread of the *Hussite* interest, and the armies of *Austria* and *Burgundy*, which hovered over the city of *Basil*. In vain did the cardinal represent to his holiness the bad consequences that would attend such a translation; in vain were his representations supported by repeated remonstrances of the emperor, who refuted all the reasons *Eugenius* urged for removing that assembly. The pope issued a bull for dissolving the council of *Basil*, and convoking another at *Bologna*; while the fathers, already assembled, continued their session, to which the *Bohemians* were invited in consequence of *Julian's* advice.

<sup>c</sup> LUGLASS. Hist. Polon. 1. ii. in reb. Polonic. lib. iv. c. 52. t. iv. p. 527.

<sup>d</sup> COCHL. in Hist. Huss. lib. vi. <sup>e</sup> THEOB. Bell. Huss. c. 77.

<sup>f</sup> EN. Hist. Boem. c. xlviii. MECHOV. PAGI, Brev. Gest. Pont. Rom.



a MEAN while the emperor assembled a diet at *Presburg*, to which he summoned the *Bohemians*, who sent thither deputies, though they could not be persuaded to enter the town, lest they should be detained, but sojourned in tents pitched in the open field, where the conferences were begun with all the marks of sincerity on both sides. *Sigismund* expressed his surprize and concern at their rejecting his administration, after they had been governed by his father and grandfather; and promised to redress all their grievances, provided they would acknowledge him as their sovereign. The deputies replied, that their refusal of him was not owing to any aversion which the nation entertained for his person, but the effect of their being overawed by the adverse armies which had ravaged the kingdom. They said the *Bohemians* had no objection to the proposal of sending deputies to *Basil*, provided proper security could be given for the safety of their persons: but that they had a right to take this precaution, considering the treatment of *John Huss* and *Jerome of Prague*, who had been burnt at *Constance*, in direct opposition to public faith.

*Diet at Presburg.*

*The Bohemians insist upon a security for the personal safety of their deputies.*

b THE emperor, who could not help assenting in his heart to the truth of what they alleged, assured them he would convoke the assembly at *Egra*, where they should be informed of the intentions of the council, and satisfied with respect to the security they demanded. Accordingly, the *Bohemian* deputies and those of the council, together with *Frederic*, elector of *Brandenburg*, *John*, duke of *Bavaria*, and several other princes of the empire, repairing to that place at the appointed time, the *Hussites* demanded hostages of the nobility, for the safety of those they should send to the council; and, after great and violent altercation, the princes and deputies assembled agreed to engage their word for the safety of the *Bohemians*, and a safe-conduct was expedited for them at *Basil* in the most ample form.

*An assembly at Egra.*

*A. D. 1432.*

c SIGISMUND, having taken these measures for restoring the quiet and tranquility of *Bohemia*, and appointed *William*, duke of *Bavaria*, protector of the council, chose this conjuncture to pass the *Alps*, and repair to *Milan*. In that city, he received the iron-crown from the hands of the archbishop, together with the ring, the sword, the scepter, and the golden apple; though *Philip*, duke of *Milan*, would not assist at the ceremony, but staid at *Placentia*, on pretence of an indisposition. The real cause, however, was a grudge which he had conceived against the emperor, whom he suspected of an attachment to the *Florentines* and *Venetians*, the professed enemies of *Philip*. By this suspicion he was altogether alienated from *Sigismund*, who had come to *Italy* on his invitation, though he now refused to admit him with a few attendants into the city of *Milan*, which he wanted to see out of pure curiosity. This instance of disrespect, together with the non-performance of the promise he had made to assist the emperor with money and troops, provoked *Sigismund* to such a degree, that he became the duke's implacable enemy. Nevertheless, he found it convenient to dissemble his resentment, and even to reject the offers of the *Genoese*, who having been for some years oppressed by *Visconti*, made a tender of their city and territory to *Sigismund*, which he declined accepting, that he might not add such a powerful prince as the duke of *Milan* to the number of his enemies.

*Cardinal Julian repairs to the council of Basil, and Sigismund to Italy. He is crowned at Milan.*

*Is incensed against the duke of Milan.*

d MEAN while he employed his whole attention in compromising the difference between pope *Eugenius* and the council. The fathers assembled at *Basil* demanded his protection against the pope who had dissolved the council; and this being granted, they sent a legate to persuade *Eugenius* to annul what he had done in prejudice of their deliberations; or, in case he should not revoke the dissolution of the council within the term of ninety days, to declare they would proceed against him in the severest manner. He was accordingly declared contumacious, and summoned to appear in person, or by proxy, to give an account of his conduct; and as he did not comply with this citation, they certainly would have proceeded to his deposition, had not the emperor interposed his mediation, in consequence of which the pope confirmed the council of *Basil*.

e HE at the same time impowered them to concert measures for the reformation of manners, as well as the extinction of heresy; while *Sigismund*, having succeeded in his endeavours, resolved to be crowned at *Rome*, after having wintered at *Parma* and *Placentia*. When he approached the city, the pope sent out several cardinals, prelates, and *Roman* noblemen, together with a great part of the clergy and people, who conducted him to *Rome* with great magnificence. He was received by the pope at the steps of the *Vatican* church, with the usual ceremony, and on the day of *Pentecost* crowned with the appellation of emperor and *Augustus*, after he had taken an oath of fidelity to the church, and truckled to the pope in all his demands. Having staid some time at *Rome*, he retired to *Ferrara*, and afterwards to *Mantua*, where he created *John Francisco Gonzaga*, lord of that city,

*A. D. 1433. Crowned at Rome.*

*Creates Gonzaga marquis of Mantua.*

<sup>8</sup> THEOB. Bell. Hussit. ubi supra. Cont. t. ii. p. 313.

<sup>9</sup> Cor. Hist. Mediol. par. 5. BLOND. iii. Dec. 4 & 5.

<sup>10</sup> SPOND. of Mantua.



a marquis, and allowed him to bear the imperial arms. He afterwards crossed the *Alps*; and, what was singular in his journey, he quitted *Italy* in enmity to the duke of *Milan*, who had invited him to that country, and in friendship with the *Venetians*, whom he had formerly mortally hated \* (A).

Negotiation  
between the  
fathers of the  
council and  
the Hussites,

At this time the fathers of the council of *Basil* were employed in a negotiation with the deputies of the *Hussites* whom they wanted to re-inclose within the pale of the church. They had sent *Procopius the Shaven*, at the head of their deputies, to *Basil*; and after a fruitless dispute with the catholics, which lasted fifty days, he returned to *Bohemia*, made an alliance with the king of *Poland*, and ravaged the new march of *Brandenburg*, belonging to the knights of the *Teutonic* order, whom they considered as the emperor's adherents.

who are de-  
feated by the  
catholics.

DURING these deliberations, the emperor being informed that the *Hussites* began to disagree among themselves, and that the barons and nobility of that sect, who could not bear the tyranny of their chiefs, had separated from the rest in a distinct body, he resolved to draw towards *Bohemia*, in order to take the advantage of this division. Besides, he foresaw that the difference between the council and the pope could never be totally determined, while the first persisted in the opinion of its superiority over the pope, and he continued to arrogate to himself a pre-eminence over the council. His imperial majesty therefore set out for *Germany*, and on his arrival at *Ulm*, received information that the *Thaborites*, who had for several months been engaged in the siege of *Pilsen*, had been totally defeated by the catholics, whom the *Bohemian* barons, already mentioned, had joined in this expedition.

THE *Calixtins*, and almost all the nobility of *Bohemia*, agreed to the famous treaty of peace called the *Compactata*, which was drawn up by the bishops in council; but the *Orphans* and *Thaborites* opposing it with all their might, *Risemberg* and *Maison Neuve*, at the head of the noblesse, attacked them unawares in the city of *Prague*, and cut 20,000 of them in pieces on the spot. Flushed with this success, they marched against *Procopius the Shaven*, who was employed in the siege of *Pilsen*, and charged him with such fury, that notwithstanding the incredible efforts he made, his troops were totally defeated, he himself being mortally wounded, and his namesake left dead on the field of battle. The bravest of the prisoners were burnt alive in a large barn; those that fled were pursued, and massacred without mercy; and, in a word, the whole sect was utterly exterminated.

A. D. 1434

Lewis, duke  
of Bavaria, of  
Ingoldstadt,  
is put to the  
ban of the em-  
pire.

SIGISMUND did not fail to avail himself of this conjuncture, in his endeavours to regain the affection of both parties; and he managed matters with such dexterity, by means of ambassadors, that they afterward owned him as the lawful heir of his brother *Winceslaus*: and when he advanced as far as *Ratisbon*, to hold a general diet of the empire, the deputies of the states of *Bohemia*, and of the remains of the *Thaborites*, went thither, and did homage to him as to their king. But, in the mean time, he was obliged to employ his attention in remedying other disorders of the empire. Lewis, duke of *Bavaria*, of *Ingoldstadt*, being accused of tyranny, extortion, peculation, robbery, and sacrilege, was summoned to his trial at the diet of *Ulm*; and as he refused to appear, the emperor put him to the ban of the empire. In pursuance of this sentence, the bishops and noblemen in the neighbourhood declared war against him, and levied troops to make reprisals on his dominions; but he averted the storm, by making his submission to *Sigismund*, who pardoned him, on condition that he would make good the damage he had done to his neighbours; and renounce all the rights he had to the sovereignty of *Donawert*, which henceforward enjoyed the liberty of an imperial town.

Diet at  
Frankfort, the  
emperor con-  
firms the house  
of Misnia in  
possession of the  
electorate of  
Saxony.

WITH respect to the restitution he consented to make, it was referred to the diet which the emperor convoked at *Frankfort*, in order to determine the difference between *Frederic the Warlike*, marquis of *Misnia*, *Lewis* count palatine, the marquis of *Brandenburg*, and *Eric V*, of *Saxe-Lawembourg*, who were competitors for the electorate of *Saxony*, vacant by the death of *Albert III*. the last of the electoral branch of the antient family of *Ascania*. The emperor, upon the demise of this prince, ten years ago, had sequestered the electorate per interim, and declared *Frederic the Warlike* elector of *Saxony*, as a fief devolved to the empire; but *Eric* of *Lawembourg* appealed to pope *Martin V*. and afterwards to the council of *Basil*; and *Frederic*, surnamed the *Peaceable*, son and successor of *Frederic the Warlike*, having protested against this step, as an encroachment upon the *German* liberty, *Sigismund* issued an imperial decree, importing, that the cognizance of fiefs, the administration of

\* BLOND. iii. Dec. 5. Ant. tit. xxii. c. 10. Sect. 1.

(A) While the emperor was at *Basil*, ambassadors are said to have arrived from the *Turks* with offers of a perpetual peace, and magnificent presents to *Sigismund*, who ordered a throne to be erected in the church, where

he received them with great state, embraced the proposals of peace, accepted the presents, acted munificently towards the ambassadors, and sent by them royal testimonies of his esteem for their monarch (1).

(1) *Krantz. Sax. ii. c. 22.*



a justice, and imposition of taxes in *Germany*, had no dependence upon the church, but were the prerogatives of the emperor, electors, and princes; and, finally, at the diet of *Frankfort*, with the advice and consent of the noblemen and deputies that were present, he confirmed the house of *Misnia* in possession of the duchy and electorate of *Saxony*, which belongs to it at this day; though the family of *Larembourg* still protest against their possession<sup>1</sup> (B).

b THE next diet was assembled at *Ratisbon*, where *Sigismund* gave audience to ambassadors from *Bohemia*, who came to congratulate him upon his happy return to *Germany*, and to propose, that all the *Bohemians* should be obliged to communicate of the two species: but this proposal was rejected by the emperor; and one of the *Thaborites* belonging to the embassy chancing to die, his body was denied Christian burial.

Ambassadors are sent by the Bohemians to the emperor.

LEWIS of *Ingoldstadt* having, at this assembly, made full satisfaction to the noblemen of *Bavaria* and *Suabia*, whom he had pillaged, the parties were reconciled, and the emperor repaired to *Alba Regalis*, where he received an embassy from young *Ladislaus*, king of *Poland*, notifying his father's death, and proposing a match between him and the daughter of *Albert* duke of *Austria*, who was son-in-law to the emperor; but this alliance was postponed, until the differences between *Hungary* and *Poland* could be adjusted.

Death of Uladislaus king of Poland.

c IT was during his residence in this place, that the deputation arrived from the states of *Bohemia*, promising to acknowledge him as their sovereign, and *Albert* his successor, provided he would agree to certain articles, which he solemnly swore to fulfil; and this affair being so happily established, he interested himself with the deputies of the council, in order to facilitate a total reconciliation between the *Bohemians* and the church. After abundance of disputes and negotiations, an assembly was called at *Iglave*, in the diocese of *Olmütz*, at which these deputies, as well as those of *Bohemia*, were present. There every thing was regulated by an authentic act, signed and sealed by the emperor and deputies, in consequence of which act, the *Bohemians*, having protested that they would for the future be obedient to the church of *Rome*, were absolved from the excommunication, and other censures, which had been fulminated against them, and introduced into the church by the deputies of the council<sup>m</sup>.

The Thaborites are reconciled to the church of Rome, and absolved from the sentence of excommunication.

A. D. 1436.

d THE emperor resolving to establish a solid peace in that kingdom, and concluding that nothing could contribute so much to re-involve it in new disorders as the affair of churchlands, which had been usurped during the war, and might be a bone of contention, he made an accommodation upon that subject with the principal noblemen, who thought themselves the more obliged to him for this condescension, as the deputies of the council had refused to comply with their demands. In order therefore to manifest their gratitude, they conducted him to *Prague*, where he was magnificently received, and crowned on the 24th of *August*. Then the barons and deputies of the cities did homage to him, and took the oath of allegiance<sup>n</sup>.

Sigismund is crowned at Prague.

e A SMALL residue of the *Thaborites* still held out against *Sigismund*, under the auspices of a gentleman called *John de Robac*, who was besieged in his castle, taken by stratagem, and hanged, with 100 of his adherents. The town of *Gratz* likewise refused to acknowledge the emperor for its sovereign, and sustained a long siege with great valour and perseverance, until, being quite exhausted, it submitted on honourable terms.

He reduces the Thaborites and the whole kingdom of Bohemia to obedience.

f IMMEDIATELY after this pacification, the empress *Barbara* was crowned queen of *Bohemia*, with great magnificence; and this ceremony being performed, *Sigismund* applied himself in earnest to the police of the kingdom, which he found in terrible confusion, occasioned by the miseries of the civil war. He established tribunals, appointed *Maison neuve* governor of *Bohemia*, recalled the clergy who had been exiled, and, in order to prevent all possibility of a religious revolt for the future, enlisted the remains of the *Thaborites* and *Orphans* to be employed against the *Turks*, who had made an irruption into *Hungary*.

Reforms the police,

and enlists the remains of the Hussites, who defeat the Turks in Hungary.

A. D. 1437.

THESE infidels had ravaged the country, and would have maintained themselves in possession of the whole district betwixt the *Save* and the *Drave*, had not they been prevented by the *Thaborites* in the imperial pay, who attacked them with such fury, that they were utterly

<sup>1</sup> FABRIC. orig. Sax. l. vii.

<sup>m</sup> COCHL. lib. viii.

<sup>n</sup> ÆN. SYLV. c. 52.

(B) One great design for convoking the diet at *Frankfort*, was to concert measures for a reformation of the empire, both with respect to its head and members; that the reciprocal duties of the emperor and subjects should be ascertained; that the rights and possessions of the empire might be recovered, and all her revenues settled upon a solid footing. But great difficulties arose, on account of the alienations which had been made by *Charles VI.* in favour of those who refused to part with

their possessions, in which the kings at their election promised, upon oath, to maintain them: and though the grievances of the empire, which required an immediate remedy, were specified in sixteen articles, yet, as there was not present a sufficient number of electors and princes to give a proper sanction to their proceedings, the assembly was prorogued, and the attempt proved abortive (1).

(1) *Krantz*. ii. Sax. 25, & 11. *Wendel*. 37.

Defeated,



defeated, with the loss of 20,000 men, besides those who were butchered by the peasants, or drowned in attempting to swim across the *Sava*°.

He forfeits the favour of the Bohemians, by tyrannizing over their conscience.

Is seized with a distemper, which was the effects of poison. The empress intrigues with the barons touching the succession.

The emperor is carried to Znaim in Moravia.

Settles the succession and dies.

His character.

Tho' *Sigismund* had address enough to regain the affection of the *Bohemians*, his prudence was not sufficient to preserve it. His zeal for religion, and implicit obedience to the church, had entailed upon him the war with the *Hussites*, in which he had suffered abundance of damage and disgrace; and now, after he had concluded an advantageous peace with those people, instead of improving the footing he had gained in their good-will, by gentle remonstrances and a mild administration, the same indiscreet zeal prompted him to tyrannize as formerly over their consciences, and to use violence in compelling several of their principal men to abjure the religion which they professed. These arbitrary proceedings disobliterated his friends, and revived the hatred of his subjects, which increased to such a degree, that, finding it uncomfortable and inconvenient to live among a people by whom he was not beloved, he resolved to quit the kingdom, and retire to some place where he could end his days in peace and tranquillity. But before he could put this resolution in practice, he found himself attacked by a distemper, which was the consequence of poison. One of his toes was ~~lost~~ by the advice of his physicians, who believed a cure might be effected by such amputation; but some time after, the disorder re-appearing, the empress began to think of securing to herself the throne by a new marriage. For this purpose she privately assembled the greatest part of the barons, who had great authority in that kingdom; and assuring them that the emperor must die in a very little time, observed, that the only expedient for preventing the troubles which could not fail attending his death, would be a regulation before-hand, obliging *Sigismund's* successor to marry his widow. This advice being relished by the barons, a secret agreement was made for that purpose, and confirmed by the oath of all parties concerned. Yet this treaty was not managed with such secrecy, but that it reached the ears of the emperor, who at the same time was informed by his physicians that he had not long to live. He ordered himself to be transported from the kingdom of *Bohemia*, which he had great reason to suspect of disaffection, to *Znaim* in *Moravia*, that he might see his daughter before his death<sup>p</sup>. There he ordered his empress, who had followed him, to be arrested, and the barons of *Hungary* and *Bohemia* being called into his bed-chamber, he, in their presence, nominated his son-in-law *Albert*, duke of *Austria*, for his successor, appointing ambassadors, who should, immediately after his death, repair to *Bohemia*, and present his last will to the grandees of that kingdom. In the meantime all those who were present assented to his nomination, and agreed to acknowledge duke *Albert* as king of *Hungary* and *Bohemia*. In a little time after he had thus settled the succession, he died, on the 9th day of *September*, in the 70th year of his age, having reigned 50 years in *Hungary*, 27 in quality of emperor, and 17 as king of *Bohemia*. His body was, in consequence of the direction which he himself had given, carried to *Waradin* in *Hungary*, and honourably interred in the church of *St. Laudislaus*<sup>q</sup>.

*SIGISMUND* was remarkable for the beauty of his person, and the majesty of his air. He was liberal, and a patron of learned men (C), - he himself having been so well versed in the languages, as to obtain the epithet of the *Light of the world*. Though he neither wanted courage nor military skill, he was very unfortunate in all his warlike expeditions, and, what is very remarkable in the disposition of a prince, he had a mortal antipathy to all flatterers, who he usually compared to crows, which pick out the eyes of their fellow-creatures. The *Roman* catholic writers extol him for his piety and zeal for the advantage of the church, manifested in his concessions to the pope, in his endeavours to remove the schism of the church, and his repeated efforts to extinguish those doctrines, which they thought proper to brand with the name of heresy; but it plainly appears, that every step he took in consequence of this zeal, was the effect of blind superstition, exciting him to the prejudice of sound policy and common sense.

As for his widow, she is said to have equalled the famous *Messalina* in point of libertinism; and though *Sigismund* had often caught her in the act of adultery, he always forgave her backsliding, because he knew himself addicted to the same vice. When she recovered her liberty after his death, she retired to *Koniggratz* in *Bohemia*, where she lived to a great age, in the midst of a number of courtizans, whom she maintained to administer to her infamous pleasures. To such an excess of debauchery did she degenerate, that she held the

° COCH. Hist. Huss. p. 303. viii. in fin. DUBERAY. lib. 27. ii. ch. 30.

p ÆN. cap. 55. BONFIN. iii. Dec. 3. NAUCLER. gen. 49. COCHL. lib. 9 KRANTZ Sax. l. ii. c. 28. AVENT. Ann. &c. l. vii. p. 663. HEISS. liv.

(C) Having honoured with the order of knighthood one *George Fiselin*, the ablest lawyer of his time, and he chancing one day to have some dispute about his new rank, the emperor, by way of rebuke, said to him,

"I can create a thousand knights in one day; but, in the space of one thousand years, I could not create one learned man (1)."

(1) Remarg. sur Heiss, liv. ii. ch. 30.



- a sovereign good to consist in the sensual delight. She treated those nuns, who, during the religious troubles, preferred death to violation, as so many infatuated wretches who did not understand the true end of their being. She denied a future state; for that reason alleging, that we ought to make the most of life; and when a certain lady of reputation mentioned to her the example of the turtle, who, after having lost its mate, never chuses another, "Wherefore (said she) do you instance a bird who lives in solitude among the mountains, rather than the example of pigeons and sparrows, those domestic animals, who are always in our view, and whose loves and joys are without interruption" (D)."

C H A P. IX.

Containing the History of

A L B E R T II.

- A**LBERT II. duke of *Austria*, surnamed *the Grave and the Magnanimous*, was the son of *Albert II.* *Albert of Austria*, called *the Wonder of the World*, and married *Elizabeth*, daughter of *duke of Austria*; the emperor *Sigismund*. Upon the death of his father, his cousin *Leopold IV.* was, by the states of *Austria*, declared his guardian; but *Ernest*, the brother of *Leopold*, having protested against this disposition, the office was divided between them; and when the former died, *Albert* took the reins of government in his own hands. By his wise conduct he re-established the security of his subjects in *Austria*, which had a long time been interrupted by intestine wars, rapine, and licence, the authors of which he severely punished, until the peace and tranquillity of his dominions were restored. The great reputation which he acquired by his merit, joined to the favours of fortune, which never forsook him, would in all probability have rendered him the greatest prince that ever sat upon the imperial throne, had heaven thought proper to prolong his life. In one year he was honoured with three crowns; on the first of *January* he was raised to the *Hungarian* throne, in consequence of the last will of *Sigismund*, whose daughter and heiress he had espoused; on the sixth of *May* he was elected king of *Bohemia*, the choice being founded upon an antient convention between the two families, implying, that when the lawful heir-male of the house of *Bohemia* should chance to fail, they should bestow the crown upon a prince of the house of *Austria*. Yet notwithstanding this agreement, and the other pretensions of *Albert*, he met with a strong opposition from one part of the states of *Bohemia*, who, by the intrigues of *Tasm*, a *Bohemian* nobleman, and chief of that faction, elected *Casimir*, brother of the king of *Poland*, and even crowned him in the city of *Prague*. These were the very people who had conspired with the empress *Barbara* against *Sigismund*. This competition produced a war against *Albert*, in which *Casimir*, being assisted by the *Polish* troops, for some time disputed the throne.

- C**ASIMIR, and his brother *Ladislav*, advanced with a body of troops into *Bohemia*, where joining the *Calixtins*, by whom he had been invited, he obtained several advantages over the *Austrians*, and great barbarities were committed by both sides. At length *Albert* assembled all his forces, of which he gave the command to the marquis of *Brandenburg*, who had acquired the appellation of *the German Achilles*, and then sent a defiance to the enemy, whom he attacked in their intrenchments, and compelled to retreat to *Thabor*.

- A**FTER this action the marquis of *Brandenburg* made an irruption into *Upper Poland*; and this diversion obliging *Ladislav* to retire for the defence of his own dominions, *Albert* returned to *Prague*, where he again exacted the oath of allegiance from the citizens, appointed the count *de Celley* governor of *Bohemia*; and having taken other means for securing the tranquillity of that kingdom, repaired to *Breslau*. Here he found *Roderic*, bishop of *Burgos*, deputed from the council of *Basil*, to negotiate a peace between him and his competitor for the *Bohemian* crown; but all the endeavours of this able minister proved ineffectual, neither would he resign his pretensions; and all that the prelate could obtain was, that both would continue to own the authority of the council against the pope, who attempted to transfer it to *Ferrara*. At length, however, *Albert's* fortune prevailed; he dispersed the forces of his competitor, made himself master of the whole kingdom, except one or

<sup>r</sup> *ÆN. SYLV. c. 33. Idem. in vit. Fred. III. p. 43. DUBRARI. l. xxviii. p. 736. SPOND. CONTIN. BAR. tom. ii. p. 348.* <sup>t</sup> *ÆN. Boem. cap. 25. CROMAR. lib. ii.*

(D) *Sigismund* had two wives. The first was *Mary*, daughter of *Lewis*, king of *Hungary*, and the second *Elizabeth*, daughter of *Herman*, count of *Celley*, by whom he had one daughter *Elizabeth*, wife of *Albert*, his successor (1).

Perhaps the empress *Barbara* owes part of this character to the enmity of the catholics, which she incurred by embracing the doctrines of *Husi*.

(1) *Heiss, Hist. liv. ii. ch. 30.*



two places, which still held out for his antagonist, and was crowned at *Prague* with universal applause, after he had made an accommodation with those noblemen who had espoused the cause of *Casimir*, and promised, though unwillingly, to be governed by their advice".

The states of Hungary consent to his elevation to the imperial throne.

THE empress *Barbara*, about this time, having resigned her right to the fortresses of *Hungary*, was set at liberty, and accommodated with an allowance of 12,000 ducats a year. In the midst of his expedition against *Casimir*, *Albert* received the news of his being elected emperor at *Frankfort*, by the electors and princes there assembled, in order to concert measures for terminating the differences between the pope and the council of *Basil*. He was, however, obliged to conceal his sentiments on his election, until he had obtained the consent of the states of *Hungary*, who had chosen him king on condition that he should not accept the imperial crown, in case he should be solicited to receive that honour; for the barons of *Hungary* alleged, that it was a great disadvantage to their state to be governed by an emperor, on the experience they had of *Sigismund*, who, while he was occupied in the affairs of *Italy*, *Germany*, and his other dominions, left the kingdom of *Hungary* exposed to the incursions of the *Turks*, who pillaged it with impunity. Nevertheless the states, seeing *Albert* strongly pressed to accept of the imperial dignity, consented to his elevation, rather than run the risque of losing a prince whose merit was so conspicuous \*.

BUT two days before he was declared emperor, the electors of the empire, perceiving that the council of *Basil* and the pope did nothing but publish decrees against each other, resolved to adhere to neither side, until they should have deliberated six months upon their different claims. This was the beginning of the *German* neutrality, which was protracted to the eighth year, and was equally disapproved by *Eugenius* and the council (E). Nevertheless, *Albert* was no sooner in possession of the imperial throne, than he sent ambassadors to the council, to renew the engagements of public faith and security which they had received from *Sigismund*: while the fathers, in return for this favour, granted him the money which had been raised by indulgences in *Austria*, on account of the arrival of the *Greeks* (F).

Albert regulates the tribunal of the empire.

AFTER his election and coronation at *Aix-la-Chapelle*, his chief care was to reform the abuses which had crept into the administration of justice: he laid the tribunal of *Austregues* under proper restrictions; suppressed what was called the secret and *Westphalia* judgment, said to be as old as *Charlemagne*, in consequence of which people were condemned to death on simple information, without knowing the crime that was laid to their charge, until the very moment of the execution; and yet, amidst all the salutary regulations, he never dreamed of abolishing the manner of proceeding observed at *Klagenfurt*, the capital of *Carinthia*, where a person accused, or even suspected, of theft, is hanged upon the spot, and tried next day, when, if he is convicted, his body is left suspended on the gibbet; but if his innocence appears, his corpse is honourably interred at the public expence \*.

Confirms the neutrality of electors and princes.

*ALBERT* confirmed the neutrality which had been embraced by the electors, and by their advice proposed, that a general council should be convoked in some third town, distinct from the assembly at *Basil*, as well as from that which was maintained at *Ferrara*. Though both parties seemed averse to this proposal, the princes of the empire assembled at *Mentz*, in order to facilitate the expedient: as a previous step to which, they agreed that the council of *Basil* should be obliged to suspend the depositions of the pope, which was at that time the subject of their deliberations. The deputies of many *European* states, which were present on this occasion, approved of the step; yet the legates from the fathers would not acquiesce in this measure, but returned to *Basil*; and those that were sent by the pope repaired to *Mentz*, where they in vain employed all their efforts in persuading the princes to reject the council, and then retired, after having protested against the neutrality \*.

NEVERTHELESS, both pope and council courted the friendship of the emperor, and even exerted themselves in mediating a peace between *Hungary* and *Poland*. Their legates employed their influence in his favour, during the diet at *Petricow*: and a congress being opened at *Breslau* in *Silesia*, a treaty of peace was concluded, on condition that *Albert* should be-

\* STRUV. Hist. Germ. per. x. sect. 1.  
KNICHIN Jur. Territorii Synoptica Tract. c. 5.

\* ÆN. d. c. 55. NAUCLER. gener. 48. TRITHEM. in Chron.  
z ÆN. SYLV. de Con. Basil, part ii. n. 7, 9.

(E) Pope *Eugenius* having published bulls for transferring the council of *Basil* to *Ferrara*, the electors, princes, and prelates, assembled at *Frankfort*, resolved to continue neutral, that they might be the more able to negotiate a pacification. With this laudable view they wrote letters to the fathers in council, the pope, and *Paleologus*, emperor of the *Greeks*, exhorting them to

peace and unity, and intreating them to contribute their several endeavours to prevent a schism in the church (1).

(F) This was a sum of money raised to defray the expences of the *Greek* emperor and the eastern princes, to the number of 700, who arrived this year in *Italy*, in order to celebrate an œcumenical council (2).

(1) Barre, tom. vii. p. 407.

(2) Vide History of the Popes.



a now his eldest daughter in marriage upon *Ladislaus*, and give his younger to prince *Casimir* together with the kingdom of *Bohemia*, by way of dower<sup>a</sup>.

HITHERTO every thing succeeded prosperously with *Albert*, and his subjects began to pre-  
 sage happy things under his government, when *Amurath*, sultan of the *Turks*, who had  
 employed a whole year in preparing to invade *Bulgaria*, now resolved to put his design in  
 execution. He accordingly entered that province, though it belonged to his own father-  
 in-law, *George*, the duke or despot, and began his operations with the siege of *Semendria*.  
*Albert*, who before his elevation to the imperial throne had rendered himself formidable to  
 the infidels, and engaged in a treaty with this prince, armed for the defence of his ally, as  
 well as of his hereditary dominions, which, in all probability, would be attacked in their  
 b turn, and took the field with such force as he could assemble in those kingdoms and in  
 the empire; but in the midst of excessive heats, having indulged himself in eating a great  
 quantity of fruit, he was attacked with a violent dysentery, which obliged him to quit *Buda*,  
 in order to return to *Vienna*; but he never reached that city; for death overtook him in the  
 road, at the village of *Long*, and his body was interred at *Weissenburg*<sup>b</sup>. He left the em-  
 press with child of a son, who was called *Ladislaus*, and by the bishop of *Strigonia* crowned  
 king of *Hungary*, four months after his birth<sup>c</sup> (G).

Albert dies on  
his return to  
Vienna.  
A. D. 1439.

His death was no sooner known, than *Fredric*, son of *Ernest*, count of *Tyrol*, his  
 nearest relation, was chosen administrator of *Austria*, by the states assembled at *Vienna*, un-  
 til the empress should be delivered, that in case she should bring a prince into the world, he  
 c might take upon him the office of tutor; or if the fruit of her womb should be a female,  
 succeed to the duchy as coheir with his brother *Albert*.

At the same time the catholics and *Calixtins* of *Bohemia* laid aside their mutual animosi-  
 ty; and in consequence of pathetic letters from the empress *Elizabeth*, assembled in a  
 friendly manner at *Prague*, and resolved to wait for her delivery, before they would pro-  
 ceed to the election of a new king<sup>a</sup>.

In the short course of *Albert's* reign, several diets of the empire were held in the city of  
*Nuremberg*. In one of these, at which were present a great number of princes, all *Germany*,  
 except *Bavaria* and *Austria*, was divided into four circles; the first comprehended *Bava-*  
 ria and *Franconia*; the second including the countries about the *Rhine*; together with *Allé-*  
 d mania; *Westphalia* and the *Low Countries* were contained in the third; and the fourth was  
 constituted by *Saxony* alone. In another diet it was proposed to divide the empire into six  
 circles; and this division was afterwards established and followed for the first time by the  
 emperor *Maximilian* the first, as the death of *Albert* for the present frustrated the scheme.

This prince having inherited the kingdom of *Hungary* and *Bohemia* in quality of son-in-law  
 of the emperor *Sigismund*, he may be said to have been the basis of that power and grandeur  
 to which the house of *Austria* hath since attained. He was of a tall stature and extraordinary  
 strength, liberal, just, and virtuous; he cherished a warm affection for his people, a great  
 zeal for religion, and an uncommon esteem for learned men<sup>e</sup>.

## C H A P X.

Including the Emperor's Contests for the Crowns of Bohemia and Hungary.

### F R E D E R I C III.

AFTER the death of *Albert*, the electors, assembling at *Frankfort*, unanimously  
 agreed to fill the vacant throne with *Frederic* of *Austria*, surnamed *the Pacific*, son of  
*Ernest* of *Austria*, of the *Stirian* line, and *Cimburge*, daughter of the duke of *Mazovia*; he  
 was also cousin-german of his predecessor *Albert*, and no more than twenty-five years of  
 f age at his election<sup>f</sup> (H). The electors had at first agreed to name *Lewis* III. landgrave of  
*Hesse*, as *Albert's* successor; but he having declined the dignity, on account of the troubles  
 in which the empire was involved, all the suffrages were reunited in favour of *Frederic*, and  
 the archbishop of *Triers* was sent to *Vienna* to notify his election, and invite him to come and  
 take possession of the throne.

A. D. 1440.  
Frederic of  
Austria elect-  
ed emperor.

<sup>a</sup> DUGLASS. l. xii. p. 712.  
Huff. c. 8.

<sup>b</sup> GER. ROO. l. v. p. 164.

<sup>c</sup> HEISS, tom. ii. p. 258.

<sup>d</sup> THEOB Bell.

<sup>e</sup> ÆN. SYLV. Europ. c. 3.

<sup>f</sup> KRANTZ SAX. lib. xi. c. 30.

(G) He had by the same venter two daughters, *Elizabeth* and *Ann*, the first married to *Casimir*, prince of *Poland*, and the other to *William*, duke of *Saxony*. There was likewise another son, who died in his infancy (1).

(H) This prince is by some called *Frederic* IV. and by others *Frederic* V. but the greatest number of writers

give him the denomination of *Frederic* III. because the last *Frederic* of *Austria*, who was only chosen by part of the electors, afterwards renounced his pretensions to the crown, and the election of *Frederic* of *Brunswic* was not according to form; so that neither the one nor the other are inserted in the number of the emperors.

(1) Heiss, lib. iii. cb. 1.



WE have already observed, that the infant *Ladislaus* was crowned king of *Hungary* by the cardinal archbishop of *Strigonia*. This ceremony was no sooner performed, than his mother *Elizabeth* carried him to *Vienna*, and put him under the protection of the emperor, to screen him from the ill offices of one part of his subjects, who had actually offered the crown to *Ladislaus*, king of *Poland*, and concluded a treaty with him on that subject.

The Calixtins offer the crown of Bohemia to Albert, elector of Bavaria.

As for *Bohemia*, it was still divided between the catholics and *Calixtins*, the former of whom were inclined to appoint administrators, until the young *Ladislaus* should be capable of assuming the reins of government: but *Ptaczek*, at the head of the *Calixtins*, made violent efforts in favour of a new election, and even sent ambassadors to *Munich*, to notify to *Albert*, elector of *Bavaria*, that they had elevated him to the throne of *Bohemia*; that prince, however, having made proper acknowledgements for their good opinion and intended favour, declined interfering with the interest of the lawful heir.

BEING disappointed in this quarter, the *Calixtins* agreed to assemble with the catholics, in order to provide for the security of the kingdom; and as it appeared absolutely necessary to appoint some person who should take upon him the administration of affairs, they pitched upon the emperor, who desired to be excused from accepting such a troublesome office. Nay, such was the moderation of this prince, that when the states of *Bohemia* made him a tender of their crown, he refused their offer, protesting he would preserve it for *Ladislaus*, the son of *Albert II.* his relation and pupil, whom he considered as the lawful heir of the crowns of *Bohemia* and *Hungary* &c.

The Bohemians choose two administrators.

THE *Bohemians* having suffered these two repulses, proceeded to the election of administrators from among their fellow subjects, when *Ptaczek* was chosen by the *Calixtins*, and *Maison-neuve* by the catholics; and their government was for some time very quiet, those of both communions enjoying full liberty of conscience.

MEAN while the king of *Poland*, assisted by the famous *Hunniades*, had obtained a victory over queen *Elizabeth*, mother of young *Ladislaus*; tho' his progress was soon stopped by his German allies, commanded by a *Bohemian* gentleman called *John Gisor*, who gave surprising proofs of his gallantry and conduct. Pope *Eugenius* being informed of these troubles in *Hungary*, sent cardinal *Julian* thither to negotiate a peace, which was effected on these conditions. That the king of *Poland* should be declared regent of *Hungary*, during the minority of *Ladislaus*, and succeed him on the throne, in case he should die without issue; that the *Pole* should espouse queen *Elizabeth's* eldest daughter, and his brother *Casimir* take the younger to wife; and that all the acts and military promotions made in *Hungary* by the king of *Poland* should be confirmed <sup>h</sup>.

A. D. 1441. Prussia revolts from the Teutonic order.

WHILE these measures were taken for restoring the peace of *Hungary*, the knights of the *Teutonic* order were guilty of such outrages and oppression in the neighbourhood of *Culm*, that the nobility entered into an association for their mutual defence, and the difference was referred to the arbitration of the emperor, who decided in favour of the knights; this sentence reduced the states of *Prussia* to such despair, that they revolted from the *Teutonic* order, and acknowledged the king of *Poland* as their sovereign, after he had promised to confirm the rights and privileges of *Prussia* <sup>i</sup>.

Frederic interests himself in the affairs of the church. Has an interview with Felix.

FREDERIC, in the beginning of his reign, made sundry regulations touching the administration of justice, the police, and coin of the empire; nor did he manifest less concern in his endeavours to extinguish the schism that still continued in the church. He convoked several diets, to deliberate upon this subject, in consequence of an embassy which he received at the same time from *Eugenius* and the council of *Basil*, which had elected to the papacy *Amadeus*, duke of *Savoy*, under the name of *Felix*. These ambassadors attended him during his coronation at *Aix-la-Chapelle*, which being performed, they returned to the assembly at *Frankfort* (I), where each party pleaded their own case; and, after long debates it was agreed, that the empire should still adhere to the neutrality, until another council should be convoked in some part of *Germany*, in order to determine all difference, and re-establish the tranquillity of the church <sup>k</sup>. Deputies were accordingly sent to notify what had passed to the fathers of the council at *Basil*, and to pope *Eugenius* at *Florence*, though the behaviour of the states of the empire on this occasion was agreeable to neither party.

A. D. 1442. Makes peace with his brother Albert.

MEAN while *Frederic* set out in person for *Basil*, where he exhorted the fathers to concord and accommodation with *Eugenius*, and had an interview with *Felix*, whom, however, he would not acknowledge as pope, though he is said to have been tempted with an offer of

<sup>g</sup> BONFIN. iii. Dec. 4. PHIL. CALL. lib. i.  
<sup>k</sup> SPOND. Contin. t. ii. p. 418.

<sup>h</sup> DUGLASS. Hist. Pol. I. xii.

<sup>i</sup> BARRE, tom. vii. p. 538:

(I) in this diet farther regulations were made touching the combat proof, the secret judgment of *Westphalia*, and the current coin, the precise value of which was now ascertained; and the *pacta familiaria*, between the houses of *Brandenburg* and *Mecklenburg*, were confirmed (1).



- a. one of his daughters in marriage, a young princess of exquisite beauty, and a portion of 200,000 ducats : a proposal which he rejected with disdain, and upon which he said to one of his courtiers, by way of pleasantry, " This man would fain purchase holiness, if he could but find a seller (K)."

ALTHO' *Frederic* failed in his efforts to abolish this schism in the church, he was more successful in the war which he carried on against his brother *Albert VI.* surnamed *the Prodigal*. This prince, under the pretext of having been defrauded of his share of his father's estate, had assembled some forces, with the assistance of *Walrick de Celley*, and several other noblemen, besieged the city of *Laubach*, the capital of *Carniola*, and suffered a repulse from the inhabitants, supported by some *Austrian* troops which had come to their succour. *Albert* being incapable of paying the auxiliaries, they abandoned his cause, and resolved to invade *Austria*, in order to extort money from *Frederic* the emperor. They accordingly began their ravages, and the disorders continued till *Frederic* was obliged to set on foot a treaty with his brother, to whom he paid a certain sum of money, and yielded *Suabia*, and his territories bordering upon the *Swiss*, for the space of six years. He was likewise obliged to gratify his brother's soldiers with 70,000 ducats, before they would desist from the rapine and robbery which they had so long practised with impunity <sup>1</sup>.

Makes peace with his brother *Albert*.

DURING all these disputes, the war had still raged between the king of *Denmark* and the princes of *Holstein*; and now, in the 18th year of this dispute, an accommodation took place between the contending parties, who agreed, that count *Adolphus* should retain, during life, the portion of *Sleswic* which he then possessed, together with the isle of *Femeren* and lesser *Friesland*; but that on the expiration of two years after his death, the king of *Denmark* and his heirs should submit to a fair trial of his pretensions. In consequence of this treaty, the towns of *Lubec*, *Hamburg*, *Lunenburg*, and *Wismar*, made their submission to his *Danish* majesty, who did not, however, long enjoy the fruits of this pacification.

*Eric, king of Denmark, makes peace with the princes of Holstein.*

HE resolved to settle the succession upon his nephew *Bugislaus*, duke of *Pomerania*; and this attempt, so contrary to the liberties of *Denmark*, the crown of which was elective, gave such disgust to the states, that they summoned him to the diet at *Horsloe*, and he refusing to appear, they deprived him of the sovereign power, and elected *Christopher* of *Bavaria*, who was acknowledged king of *Denmark*, *Sweden*, and *Norway*, and solemnly crowned at *Rypen* by the archbishop of *Lunden*.

A. D. 1443.

THIS revolution was succeeded by a war between the *Austrians* and *Swiss*, which engrossed the emperor's whole attention. A difference had happened between the *Swiss* and the city of *Zurich*, on account of *Toggenburg*, and of its having put itself under the protection of the emperor, who not only refused to confirm the privileges of the *Swiss*, but likewise demanded the restitution of all the territories which they had wrested from the house of *Austria*. The inhabitants of *Zurich* refusing to renounce the treaty which they had made with the emperor, the *Swiss* had recourse to arms, and actually invested the city. *Frederic*, in this dilemma, demanded succours against the *Swiss* from the princes of the empire, not one of whom would take the field in his behalf. He then solicited the assistance of *Charles VII.* of *France*, who sent the dauphin his son into *Germany*, at the head of 40,000 men, although he had only engaged to furnish 5000; for whom the emperor promised to find free quarters in *Alsace*. The king of *France* may have been induced, by several motives, to send such a considerable army into the empire. Perhaps he wanted to revenge an irruption which had been made by the governor of *Montbelliard* into the territories of *France*. He might have had designs upon *Alsace*: his intention might have been to assist *Rene*, duke of *Lorraine*, to make himself master of the city of *Mentz*; and it is not improbable that he was solicited to make such a powerful armament by *Sigismund* of *Austria*, or pope *Eugenius*, in order to dissolve the council of *Basil*. Be that as it will, the dauphin approached this city at the head of his army, in which were 8000 *English*, under the name of auxiliaries. The *Swiss*, though few in number, not only kept the field, but also gave them battle; but they were almost all cut in pieces by the *French* cavalry, who nevertheless, paid dear for the victory <sup>m</sup> (L). About the same time the *Swiss* received another check be-

The *Swiss* besiege *Zurich*.

The dauphin cuts in pieces 4000 *Swiss* near *Basil*.  
A. D. 1444.

<sup>1</sup> FUGGER. l. v. c. 3.

<sup>m</sup> MEZ. Abr. Chron. t. ii. p. 698.

(K) About this time the art of printing was first invented, or at least first known in *Europe*. The *Dutch* ascribe this excellent and happy invention to *Laurentius Janson*, an inhabitant of *Leyden*, while the city of *Mentz* attributes that honour to a gentleman of their city, called *John Guttenburg*; and others contend for *John Mentzel*, and *John Faustus*, inhabitants of the

same place (1).

(L) The *Swiss* army is said to have amounted to no more than 4000 men, who slew double their number of the *French*; and, rather than own themselves conquered, died upon the spot, except one man, who, at his return to his canton, was beheaded for cowardice (2).

(1) Barre, tom. vii. p. 439.

(2) Mez. abreg. Chron. tom. ii. p. 698.



Ladislaus of Poland is acknowledged king of Hungary.

fore *Zurich*, which obliged them to raise the siege, and the dauphin returned to *Germany*.<sup>a</sup> He thought proper, however, to seize upon *Montbelliard*, and some other cities of *Alsace*.

IN the midst of these transactions, *Ladislaus*, king of *Poland*, taking advantage of his namesake's minority and absence, as well as of the sloth of the emperor, who neglected the interest of his people; encouraged, I say, by these favourable circumstances, the *Poles* formed a strong party in *Hungary*, and was actually acknowledged sovereign of that kingdom. Immediately after his elevation, he, at the desire of pope *Eugenius*, espoused the cause of *Stephen*, despot of *Rascia*, whom *Amurath* had stripped of his dominions, and raising an army of *Poles*, *Walachians*, *Germans*, and *Bohemians*, under the command of the gallant *Gisera*, he passed the *Danube*, made himself master of the town of *Sophia*, and by the valour and conduct of his general *Hunniades*, obtained a complete victory over the *Turkish* army, commanded by the famous *Scanderbeg*, who, by the bye, was suspected of partiality towards the Christians.<sup>b</sup>

*AMURATH* was greatly disheartened by this defeat, especially as he found himself attacked on one side by *Ibrahim*, prince of *Cilicia*, and on the other side by *Scanderbeg*, who immediately after this battle revolted, declaring himself a Christian, and took possession of *Albania*, which was his paternal inheritance. The sultan therefore, in this emergency, sued for peace, which was ratified on conditions very advantageous to the *Hungarians*, and solemnly sworn to by *Ladislaus*, who, nevertheless, regardless of his oath, from which he was absolved by the pope, and instigated by the Greek emperor *Paleologus*, he and *Hunniades* resumed their arms, and inviting *Scanderbeg* to join them, advanced by the way of *Thrace* towards the *Euxine* sea. They came in sight of the *Turkish* army, commanded by *Amurath* in person, at a village called *Varna*<sup>m</sup>, where a bloody battle ensued, in which *Ladislaus* lost his life, *Hunniades* his liberty, and the Christian army was entirely defeated.<sup>c</sup>

Casimir is elected king of Poland.

THE fate of *Ladislaus* was no sooner known in *Poland*, than the diet, assembling at *Cracovia*, elected his brother *Casimir* in his room; and the *Hungarians* having in vain solicited the emperor to send his young pupil as their king, committed the administration of their kingdom to *Hunniades*, whom they revered as the saviour of their country. This general having been ransomed after the battle of *Varna*, had defeated the *Turks* in *Upper Mesia*, and compelled the count *de Celley*, though the emperor's father-in-law, to do homage for his dominions to the kingdom of *Hungary*.<sup>d</sup>

THE states assembled at *Pest*, sent deputies to the emperor to demand their crown, which had been delivered to him by queen *Elizabeth*; and, upon his refusal to give it up, they resolved to obtain it by force of arms. With this view they declared war against him, and *Hunniades*, at the head of 10,000 chosen men, made an irruption to the very gates of *Vienna*, from whence he returned to *Presburg* laden with booty, and terrified the emperor to such a degree, that he durst not quit the fortress of *Neustadt*, until a truce for three years was established through the good offices of the count *de Celley*.<sup>e</sup>

The diet of Prague sends ambassadors to the emperor and the pope.

By this time the *Bohemians*, tired and harassed by the factions supported by their two administrators, began to long for the arrival of their young king, under whose authority they hoped peace and union might be re-established in the kingdom. Mean while, *Ptacek* dying, the *Hussites* elected *George de Podiebrad* in his place, that he might counterbalance the power of *Maison Neuve*, who was their enemy; and their religious disputes continuing, the diet of the kingdom was convoked at *Prague*, where it was resolved to send one embassy to the emperor to demand their young king, and another to the pope, soliciting the confirmation of their archbishop *Rockizane*, who had been excommunicated by the court of *Rome*.<sup>f</sup>

The dauphin ravages Alsace.

*FREDERIC*'s attention was at this period employed in contriving expedients for defending the dominions of the empire from the troops of the dauphin, called *Armagnacs*, which committed terrible ravages in *Alsace*; when the princes of the empire, incensed at these hostilities, resolved to take arms against *France*, and entrusted *Lewis* count palatine with the conduct of that expedition; but, before things came to that extremity, a diet was held at *Spire*, in which, by the mediation of the archbishops of *Cologn* and *Triers*, who were in the *French* interest, it was resolved first to try the expedient of a negotiation. In consequence of this resolution, ambassadors were sent to the dauphin to demand satisfaction, upon which he nominated five persons of rank as his deputies, who had orders to declare, in his name, that, as the emperor had invited him into *Germany*, he insisted upon a confirmation of the treaties made with the nobility of *Alsace*, and upon having winter-quarters assigned to his troops, otherwise the hostilities should be continued. The *French* had been for some time in possession of *Lauffinburg*, *Sickingen*, and some other places; but, not contented with these, they likewise demanded *Brisac* and *Fribourg*; finally, they proposed that *Sigismund* duke of *Austria* should repair to *France*, and consummate the marriage<sup>g</sup>

Ambassadors are sent to demand satisfaction.

<sup>m</sup> See the History of Hungary. Bell. Huss. par. ii.

<sup>e</sup> BONFIN. Decad. iii. l. vii.

<sup>f</sup> BARRE, t. vii. p. 477.

<sup>g</sup> THEOB.



- a with the daughter of king *Charles*, the dauphin's sister, and for that purpose remit the jewels and money which had been left to them by *Frederic of Austria*. To these demands the emperor replied by the mouth of *Albert of Brandenburg*, that he had indeed solicited the king of *France* for a succour of 5000 men, but had never dreamed he would send 40,000; and that, by the custom of *Germany*, the treasure and jewels of princes always devolved to their successors. At length it was agreed, that the dauphin should retreat with his troops from the territories of the empire, and that the *Germans* should demand no reparation for the damage they had sustained<sup>a</sup>.

*The affair is compromised.*

- b THE dauphin's retreat did not re-establish the peace of *Alsace*; for the troops of the count palatine plundered the fiefs belonging to the noblemen and towns that favoured the *French*; and the *Austrians* committed the same excesses upon the territory of *Basil*, which was in alliance with the *Swiss*. These outrages were retorted with great rancour upon the lands, subjects, and allies, of the house of *Austria*, and the whole country became a scene of rapine, cruelty, and confusion, until peace and order were restored by the mediation of the elector palatine; the marquis of *Baden*; and the count of *Willemburg*<sup>c</sup>.

- c THESE troubles being appealed, the electors of the empire assembled at *Frankfort* on account of *Theodoric* archbishop of *Cologne*, and *James* archbishop of *Triers*, whom *Eugenius* had deposed, because they adhered to *Felix* and the council of *Basil*, agreed among themselves, that unless *Eugenius* would declare their deposition void, suppress the taxes with which the *German* nation was burthened by the court of *Rome*, and own the authority of councils, such as it had been declared at *Constance*, they would assent to the sentence which had been pronounced against him at the council of *Basil*. This resolution being intimated to *Frederic*, he sent *Aeneas Sylvius*, his secretary, to *Eugenius*, exhorting him to treat the electors of the empire with more respect, and, above all things, to restore the archbishops to their former dignity, if he expected to see an end of that schism which divided the church. His remonstrances had such weight with *Eugenius*, that he promised to be swayed by the emperor's advice; and sent ambassadors to another assembly at *Frankfort*, in which certain articles of accommodation were proposed, and afterwards ratified at *Rome*<sup>d</sup>.

A. D. 1445.  
*The electors assemble at Frankfort.*

- d THE fathers of the council of *Basil*, finding themselves in danger of being utterly deserted, had, a little before this accommodation, published a decree, in which, after having observed, that the best method for removing the schism would be to hold a new council, they professed their readiness to concur with that expedient, and agree to any place that should be pitched upon by the emperors and electors assembled at the diet of *Frankfort*. But no measures could be contrived to heal the divisions that still remained in *Bohemia*. The politicians convoked diet after diet, without being able to form any resolution, but that of sending another deputation to demand *Ladislans* of the emperor, who would not even indulge them with an audience. In vain did the pope send cardinal *Carvajal* to pacify the troubles at *Prague*: though the catholics and *Maison Neuve* submitted to the directions of the holy see, *Podiebrad* and his *Hussites* persuaded the people that the pope and *Frederic* intended to deprive them of their religious liberties; and taking advantage of the commotion they had raised, attacked and imprisoned *Maison Neuve*; who died in a few days after this misfortune, not without suspicion of poison. In consequence of his death, *Podiebrad* remained in peaceable possession of *Prague* and the whole kingdom, and *Rockizane* was re-established in his cathedral<sup>e</sup>.

*The fathers of the council of Basil assent to the convocation of a new council.*

- e JUST as *Bohemia* began to respire from the horrors of a civil and religious war, *Alsace* was involved in fresh confusion by a quarrel between *Frederic* elector palatine and the counts of *Lutzelstein*, who declared war against him on pretence of his having seized their castle of *Einertzhausen*, and plundered their subjects. They first of all wrote him a letter, containing a detail of their grievances, and then committed hostilities on his lands and officers. *Frederic*, incensed at their presumption, levied a numerous army, and, investing the castle of *Lutzelstein*, carried on the siege with such vigour, that notwithstanding the brave defence made by count *James*, who commanded the besieged, he was fain to make his escape over the *Palatine's* intrenchments, and the garrison surrendered upon honourable conditions. As for the counts, they were obliged to go in quest of a livelihood in some other country, where they died without issue, after having made some fruitless efforts to relieve their castle.

*War in Alsace between Frederic, elector palatine, and the counts of Lutzelstein, who lose their all.*

- f THE emperor concerned himself very little in these private quarrels, so much was he engrossed in the affairs of religion; however, his endeavours to terminate the schism were at last crowned with success; for about this time he prevailed with *Felix* to abdicate upon certain conditions, which were confirmed by *Nicholas V.* who had succeeded *Eugenius* (N).

*The schism occasioned by the council of Basil is finally terminated.*

<sup>a</sup> HEISS, l. iii. p. 269.  
sect. 17. CÖCHLÆ. Hist. Hussit. l. ix.

<sup>c</sup> CRUSSIUS, p. 385.

<sup>d</sup> ÆNÆ. Comment. l. i. ANT. tit. 22. c. 11.

<sup>e</sup> ÆN. SYLV. Hist. Boh. c. 58, p. 100.

(N) In the year 1447, pope *Nicholas*, after his election, sent a legate into *Germany*, to take cognizance of certain grievances touching church benefices, of which the *Germans* loudly complained. These grievances were accordingly



*FREDERIC*, who acknowledged *Nicholas* for lawful pope, had ordered the inhabitants of *Basil* to put an end to the council which was held in their city, and dismiss the fathers of it before the feast of *St. Martin*. To this first order, which was published on *Michaelmas-day*, the citizens of *Basil* having paid no regard, the emperor, towards the latter end of the same year, sent to them a second imperial decree, and afterwards a third, in which he threatened to put them to the ban of the empire for disobedience. In consequence of these menaces, the fathers were obliged to transfer their council to *Lausanne*, where they earnestly exerted their endeavours to terminate the schism; and this grand affair was afterwards concluded, on condition that *Felix* should renounce the papacy in favour of *Nicholas*, who should confirm the decrees of the synod of *Basil* <sup>a</sup>.

A war between the marquis of Brandenburg and the city of Nuremberg.

*FREDERIC*, besides his endeavour to re-establish the peace of the church, employed his good offices, though in vain, to terminate a contest, which had lasted some years, between the city of *Nuremberg* and *Albert* marquis of *Brandenburg*, who was distinguished by the appellation of *The German Achilles* (O). The city pretended to be free, and independent of any other sovereignty than that of the emperor and the empire; while the marquisses of *Brandenburg*, being likewise burgraves of *Nuremberg*, affirmed, that not only the city, but all the country adjacent belonging to the city, depended upon and held of their burgraviate. This dispute was gradually inflamed to an open war. *Albert*, by the assistance of seventeen provinces of the empire, who were his friends or relations, had raised a strong army, with which he attacked the city; and the magistrates and burghers of *Nuremberg*, being well provided with ammunition, provision, and men, which they received from several imperial cities, sustained the siege with great bravery and resolution. In a word, the war being maintained on both sides in ravaging and ruining the little towns, boroughs, and villages, in the neighbourhood, together with the whole adjacent country, both sides were constrained, by the dearth of provisions, to listen to proposals of peace, which was accordingly concluded <sup>b</sup>.

Christian II. succeeds Christopher king of Denmark.

In the course of this year *Christopher* of *Bavaria*, king of *Denmark*, *Sweden*, and *Norway*, dying, was succeeded by *Christian II.* son of *Theodoric* count of *Oldenbourg*, from whom the present king of *Denmark* is descended; but the *Swedes*, being tired of a foreign dominion, elevated *Canutson* their grand marshal to the throne of that kingdom; and at the same time he had address enough to acquire the sovereignty of *Norway* by the unanimous election of the states of that antient monarchy, to which he repaired; and, after his coronation at *Drontheim*, conferred the charge of the administration upon two principal noblemen of the country <sup>c</sup>.

A. D. 1448.

Hunniades is defeated by the Turks.

A. D. 1449.

*HUNGARY* being again threatened by *Amurath*, *Hunniades* made preparation for giving him a warm reception; and, hurried on by the impetuosity of his courage, passed the *Danube*, and advanced to the frontiers of *Bulgaria*, in order to stop the sultan in the midst of his career. Though his troops were greatly inferior in number to the *Turks*, he attacked them with an undaunted valour; but, after having maintained the battle three days, was at length overpowered, and intirely defeated. The greatest part of the nobility, together with the pope's legate, were left dead upon the spot; and *Hunniades* himself, after having sustained incredible hardships in making his escape, fell into the hands of *George*, despot of *Rascia*, who would not release him until he had given one of his sons as hostage <sup>d</sup>.

Fresh troubles in Bohemia.

One would imagine the inhabitants of *Ladislaws* had been in a peculiar manner destined to unceasing calamities. The Catholics of *Bohemia*, being oppressed by *Podiebrad* and his *Calixtins*, had recourse to arms, and the war revived with all its former vivacity, tho' it was in a little time suspended by a truce; during which the states assembled at *Czastlaw*, in order to concert measures for appeasing the troubles; and the party of *Podiebrad* proposed,

<sup>a</sup> VANDERT. in Hist. Sabaud. PLATIN. in Nich. V. t. vii. p. 507.

<sup>b</sup> FUGGER. l. v.

<sup>c</sup> KRANTZ Sax. l. ii. c. 32.

<sup>d</sup> BERRE,

accordingly discussed in presence of the emperor and the ecclesiastical and secular princes, and certain articles agreed upon, under the name of *Concordata*, which were afterwards confirmed and ratified by the pope. These concordata, which are almost as famous as the articles of the golden bull, shall, for the information of the reader, be inserted at the end of this history.

(O) The foundation of *Albert's* claim was this: *Frederic IV.* his father, had appropriated to himself the title of burgrave of *Nuremberg*, not that he had any right of sovereignty over the city, but only because he had acquired a sort of right of protection, from having frequently assisted it against his neighbours. The emperor, *Lewis* of *Bavaria*, had, in the year 1315, mortgaged

*Nuremberg* to *Adolphus* of *Austria*, who did not enjoy it above twenty years; for the people, having shook off his yoke, entered into an association with the *Swiss* cantons for the mutual defence of their liberties, and engaged in their confederacy the cities of *Constance*, *Basil*, and *Straßburg*, which still retained their freedom (1).

This *Albert* was distinguished by the names of *the German Achilles* and *the Fox of Germany*. He was a prince of great personal prowess, and abounded with all the stratagems of war; was remarkable for his vivacity, eloquence, and craft, as well as for the innumerable scars with which his whole body was covered (2).

(1) Remarq. sur Heiss, l. iii. c. 2.

(2) Campan. Epist. l. vi.



a that they should elect a sovereign from among the natives, without exposing themselves to further repulses from the emperor; but the majority were of opinion, that they should send another embassy to redeem *Ladislaus*; and *Podiebrad* assenting to this proposal, it was forthwith put in execution.

*FREDERIC*, however, still excused himself, on account of the minority of his pupil; but being alarmed at the design of the *Hussites*, he sent his secretary *Æneas Sylvius* to remonstrate to the *Bohemian* diet upon the injustice and ingratitude they should be guilty of in chusing another king to the prejudice of *Ladislaus*, whose ancestors had laid their country under such obligations. In a word, this minister, by his ability, eloquence, and insinuating address, disposed the *Bohemians* to acquiesce in the conduct of the emperor, who promised to send *Ladislaus* to *Prague*, as soon as he should be capable of performing the kingly function; and at the same time he gained over *Podiebrad* to the interest of *Frederic*, who afterwards acknowledged his services, by creating his two sons princes of *Munsterberg* <sup>a</sup>.

The emperor sends Æneas Sylvius to the states of that kingdom, and gains over Podiebrad to his interest.  
A. D. 1450.

THE peace of *Bohemia* being thus restored, and the important dispute touching the council in which all Christendom had been interested, happily compromised, *Frederic* began to direct his attention to the affairs of *Italy*. Upon the death of *Philip Maria*, the last of the family of *Galeazzo*, who, had no legitimate male issue, several pretenders to the succession started up, though the duchy, as a fief, of right devolved to the empire. Nevertheless, *Alphonso* king of *Naples* demanded it, on pretence, that the last duke had declared him his heir. On the other hand, *Charles* duke of *Orleans*, son of *Valentina*, who was daughter of *John Galeazzo*, the first duke of *Milan*, claimed that duchy, by virtue of his mother's contract of marriage; in which it was expressly stipulated, that her children should succeed to the duchy of *Milan*, in case her brother should die without heirs male; and this clause was confirmed by the pope's approbation. The third competitor was *Francis Sforza*, one of the greatest warriors of his time, who having married *Blanche Maria*, natural daughter of *Philip Maria Galeazzo*, by whom he was also adopted, aspired to the possession of his fortune, and resolved to support his pretensions by force of arms. The city of *Milan* was of course divided into factions, who espoused the cause of this or that pretender; but the people, desirous of profiting by this occasion, chose twelve persons, into whose hands they put the administration of the state, and offered a certain annual sum to the emperor, provided he would allow the city to be erected into a republic. Mean while the succession of duke *Philip* became a prey to all who had inclination and force to seize it. *Placentia*, *Cremona*, and *Lodi*, fell into the hands of the *Venetians*; the duke of *Savoy* made himself master of *Valentia* and *Conflans*; other territories were usurped by other powers; and *Francis Sforza* attached himself to the city of *Milan*, the siege of which he undertook in form. The inhabitants, seeing themselves thus invested, had recourse to *Frederic*, who sent two of his ministers to assist them with their advice. The besieged offered to put themselves wholly under his power, provided he would raise the siege; but after having in vain waited for succour two whole months, and endured the utmost extremity of want, they were fain to capitulate, and open their gates to the conqueror <sup>b</sup>.

The affairs of Italy.

The city of Milan taken by Sforza.

e NEXT year *Frederic* resolved upon a journey to *Italy*, in order to be crowned at *Rome*, with *Eleonora*, sister of the king of *Portugal*, to whom he was contracted in marriage, and whom he had promised to meet at *Sienna*. Mean while he dispatched *Æneas Sylvius*, with an intimation of his design, to the pope, who at first seemed very well disposed for his reception; but was afterwards so terrified by the insinuations of the duke of *Milan* and other *Italian* noblemen, who represented *Frederic* as an ambitious prince, who wanted to invade the ecclesiastical dominions, that he sent his secretary to dissuade the emperor from his journey, as an expedition impracticable in the winter. But *Æneas Sylvius*, who tarried at *Sienna*, being informed of his apprehensions, found means to dispel them so effectually, that *Nicholas* no longer dreaded the views of the emperor, whom he now invited to *Rome* with great cordiality; for, at bottom, he was ambitious of having the honour to confer the imperial crown <sup>c</sup>.

The duke of Milan endeavours to create a jealousy between the emperor and the pope.

*FREDERIC*'s departure, however, was retarded by a revolt in *Vienna*, excited by a *Bavarian* gentleman, called *Eisfinger*, who had quarrelled with the emperor about the purchase of a castle belonging to the duke of *Austria*. He alleged, that *Frederic* had defrauded him of his purchase, and in order to be revenged, instigated the *Austrian* noblemen to assemble at *Meilperg*, and demand that the emperor would send *Ladislaus* among them, otherwise they would renounce his authority, and expel the governor, whom he had established. The malecontents afterwards entering *Vienna*, raised an insurrection among the people, and finally, being joined by the counts of *Celley*, ravaged all the towns, villages,

Frederic's departure is retarded by a revolt in Austria.  
A. D. 1451.

<sup>a</sup> COCHL. Hist. Huss. l. xii. p. 429.  
fest. 2. COR. Hist. Mediol. par. v.  
l. xi. c. 33.

<sup>b</sup> MEZ. Chron. Abreg. t. ii. p. 700. ANTON. tit. 22. c. 12.

<sup>c</sup> Comment. Pii II. l. i. COCHLÆ. l. ii. KRANTZ. Sax.



and lands, belonging to the friends and adherents of *Frederic*, who, having tried to appease these disorders by remonstrances, invested the duke of *Austria* with full power and authority to levy troops for opposing the progress of the rebellion; and, in the mean time, he himself departed for *Italy*, accompanied by young *Ladislaus*, and great part of the *Bohemian* and *Hungarian* nobility <sup>a</sup>. The princess *Eleanora* at the same time embarked at *Lisbon*; and arriving at *Pisa*, was conducted to *Sienna*, where she found the emperor waiting to receive her <sup>c</sup>. *Frederic* was met, just as he crossed the *Alps*, by the ambassadors of *Venice*, who conducted him to their city, where he made his public entry with great magnificence (O): from thence he repaired to *Ferrara*, where he found ambassadors from *Francis Sforza* duke of *Milan*, inviting him to return by that city, where he should receive the iron crown; and here too he was waited upon by the deputies of *Florence* and *Bologna*, <sup>b</sup> who craved the honour of entertaining him at these cities, which he accordingly visited: from *Florence* he took the route of *Sienna*, where (as we have already observed) he was joined by the princess *Eleanora*, attended by a splendid and numerous retinue; and in this city he gave audience to the pope's legates, who represented to him, that by ancient custom, and established right, the emperors always took an oath to the pope before they entered the territories of *St. Peter's* patrimony; and demanded, that, if he designed to proceed, he should conform to the same practice. *Frederic*, in this particular, complied with the desire of his holiness (P).

*He intercepts  
an embassy  
from the male-  
contents of Au-  
stria to the  
pope.*

WHILE he spent a few days in this place, until the princess should be recovered from the fatigue of her voyage, which had been long and dangerous, he was solicited for recommendation to the court of *Rome* by the chief of an embassy from the *Austrians*, who pretended they were sent by the states to request some favours of his holiness; but *Frederic*, suspecting his sincerity, ordered his papers and instructions to be seized, and found that this deputation was from *Eisfinger*, and the malecontents, who represented *Frederic* to the pope and cardinals as a tyrant, oppressor, and usurper of the dominions belonging to young *Ladislaus*; and gave the college to understand, that for these reasons they had withdrawn themselves from his authority. These remonstrances might have operated at the court of *Rome* to the prejudice of the emperor, had not he luckily made this discovery; in consequence of which he anticipated the malice of the *Austrians*, and found means to justify himself to the pope in such a manner, that his holiness entered into his resentment, and promised to excommunicate the rebels as soon as *Frederic* should be in a condition to chastise them with the temporal sword. <sup>d</sup>

*Is endan-  
gered by a tu-  
mult in Vi-  
terbo.*

THE emperor was received at *Viterbo* with great splendor, according to the directions of *Nicholas*. Nevertheless, a great tumult happened when he approached the palace at which he was to alight. Some young people, who had taken possession of an elevated place, drew towards them with iron hooks, the cloth of gold that adorned the canopy under which the emperor rode; and, a dispute arising among themselves, it was torn to pieces. This example encouraged others to practise the same licence. The pope's soldiers advancing, endeavoured to pull the emperor from his horse, which they imagined

<sup>a</sup> ÆN. SYL. vit. Fred. II. p. 136.

<sup>c</sup> BARRE, t. vii. p. 528.

(O) When he was about to depart from that city, a curious cup-board of glass was brought as a present from the inhabitants, and placed upon a table in his apartment. It was scarce set down, when his jester, directed by his nod, shook the table to such a degree, that the cup-board fell off, and broke into a thousand pieces; upon which the emperor observed with a smile, that; if it had been made of gold, it would not have met with such a misfortune; a hint, in consequence of which he was afterwards presented with some other curiosities of that precious metal (1).

(P) The oath, which the emperor took, was conceived in these terms: "Sanctissimo Domino nostro, domino Nicolao, Divina Providentia papæ, Ego Fredericus, rex Romanorum, promitto et juro, per Patrem, et Filium, et Spiritum Sanctum, et per lignum vivificæ crucis, et per has reliquias sanctorum, quod si, permittente Domino, Romam venero, sanctam Romanam ecclesiam, et sanctitatem suam rectorem ipsius exaltabo, secundum meum posse. Et neque vitam, neque membrum, neque honorem, quem habet, mea voluntate, meo consilio, meo consensu, aut mea exhortatione, perdet: et in Roma nullum placitum aut ordinationem faciam, de omnibus quæ ad sanctitatem suam aut ad Romanos pertinerit, sine vestro consilio.

"Et quicquid de terra Sancti Petri ad nostram potestatem pervenerit, suæ sanctitati reddam. Et cuicunque Italicum regnum commiserit, jurare faciam illum, ut adjutor suæ sanctitatis sit ad defendendam terram S. Petri secundum suum posse: sic me Deus adjuvet, et hæc sancta Dei Evangelia (2).

Thus englished: "To our most holy lord, *Nicholas*, by the Divine Providence, pope, I *Frederic* king of the *Romans*, promise and swear, by the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, by the wood of the vivifying cross, and of these relics of saints, that if, by permission of the Lord, I shall come to *Rome*, I will exalt the holy Roman church, and his holiness, who presides over it, to the best of my power. Neither shall he lose life, limb, nor honour, by my will, counsel, consent, or exhortation. Nor will I, in the city of *Rome*, make any law or decree, touching those things that belong to his holiness or the *Romans*, without your advice. Whatever part of *St. Peter's* patrimony shall fall into our hands, we will restore to his holiness: and he, to whom we shall commit the administration of our kingdom of *Italy*, shall swear to assist his holiness in defending *St. Peter's* territory to the best of his power. So help me God, and his Holy Evangelists."

(1) *Dabrav. lib. xxviii.*

(2) *Fugger. lib. v. c. 7. n. 4.*



- a would become the property of that person who should have address enough to seize him; and others, still more presumptuous, attempted to snatch off his hat, which they saw adorned with a jewel of great value. In the midst of this tumult, *Frederic* turning towards the legates, "I find, said he, we must make use of our hands, and think of repelling force " by force." With these words he snatched a staff from one of his domestics, and, disengaging himself from those who attacked him, wheeled about, put spurs to his horse, and charged them with great fury, overturning all that stood in his way. The legates followed the example of the emperor, and, arming themselves with the same kind of weapons, employed them to the same purpose. The gentlemen of *Frederick's* retinue drew their swords, rushed among the crowd, and this sort of battle lasted upwards of an hour;
- b when the populace, being no longer able to resist the blows and wounds which were dealt among them, betook themselves to flight. The governor of the Patrimony, who was the pope's own nephew, committed several of those seditious people to prison; but *Frederic*, who was more apt to forgive than to revenge an insult, interposed in their behalf, and obtained their release <sup>f</sup>.

FROM *Viterbo*, *Frederic* repaired to *Rome*, accompanied by the empress and the young king of *Bohemia* and *Hungary*, who was still under his tuition. He was no sooner in the sight of that capital, than the whole college of cardinals went out to meet him; and as it was customary for the emperor, who went thither to be crowned, to stay some time before the town, *Frederic* ordered tents to be pitched before the walls, where he passed that night.

- c Next day he made a public entry, and was crowned king of *Lombardy*, notwithstanding the remonstrances of the deputies of *Milan*, who protested against this coronation, which was performed at the request of the emperor, on account of the plague of *Milan*, as well as of the umbrage which that city had given to *Frederic*, in embracing the yoke of a stranger, to the prejudice of the empire, to which it properly belonged.

THE cardinals, being consulted upon this subject, were of opinion, that the pope, by virtue of the plenitude of his power, could confer the crown of *Lombardy*; and that the emperor's request ought not to be refused; tho' they instituted a new oath, which he took upon the occasion. Three days after this ceremony, he was married to *Eleonora*, and with her received the imperial crown; then he and the pope ratified the *Concordata* of the Ger-

- d man nation, touching the collation of prelacies and other benefices, which had been some years before agreed to by cardinal *Carvajal*, his legate in *Germany*. A few days after his marriage he and the empress set out for *Naples*, on a visit to king *Alphonso*, who was her uncle. There being treated with incredible magnificence, during *Holy Week* and *Easter*, he returned to *Rome*, where, in two orations spoken publicly by his secretary, he returned thanks to the pope and cardinals for the great favours he had received, and exhorted them to promote the general *passagium*, or military expedition, in favour of the *Greeks* against the *Mahometans* <sup>g</sup> (Q).

HAVING transacted his affairs at *Rome*, he departed from that city on his return to *Germany*, and in his passage thro' *Ferrara* was waited upon by *Borfi* marquis of *Este*, a prince of extraordinary merit, whom he created duke of *Modena* and *Reggio*. There also he knighted *Galeazo*, son of *Francis* duke of *Milan*, a youth of most engaging behaviour and great expectation <sup>h</sup>. Being afterwards royally received at *Venice*, he quitted *Italy*, leaving behind him a very contemptible character, both in point of understanding and liberality; nor was he altogether pleased with the success of his journey, as having had occasion to see a great many territories of the empire usurped by those who had no other right to possess them, than that which was derived by force of arms. The duke of *Milan* had applied to him for the investiture of his duchy, which the emperor refused to grant, unless he would agree to pay him a certain yearly sum, or put him in possession of the city of *Corno* and *Parma*.

- f ON his return to *Austria* he found himself involved in abundance of difficulties, particularly in a dispute with the *Hungarians*, who had often intreated him to send home their king *Ladislaus*, whom he still detained at his court, on pretence of being guardian to that young prince. They had likewise, by the most earnest repeated instances, besought him to restore their crown and regalia, which were in his custody; but he found means, under various pretences, to postpone his compliance with their demands. The *Austrians* being joined by a number of *Bohemians*, and encouraged by several princes of the empire, sent another deputation to expostulate with them upon the same subject; but he still lent a deaf ear to their request, and amused them with fresh evasions, till at length, tired with his ex-

Arrives at Rome;

Is crowned king of Lombardy;

ratifies the Concordata; visits the king of Naples; A. D. 1452.

departs from Rome; and returns to Germany.

Disobliges the Hungarians, who force him to an accommodation.

<sup>f</sup> HEISS. l. iii. c. 2.    <sup>g</sup> Comment. Pii II. l. i. Ext. apud Æne. ep. 399.    <sup>h</sup> NAUCLER. sub ann. 1449.

(Q) He was again invited by *Sforza* to go and receive the iron crown at *Milan*; but, as he had been offended by that nobleman, he declined the invitation, on pretence of the plague, which then raged in that city (1).



cuses, and provoked by his delays, they had recourse to arms, took the field under the conduct of *Eisfinger*, surprised and besieged him at *Neustadt*, and compelled him to sign an accommodation; in which it was concluded, that *Ladislaus*, being yet of too tender an age to take upon him the administration of his kingdom, he should be put under the tuition of *Ulric* count *Celley*, his uncle by the mother's side, and that the dispute, touching the wardship of the emperor, should be discussed and determined at *Vienna*<sup>i</sup>.

COUNT *Celley*'s ambition increased with the power which he derived from being governor of *Ladislaus*. He attempted to make himself absolute master in *Austria*: he secured the principal fortresses, by giving the command of them to his creatures; and gradually removed *Eisfinger* and the *Austrian* nobility from all offices of importance, which he bestowed upon his own friends and favourites.

*Ladislaus is crowned at Prague.*  
A. D. 1453.

THESE proceedings gave great umbrage to the people; and *Eisfinger* profiting by their discontent, roused their resentment to such a degree, that the count was obliged to retire to his own country, after having delivered up the person of *Ladislaus*, who consented to take the oath imposed upon him by the *Bohemians*, and repaired to *Prague*, where he was crowned with great solemnity<sup>k</sup>.

*Constantinople is taken by Mahomet II.*

DURING these contests, *Mahomet* II. succeeding his father *Amurath* II. and being equally ambitious of extending his conquest, subdued the rest of *Greece*, took the city of *Constantinople* by assault, in which the emperor *Constantine Paleologus* was slain with all his followers. By this expedition the *Roman* empire in the east was utterly annihilated, under a prince of the same name with him to whom it owed its beginning; and the *Turks* at that time seemed bent upon adding the western empire to their conquest. This progress of the *Mahometans* alarmed the princes of *Christendom*, and induced them to unite, in order to check the career of the common enemy. A diet was convoked at *Ratisbon* on this subject, and the members unanimously agreed, that there was a necessity for taking some speedy methods to stop the progress of the infidels; but what these methods should be, was a consideration referred to another assembly at *Frankfort*, where, though there was a great concourse of princes, and a vast appearance of zeal, very little was done for the common cause. It was agreed, indeed, that the *Hungarians* should be reinforced with ten thousand horse and two-and-thirty thousand infantry; and that the electors and princes should repair to *Neustadt*, to concert measures with the emperor for raising these troops. Pope

A. D. 1455.

*Nicholas* dying in the interim was succeeded by *Calixtus* III. who sent legates to all the princes in *Christendom*, exhorting them to engage in a crusade; and all of them expressed abundance of zeal for the interests of *Christianity*: but, how promising soever appearances might be, they produced very little effect to the advantage of the common cause. The pope himself, indeed, by dint of presents and solicitations excited the sophi of *Persia* to make a diversion on his side, while the *Christians* should attack them on the other. The *Germans*, by the exhortations and remonstrances of cardinal *Carvajal*, legate of the holy see in that country, were prevailed upon to raise troops and send them to *Hunniades*, who alone sustained the efforts of the *Mahometans* in *Hungary*. Reinforced by these succours he marched directly to *Belgrade*, which was invested by *Mahomet*, and, after a very obstinate engagement, compelled him to raise the siege, and retreat with the loss of 40,000 men killed on the spot<sup>l</sup>. But *Hunniades* dying a few days after of a fever, occasioned by the fatigue he had undergone in the battle, the *Christians* were so disconcerted by the loss of their general, that in minding their own particular affairs, they utterly abandoned the common cause. Indeed all the schemes, which had for two years been projected for the support of this holy war, proved abortive, thro' the interruptions occasioned by particular quarrels in *Germany* as well by the sloth and timidity of the emperor himself; for *Frederic*, notwithstanding the pressing instances of the pope, the zeal and industry of the legate *Carvajal*, who had effected the convocation of two diets to deliberate upon measures for the support of this war, preaching up the crusade with great energy and eloquence; I say, notwithstanding these incitements, the emperor would never heartily embark in the undertaking. He even declined an interview with *Philip* duke of *Burgundy*, who had come into *Germany* on purpose to confer with him and the princes on that subject; being in all probability, averse to a war, which would infallibly expose him to danger and expence.

*Hunniades, being reinforced, compels him to raise the siege of Belgrade; and retreats with great loss.*

A. D. 1456.

*Frederic's backwardness.*

*A misunderstanding between Calixtus III. and the princes of the empire.*

BESIDES, a misunderstanding happened between pope *Calixtus* III. and the princes of the empire. *Frederic* had sent an ambassador to congratulate the new pope upon his elevation, and to assure him of his implicit obedience. This step he had taken contrary to the inclination of some electors, who used their utmost endeavours to persuade him, that it was time to bridle the power of the popes, who could not reasonably expect to be obeyed, until they should have granted better conditions; for the *Germans* were much more oppressed by them than either the *Italians* or *French*. The electors of the *Rhine* also assem-

<sup>i</sup> *ÆNE. Boem. c. 60, 61, & Europ. c. 22. & cp. 409. NAUCLER. Gener. 49.*

<sup>k</sup> *COCHL. p. 392.*

<sup>l</sup> *ANTONIN. tit. 22. c. 14. in pr. ÆNE, Europ. c. 8. Boem. c. 65. THUR. Chr. Hun. Ladis. c. 55.*



- a bled and drew up a schedule of the grievances, which the nation sustained from the tyranny of the court of *Rome*. This remonstrance, among other things, imported, that the pope did not observe the decrees of the councils of *Constance* and *Basle*: that he did not think himself obliged by the *Concordata* made with pope *Nicholas V.* his predecessor: that he despised the *German* nation, and seemed bent upon exhausting it intirely: that the elections of prelates were generally rejected: that the benefices and dignities of any consideration were reserved for cardinals and prothonotaries: that livings, for the most part, were promised before they became vacant: that the annates were not only exacted with extreme rigour, but more was extorted on that account than was really due: that the government of churches was not conferred according to merit, but always upon those who paid the highest price: that new indulgencies were granted every day, by which the empire was drained of its money: that, under the pretext of a war against the *Turks*, the ecclesiastic tythes were seized, without the privity or consent of the bishops: that causes which ought to be tried in *Germany*, were continually appealed to the tribunal of the pope; and a thousand methods invented to attract all the money of the empire to *Rome*. The emperor himself was disposed to join the electors in this remonstrance, but he was hindered by the influence which his ministers had over him; and the pope answered this accusation article by article in several epistles contained in the collection of *Aeneas Sylvius*, who indeed wrote them for the justification of his holiness <sup>m</sup>.

Articles of  
the remon-  
strance.

- c As it was absolutely necessary for checking the progress of the *Turks*, that the Christian princes should act with concord and unanimity, the pope, understanding that the old grudge between the emperor and *Ladislaus*, originally owing to *Frederic's* having detained him longer than he desired under his tuition, had now broke out into open war, he not only wrote letters to both, exhorting them to peace and reconciliation, but also sent his apostolic legate, *John* cardinal of *St. Angelo*, to use his endeavours for an accommodation, which *Lewis* duke of *Bavaria* undertook to effect as mediator between them <sup>n</sup>: but, before this peace could be established, *Ladislaus* being at *Prague*, in order to celebrate his nuptials with *Magdalen*, daughter of the king of *France*, he was suddenly taken ill, and died, not without suspicion of poison, which the Catholics fix upon *Rockizane*, who had declared himself protector of the *Hussites*, to whom he knew the king was averse; while others charge it to *Podiebrad*, who was supposed to aspire to the sovereignty. Upon the death of this young prince several competitors arose for the succession of the crown of *Hungary* and *Bohemia* <sup>o</sup>.

A. D. 1457.  
The pope uses  
his endeavours  
for effecting an  
accommodation  
between the  
emperor and  
Ladislaus,  
who dies be-  
fore the con-  
clusion of the  
treaty.

- The emperor pretended to dispose of the crown of *Bohemia*, because *Ladislaus* had neglected to do homage to the empire, and intended to bestow it either upon himself or upon some other prince of his house. *Casimir*, brother-in-law of *Ladislaus*, claimed it in right of his wife: *William* duke of *Saxony* demanded the preference of this prince, because he had married the eldest sister of the last king; while *Albert* and *Sigismund*, dukes of *Austria*, founded their title upon a *pactum familiae* between the two houses, touching a reciprocal succession, in case of failure of male issue; but *Podiebrad*, by means of *Rockizane*, had the good fortune to foil all his competitors, and was actually proclaimed king of *Bohemia*, almost without opposition <sup>p</sup>.

Podiebrad  
proclaimed  
king of Bohe-  
mia.

A. D. 1458.

- HUNGARY* likewise was claimed by fundry pretenders; but the remembrance of the great services done to that kingdom by *Hunniades* united all the suffrages in favour of his son *Matthias*, who was then a prisoner in *Bohemia*, whither he had been removed by *Ladislaus*, in consequence of the murder of the count *de Celley*, for which the elder brothers of *Matthias* had been beheaded at *Buda*.

Matthias  
elected king of  
Hungary.

- PODIEBRAD*, understanding that this young prince was elected king of *Hungary*, promised to set him at liberty, provided he would marry his daughter; and this condition was fulfilled with the consent of the *Hungarian* states.

- f As for the dominions of *Austria* that belonged to *Ladislaus*, the succession involved the emperor in a war with two princes, from which he reaped nothing but damage and disgrace. These were his own brother *Albert IV.* surnamed *The Prodigal*, and *Sigismund* count of *Tyrol*, his cousin-german, who, as well as himself, were descended from *Albert the Sage*. *Frederic*, as eldest, claimed the possession of *Austria*; *Albert*, his brother, alleged that he already was in possession of too many provinces; that he had already too much availed himself of his birth-right in sharing the succession of his father; and that, in case of this duchy, it was but reasonable he should have some regard to the rights of his brother and cousin. On the other hand, the states of *Austria* would not yield obedience to either of these competitors; so that all three concurred in desolating the country <sup>q</sup>. After these ravages had continued for some time, the affair was accommodated by the mediation of *Lewis* count

Two other  
competitors dis-  
pute the duchy  
of Austria  
with Frederic.

An agreement  
made by the  
mediation of  
Lewis count  
palatine.

<sup>m</sup> *ÆNE.* ep. 371.  
*Sax.* l. xi. c. 33.

<sup>n</sup> *Id.* ep. 329. 331. 339.  
<sup>q</sup> *ÆNE.* *Europ.* c. 22.

<sup>o</sup> See the History of Bohemia and Hungary.

<sup>p</sup> *KRANTZ.*





palatine. By this agreement the emperor acquired the possession of *Lower Austria* as far as the river *Ems*; the country on the other side of that river was given to *Albert*; *Upper Carinthia*, in the neighbourhood of *Tyrol*, became the portion of *Sigismund*; and it was agreed, that each of these princes should have a separate palace in the castle of *Vienna*.

Pope Pius II. convokes an assembly at Mantua.

THIS dispute furnished *Frederic* with an excuse for absenting himself from the assembly at *Mantua*, convoked by *Æneas Sylvius*, who had by this time succeeded to the papacy by the name of *Pius II.* To this congress the new pope invited all the princes of *Christendom*, that they might form a league against the *Turks*; but so many countries, and *Germany* in particular, were embarrassed with intestine broils, that the success of this assembly did not answer the zeal and expectation of his holiness. The northern parts of the empire were embroiled by *Christian* king of *Denmark*, who seized upon the duchies of *Holstein* and *Sleswic*, upon the death of duke *Alphonfus*, and did homage for both to the emperor.

A storm ready to burst upon the head of the emperor.

*PODIEBRAD* was not yet firmly established upon the throne of *Bohemia*, which he had mounted in direct opposition to *Frederic* and the pope: *Matthias* did not think himself secure of the kingdom of *Hungary*, because he had not yet received the crown, which the emperor detained without any shadow of pretence; and this defect in *Matthias* had great weight with his superstitious subjects. The kings of *France* and *England* absolutely refused to engage in this crusade; *Sigismund* of *Austria* had incurred the sentence of excommunication from the pope for having outraged and imprisoned cardinal *Cusa*; the dukes of *Bavaria*, the elector of *Mentz*, the count palatine of the *Rhine*, and almost all the princes of *Germany*, were so much disgusted at the indolence, pusillanimity, and sordid disposition of *Frederic*, that they held private consultations, in order to deliberate on the means for setting him aside, and electing a new king of the *Romans*.

He found means, however, to appease *Matthias* with fair promises, and to attach *Podiebrad* to his interest, by renouncing his pretensions to the crown of *Bohemia*, and undertaking to support the new king with all his influence; and he was screened from the resentment of the other princes by the interposition and good offices of *Albert* marquis of *Brandenburg*.

Lewis duke of Bavaria-Landshut revives his pretensions to Donawert. A. D. 1460.

BESIDES those dissensions, which in a great measure prevented the success of the assembly at *Mantua*, other disputes intervened to harass and distract the empire. *Lewis* duke of *Bavaria-Landshut* revived his pretensions upon *Donawert*, which the emperor *Sigismund* had declared a free imperial town, and actually invested the place with an army of 20,000 men, which he was enabled to raise by a treaty he had made with *Frederic* elector palatine, *Otho* and *John* counts palatine of the *Rhine*, *Ulric* of *Wurtemberg*, and several other noblemen of the empire.

*FREDERIC* complained of these proceedings to the diet held at *Nuremberg*; and the *Bavarian* refusing to withdraw his troops, war was declared, and a strong body of forces sent against him under the command of *Albert the German Achilles*, who soon retook the city of *Donawert*, which had surrendered to *Lewis*; and conducted himself with such intrepidity and discretion, that the emperor created him judge through all *Germany*, with a delegated power to summon all persons guilty of state crimes before his tribunal.

He is put to the ban of the empire. Engages in a war with Albert marquis of Brandenburg, whom he defeats.

*LEWIS* duke of *Bavaria-Landshut* appealed from this authority to the diet at *Nuremberg*, and demanded a sight of the patent that established his office, which, being presented to him for his perusal, he read, and tore it in pieces, even in presence of the emperor, who was so much incensed at his presumption, that he forthwith put him to the ban of the empire. The states were ordered to furnish the margrave of *Brandenburg* with troops to execute the sentence; and tho' the imperial towns of *Suabia* obeyed, those of *Franconia* refused their contingent; while the *Hussites* of *Bohemia*, part of *Austria*, and all *Bavaria* declared for *Lewis*. Both armies took the field, hostilities commenced, and notwithstanding the efforts of *Podiebrad*, who endeavoured to mediate a peace, the war was protracted about three years with various success: *Brandenburg* and *Lower Bavaria* were ravaged in their turns: *Lewis* was assisted by the count palatine of the *Rhine*, the bishops of *Wurtzburg* and *Bamberg*, and *Otho* duke of *Mosbach*; the elector of *Brandenburg* numbered among his allies the count of *Wurtemberg*, the margrave of *Baden*, and thirty-two imperial towns of *Suabia*. At length the two armies met between *Ulm* and *Noddingen*, and a very obstinate and bloody battle ensued, in which the *German Achilles*, being utterly defeated, was obliged to sue for peace. This was accordingly effected by the mediation of *Podiebrad*, in a treaty concluded at *Prague*, importing, that the emperor should permit *Lewis* to enjoy the rights he claimed to the bishopric of *Archielet*, the honorary of the *Jews* at *Ratisbon*, and the fiefs he demanded as of right belonging to the *Bavarian* house in *Austria*.

<sup>1</sup> HEISS, l. iii. c. 2.

<sup>2</sup> BARRE, t. vii. p. 594.

<sup>3</sup> DUMONT, Corp. Dipi. t. i. p. 288.



a THIS was not the only war that distressed the interior parts of the empire. Another flame broke out between *Diethric* count *d'Usembourg*, and *Adolphus* of *Nassau*, who were competitors for the archbishopric of *Mentz*. The first had been elected by a majority of the canons; but he was excommunicated by pope *Pius II.* because he had not paid the annates; and, by direction of his holiness, recourse was had to a new election, which determined in favour of *Adolphus*. Then both parties appealed to the decision of arms, and mutual ravages were committed for some years, until *Diethric*, tired of the dispute, ceded his right to *Adolphus*, received absolution from the pope's nuncio, and spent the remainder of his life as a private gentleman.

b BEFORE these differences were compromised, *Albert* of *Austria*, still dissatisfied, and being supported by *Lewis* of *Bavaria*, took up arms again against the emperor, still on pretence that he had been injured in the division of his father's dominions; though he now reinforced that pretext by alledging the *Austrians* complained that the emperor had incroached upon their privileges. This quarrel was also made up for the present by the interposition of the king of *Bohemia*, who prevailed upon both parties to lay down their arms; but the dispute was afterwards inflamed to a greater degree of rancour, which broke out in a more cruel intestine war. *Albert*, appearing before *Vienna* at the head of his troops, was engaged by the emperor's forces, who obliged him to retreat. The inhabitants of that city, tho' very little attached to the emperor, were divided into two factions; the senate, and wiser part of the burghers, seemed to espouse the interest of *Frederic*, while the people, and the

c consul *Holzer* at their head, inclined to *Albert*. In the midst of these transactions, the emperor presented himself before *Vienna* at the head of 4000 men, and was at first refused admittance. Some time after, however, the gates were opened, but not before he had promised to overlook the affront he received. He then took cognizance of their affairs, changed the magistrates according to the inclination of the burghers, and re-established the tranquillity of the city, which, however, was soon interrupted by a tumult that arose among the people. In the neighbourhood of the city were some soldiers, part of whom, during the preceding wars, had been in the service of the emperor, and part of them in the army of *Albert*. These, joining in a body, demanded the arrears that were due to them; and, as no satisfaction was given, they began to pillage the country. Complaints of these rava-

A. D. 1462.  
The emperor takes possession of Vienna.

d ges were carried to *Frederic*, who being either distressed for want of money, or desirous of trying the affection of the people, demanded of the city a loan of 6000 ducats, to which, he said, he would add the like sum, in order to maintain the troops necessary to quell the disturbances of which they complained. The inhabitants of *Vienna*, refusing to comply with this request, or even to furnish the half of that sum, to which he afterwards lowered his demand, he threatened the city with his resentment, and would neither satisfy the soldiers, nor take any step for putting an end to the violences which they daily committed. The disorders of consequence increased, and the mutineers, rendered more audacious by impunity, insulted the vintages, and would not suffer them to carry their wine into the city; while those inhabitants who were in *Albert's* interest, took this opportunity to raise an insur-

An insurrection against Frederic;

e rection against the emperor. The populace accordingly assembled in a tumultuous manner, renounced their allegiance, and seized all the money that was found in the public offices. *Frederic*, who with the empress, and his young son *Maximilian*, resided in the castle, thought he could appease the sedition by sending two of his officers to make representations to the ringleaders, and exhort the rest to return quietly to their homes: but, instead of listening to these remonstrances, they imprisoned the two officers, and actually formed the siege of the castle, after having concluded, for two years, a treaty of alliance with *Albert*. In a word, the emperor was so harrassed, and reduced to such extremity, that he and all his attendants must have perished by famine, had he not been relieved by the interposition of *George Podiebrad*, king of *Bohemia*. By his management a treaty was con-

who is besieged in the castle.

f cluded, importing, that the prisoners on both sides should be released: that *Albert* should restore the fortresses, towns, and territories, of which he had possessed himself: that he should for eight years enjoy the government of *Lower Austria* in quality of vicar, and pay yearly to his brother the sum of 14,000 ducats\*. Yet the articles of this agreement were observed by neither side. *Albert* could not prevail upon himself to part with his acquisitions, and *Frederic* not only refused to bestow upon him the administration of *Lower Austria*, but even put him to the ban of the empire, and persuaded the pope to saddle him with the sentence of excommunication.

Another ineffectual treaty.

THESE violent proceedings induced them both to have recourse again to arms; and their troops engaging near *Neustadt*, a battle ensued, in which a great deal of blood was spilt on both sides. *Sigismund* of *Austria*, *Lewis* of *Bavaria*, the empress *Eleonora*, and the pope, used their utmost endeavours to promote a reconciliation between the two brothers; but all

A. D. 1463.  
They have again recourse to arms.

\* Comment. Pii. II. l. x. COCHLÆ, l. xii. HEISS, Hist. de l'Empire, l. iii. c. 2. supra.

\* DUMENT. ut

their



their efforts proved ineffectual: *Albert* would not yield what was in his possession, and *Frederic* insisted upon being master of all *Austria*, in consideration of a sum of money, which he was willing to pay. What could not be compromised by human intercession, was determined by the decrees of heaven. *Albert* was overtaken by a sudden death, which some considered as a punishment from above, on account of his wicked life, and undutiful behaviour; while others ascribed it to poison; and a third set to an apoplexy, occasioned by his debauchery and incontinence. The physicians confirmed the suspicion of poison, by declaring they had observed marks of it when they inspected the body, and several persons were apprehended in consequence of their declaration; but, as no proofs of their guilt appeared, they were in a little time set at liberty. In the beginning of the following year, *Sigismund* yielded to the emperor that portion of *Austria* which he inherited from *Ladislaus*; so that *Frederic* at length found himself in peaceable possession of that whole duchy.

A. D. 1464.  
The Hungarians chose Matthias for their king.

THE Hungarians, as we have already observed, seeing the difficulties in which the emperor was involved, instead of chusing a king from the house of *Austria*, had elected, in the room of *Ladislaus*, *Matthias Corvinus*, son of the valiant *Hunniades*; but the ceremony of his coronation was not performed at that time, because the emperor still detained the crown which they had always used for that purpose; besides, he had actually declared open war against them, with design to add that kingdom to his hereditary dominions; but his efforts were so feeble, that they had no apprehension of his being able to accomplish his aim by force of arms. At length, however, being heartily tired of the war, he consented to restore the crown, and concluded a treaty with *Matthias*, in which it was stipulated, that a mutual adoption of father and son should take place between these two princes; and that in case the king of *Hungary* should die without legitimate children or nephews, the crown should devolve to *Frederic* and the heirs of his body.

A. D. 1465.  
Affairs of Denmark.

POPE *Paul II.* who had succeeded to the pontificate on the death of *Pius*, understanding that *Mahomet II.* was employed in making great preparations against *Scanderbeg* king of *Albania*, wrote to the states of *Germany*, demanding the 32,000 men to fight against the *Turks*, according to the promise their deputies had made in the assembly at *Mantua*; and at the same time he sent a legate to exhort *Christian* king of *Denmark* to join the *German* troops in this expedition; but the princes paid very little regard to his representations, and his *Danish* majesty was too much embarrassed at home to engage in a foreign war. *Gerhard* count of *Oldembourg*, on pretence of demanding certain sums that were due to him as successor to his brother *Maurice*, took advantage of *Christian's* absence in *Sweden* to invade *Holstein* and *Lower Friesland*, from the inhabitants of which he exacted the oaths of allegiance. The king of *Denmark*, being informed of this irruption, postponed his operations in *Sweden* against *Charles Canutson*, who had ascended the throne of that kingdom, and began his march towards *Holstein*, to check the progress of his brother *Gerhard*. Nevertheless, he was prevailed upon, by the mediation of his senators, to pardon this prince, who made his submission to him at *Segeberg*, and the *Frieslanders* took the oath of allegiance anew to *Christian*.

The pope excommunicates Podiebrad.  
A. D. 1466.

MEAN while every thing tended to a rupture in *Bohemia* and *Silesia*. *Podiebrad* laid such religious restraints upon the catholics of *Silesia*, that the pope declared them exempted from all submission to that prince, and put them under the protection of *Matthias* king of *Hungary*. At the instigation of *Rockizane* he exerted the same tyranny over his catholic subjects of *Bohemia*, forcing upon them the ritual of the *Calixtins*, and punishing severely those who refused to communicate of both species. This spiritual oppression drove them to such despair, that they revolted against their sovereign, and were absolved from their allegiance by the pope, who summoned *Podiebrad* to appear at *Rome* within a specified time, empowered his legate to publish a crusade against him, and, finally, declared him convicted of perjury, sacrilege, and heresy, deprived of his crown, and all his children and posterity incapable of receiving any dignity whatsoever.

Peace between the Poles and the Teutonic knights of Prussia.

THO' *Rodolphus* did not succeed in his endeavours to excite the *German* princes against *Podiebrad*, he was more lucky in another negotiation, which he undertook at the same time; namely, that of mediating a reconciliation between the *Poles* and *Teutonic* knights, which, after a war of fourteen years, was confirmed by a treaty, importing, that all *Pomerania*, and some other provinces, should revert to the *Poles*: and that the *Teutonic* order in *Prussia* should be feudatory to the king of *Poland*.

As for the emperor, he indulged his indolence and timidity to such a degree of carelessness and indifference for the affairs of the empire, that he never dreamed of interposing his good offices or authority in order to prevent the desolation and slavery of *Liege*, which had revolted against its bishop, *Lewis of Bourbon*, on account of some privileges he wanted to retrieve, and by this insurrection intailed upon itself a war with his uncle, *Philip*, duke of *Burgundy*. He had by this time united *Luxemburg* to his dominions by a solemn contract

<sup>a</sup> ROO. I. vii. p. 251.

<sup>b</sup> HEISS, I. iii. c. 2.

<sup>c</sup> LEIENITZ. Cod. Dipl. p. 422.

<sup>d</sup> HUITFIELD, t. vi.

<sup>e</sup> PAPIEN. Ep. 209.

<sup>f</sup> MICHOM. I. iv. c. 62.



- a with the duke and duchess of *Saxony*, who quitted all their pretensions to that duchy, in consideration of 50,000 crowns of gold; and this purchase was ratified by *Lewis XI.* of *France*, who likewise pretended to have some right to *Luxemburg*, and its dependencies: but a war afterwards breaking out between the *French* king and *Philip*, the inhabitants of *Liege* solicited the assistance of that monarch, who sent them a small reinforcement; and now they breathed nothing but reproach and defiance. The citizens of *Dinant* in particular, trusting to the strength of their fortifications, let slip no opportunity of mortifying the pride and reviling the person of *Philip's* son, the count *de Charolois*, who had taken the field, and entered the territory of *Liege*. But they soon repented of their intolerance; for he invested the town, which he carried by assault, and reduced to ashes, after having put all the men to the sword, without mercy or distinction; and those of *Liege* were fain to deprecate his wrath by the most abject submissions, reinforced with 300 hostages chosen by their bishop.

*The inhabitants of Liege revolt against their bishop.*

- NEVERTHELESS, upon the death of *Philip*, they had recourse to arms again, confiding in the temerity and inexperience of *Charles* his successor; and arrested the bishop, who found means, however, to escape, and repaired to his patron at *Brussels*. Duke *Charles*, incensed at this outrage, levied an army, with which he entered the *Liegeois*, and invested *St. Trou*; and the inhabitants of *Liege* marching out to the relief of the place, were intirely defeated. In consequence of this battle, *St. Trou* surrendered, and was dismantled: 300 of the principal citizens of *Liege* came with the keys of their town to implore the clemency of the duke, who entered the place sword in hand, ordered all the fortifications to be razed, the territory to be pillaged, and the whole country to be loaded with taxes<sup>c</sup> (S).

*They are humbled by Charles the Warlike, Philip's son and successor. A. D. 1467.*

- NOR did *Frederic* interest himself with more spirit in the troubles of *Bohemia*, which was now threatened with a civil war, in consequence of the excommunication thundered out by the pope against *Podiebrad*. The catholics, thinking themselves absolved by this sentence from their allegiance, sent deputies with a proffer of their crown to *Casimir* king of *Poland*, who had married the sister of their last monarch; but that prince declined accepting it, because he dreaded the power and policy of *Podiebrad*, who besides was supported by *Lewis* of *Bavaria-Landsbut*, and some other princes of *Germany*. Then the pope made a tender of it to *Matthias* king of *Hungary*, who would have gladly embraced this occasion of gratifying his ambition, had not he dreaded the resentment of the emperor, naturally jealous of such an addition to his power; and, moreover, being engaged in a war with the *Transylvanians* and *Moldavians*, which did not much redound to his honour; for, in the course of his operations, he was surprised in *Batka*, dangerously wounded with an arrow, and obliged to fly for his life across the mountains of *Walachia*.

*The catholics of Bohemia offer the crown to Casimir of Poland; and to Matthias of Hungary.*

- POPE *Paul II.* disappointed in both these quarters, solicited the emperor to declare against *Podiebrad*; but all he could obtain was the convocation of a diet at *Nuremberg*, to deliberate upon this affair, as well as upon a war against the *Turks*. At this assembly, the bishop of *Ferrara*, as legate from the pope, used all his endeavours to engage the princes in a war against the king of *Bohemia*, who oppressed the catholics, and refused to submit in matters of religion to the holy see: but their different interests influencing them differently, and *Lewis* of *Bavaria-Landsbut* openly espousing the cause of *Podiebrad*, no step was taken to the prejudice of that prince. The diet broke up, after having resolved, that, for the term of five years, the empire should maintain 20,000 men to serve against the *Turks*; and that the pope should be exhorted to negotiate a solid peace among the princes of Christendom<sup>e</sup>.

*Diet at Nuremberg. A. D. 1468.*

- MEAN while the catholics of *Bohemia* and *Moravia*, assembling at *Iglaw*, sent an embassy to offer the crown to *Frederic*, who seemed very well pleased with the compliment, but desired time to consider on an affair of such importance: but before he could take a final resolution on this subject, *Matthias*, at the pressing solicitations of the pope, accepted the crown, advanced with his troops into *Moravia*, and besieged *Gradisch*, while *Zdinion de Sternberg*, chief of the *Bohemian* malcontents, ravaged the fiefs of *Podiebrad*, as minister of the holy father, who had declared that prince an excommunicated heretic. But all these efforts were ineffectual. *Matthias*, was obliged to raise the siege; and after having had a fruitless conference with *Podiebrad* between the two armies, retired to *Hungary* at the approach of winter<sup>f</sup>.

*Matthias advances into Moravia against Podiebrad.*

<sup>c</sup> Hist. du HAINAULT, t. v. l. xiii.

<sup>e</sup> AVENT. l. vii. c. ult.

<sup>f</sup> BONFIN. dec. iv. l. ii.

(S) About this period the celebrated *Scanderbeg* king of *Albania* died in the sixty-third year of his age, after having obtained a series of victories against the *Turks*, which raised his character to a level with the most famous heroes of antiquity (1).

(1) Barre, t. vii. p. 629.



Proceedings  
of the diets of  
Milbenstadt  
and Neustadt.

THE emperor being at the same time pressed by his holiness to reconcile the princes and towns of *Germany* that were at variance with each other, in order to draw succours from them against the infidels, he convoked a diet at *Milbenstadt*, where he expatiated upon the fatal effects of civil discord, and exhorted the states to forget their mutual animosities, that they might be the better enabled to revenge the cause of religion against the infidels. His exhortations had some weight with the members of the assembly; and it was proposed, that a tribunal should be erected for terminating the differences subsisting between particular towns and noblemen, as well as to punish rapine, repress violence, and re-establish good order.

THE confirmation of this scheme, however, was referred to a subsequent diet at *Neustadt*, where every article and appointment of the tribunal was regulated; but the towns, which complained of being already almost overwhelmed with burthensome taxes, refused to contribute to the expence of such a college, though its duration was limited to five years; and the assembly broke up without having done any thing material for the public peace <sup>b</sup>.

The princes  
take measures  
for compromi-  
sing particular  
quarrels be-  
tween indivi-  
dual noblemen  
and towns.

SOME states, indeed, seeing the necessity for establishing tranquillity in the empire, compromised their reciprocal disputes; and the electors, with several other princes, meeting at *Landshut*, endeavoured to pacify the troubles of *Bohemia*; but this convention was also ineffectual, because the catholics demanded liberty of conscience, and *Podiebrad* insisted upon communicating of both species.

The inhabi-  
tants of Liege  
revolt against  
Charles duke  
of Burgundy.

WHATEVER precautions might have been taken by some of the princes and states for terminating their quarrels in an amicable manner, it was hardly possible that peace should long subsist between individuals who hated one another personally. The duke of *Bavaria-Landshut* omitted no opportunity of exciting the enemies of the elector of *Brandenburg*: *Sigismund*, archduke of *Austria*, could not abandon the hope and design of one day subduing the *Swiss*; and the people of *Liege* watched for an occasion to break with the duke of *Burgundy*, whom they detested with the most implacable rancour. Inspired by these sentiments, they surprised the town of *Tongres*, put the *Burgundian* garrison to the sword, made their own bishop prisoner, and murdered several canons before his eyes, with circumstances of horrid barbarity.

THE news of this massacre arriving at *Peronne*, where *Charles* of *Burgundy* then resided, with *Lewis XI.* of *France*, who had visited him on the faith of a safe-conduct, and the duke being at the same time informed that the *Liegeois* had been instigated to this revolt by the intrigues of *France*, he was so transported with rage, that in all probability *Lewis* would have perished by his resentment, had not that prince signed the treaty of *Peronne* on the duke's own terms, and consented to serve as a volunteer in his army against the rebels of *Liege*. Thus appeased with respect to the *French* king, but glowing with indignation against the *Liegeois*, he marched directly to their city, whither he was accompanied by *Lewis*; refused all their tears, intreaties, and submissions; invested the place, which he carried by assault, after the besieged had made several desperate sallies; ordered the prisoners to be murdered, without distinction of sex or age, and the city to be burnt to ashes. Not yet satiated with these spectacles of horror, he laid waste the country of *Franchemont* with fire and sword; while the wretched inhabitants fled for shelter to the woods, where they perished by famine or the rigour of the winter, which was remarkably severe <sup>c</sup>.

Arrives at  
Rome;

It was in the course of this year that the emperor, finding himself exposed to numberless disquiets from the continual irruptions which the *Turks* made upon the frontiers of his dominions, was alarmed to such a degree, that he resolved to make another journey into *Italy*, to consult with pope *Paul II.* upon ways and means for engaging the Christian princes in a new association against the infidels, and to accomplish a vow which he pretended to have made, though he never explained himself on this subject. For these purposes therefore he set out, with a small retinue, in the severest season of the year, and on *Christmas-eve* arrived in *Rome*, where he was received by torch-light <sup>k</sup>. Mattins being begun in *St. Peter's* church, where he alighted, he was present during the service, performed his vow, and received the communion from the hands of the pope. He staid in this city fourteen days, during which he had divers conferences with his holiness, touching a war with the *Turks*; but these consultations produced little or no effect. He proposed to hold a council at *Constance*, at which he and the pope should assist in person, with a view to promote a general expedition against the infidels; but this expedient was declined by *Paul*, and all their deliberations amounted to this issue: That letters should be written, in the name of the emperor and the pope, to all Christian princes, desiring and exhorting them to send ambassadors to *Rome*, at an appointed day, to treat of measures for defending the faith; and that the *Venetians*, who were exhausted in a tedious war against the *Turks*, should be indulged with a tenth of the clergy, a twentieth of the *Jews*, and a thirtieth of the laity, <sup>f</sup>

<sup>b</sup> STRUVIUS, period. x. sect. 2.  
vii.

<sup>c</sup> Memoires de PHILIP DE COMMINES.

<sup>k</sup> Papiens Comment. lib.



a within their own dominions<sup>1</sup>. These negotiations being transacted, he set out on his return to his own dominions, whither he travelled with the greater expedition, as he received information that *Matthias* king of *Hungary*, taking the advantage of his absence, had made divers incursions into *Bohemia* and *Moravia*, and laid waste the whole country. He was likewise given to understand, that *Charles* duke of *Burgundy*, who had three years before succeeded to the extensive dominions which *Philip the Good*, his father, had so long governed in peace, not contented with that fair inheritance, had increased it with the addition of the duchy of *Guelderland* and the county of *Zutphen*, and even intended to proceed farther in point of acquisition: for the ambition of this prince was unbounded; and, in order to gratify it, he had augmented the taxes, and saddled his subjects with new impositions: neither did he wholly depend upon his riches and power for accomplishing the scheme which he had projected to aggrandize his name: he set on foot secret negotiations in the empire, and privately tampered with the electors, in hopes of being chosen king of the *Romans*. *Frederic* was not ignorant of his practices, being apprized of all these transactions by *Lewis XI.* of *France*, who narrowly watched the conduct of *Charles*, with a view to countertermine his ambition<sup>m</sup>.

*Charles duke of Burgundy tampers with the electors.*  
A. D. 1470.

DURING these transactions, *Matthias* was proclaimed king of *Bohemia* by the catholic party, and his interest increased every day in that kingdom, when *Podiebrad*, by the advice of the emperor, assembled the states at *Prague*, and proposed they should settle the succession upon *Ladislaus*, son of *Casimir* king of *Poland*. This proposal they readily embraced, c not without admiration and applause of the disinterestedness of *Podiebrad*, who, for the peace and advantage of his subjects, had voluntarily made this motion, to the exclusion of his own children. This settlement composed the disquietude of the nation, so as to enable *Podiebrad* to oppose the progress of *Matthias*, to whom he gave battle, in which the *Hungarian* was vanquished, and obliged to fly for shelter to his own country<sup>n</sup>.

MEAN while a diet being called at *Ratisbon*, at the desire of the pope, in order to concert measures for carrying on the war against the *Turks*, the princes and states assembled in great numbers, ambassadors from *Charles* duke of *Burgundy* were present, and *Campanus*, in the name of cardinal *Francis Piccolimini*, who was sent thither from the court of *Rome* for that purpose, made an elegant harangue; in which he expatiated upon the glory of their d ancestors, and the zeal which they on all occasions manifested in behalf of the church; and exhorted them, in imitation of such noble examples, to take arms against the infidels, whose progress and success were not so much owing to their own valour, as to the indolence and unjustifiable neglect of the Christian powers. The bishop of *Trent* spoke to the same purpose; and their remonstrances had such an effect upon the assembly, that they seemed zealously determined to prosecute the war with vigour. Accordingly, after much deliberation and debate, it was unanimously decreed, that every person, who enjoyed a revenue of a thousand ducats, should furnish one horseman; and that a foot soldier should be provided by every person who possessed one half of that fortune. Had this expedient been carried into practice, an army of near 200,000 men might have been brought into the field; e but the pacific and slothful disposition of the emperor, which was altogether averse to war and expence, threw a damp upon the scheme, and the spirit and zeal of individuals insensibly decayed. Notwithstanding the admonitions and solicitations of the *Venetians*, in whose behalf *Paul Morosini*, in a pathetic and nervous oration, represented the necessity of taking some measures to stop the career of the *Turks*, and plainly demonstrated the probability of putting a stop to their conquests, provided the *Germans* would attack them by land, while the *Venetians*, assisted by *Ferdinand* king of *Apulia*, should undertake to cope with them at sea<sup>o</sup>.

*Measures concerted at Frankfort for carrying on a general war against the Turks.*

*Rendered ineffectual by the avarice and sloth of the emperor.*  
A. D. 1471.

f IN this year *George* king of *Bohemia* dying, great contests arose among the subjects touching a successor (for the party of *Matthias* still subsisted), till at length the friends of *Ladislaus*, the king of *Poland*'s eldest son, prevailing, that young prince, whose mother was sister of *Ladislaus*, the predecessor of *George*, ascended the throne, in the fifteenth year of his age, and was crowned at *Prague*, though not without considerable opposition from *Matthias*, who was exasperated at his election<sup>p</sup>. This *George Podiebrad* was not long survived by pope *Paul*, who had condemned him as an heretic, and deposed him by virtue of his apostolic power; for he was suddenly carried off by a fit of the apoplexy, after he had made a chearful meal (no person being present when he expired T), and succeeded in the papacy by *Francis Ruverens*, cardinal of *St. Peter ad Vincula*, who after his elevation, assumed the

*Ladislaus succeeds to the throne of Bohemia.*

<sup>1</sup> SPOND. Contin. BARON. t. ii. p. 607. <sup>m</sup> HEISS, lib. iii. c. 2. <sup>n</sup> BARRE, t. vii. p. 657. <sup>o</sup> KRANTZ. Sax. l. xii. c. 7. CAMP. Ep. l. vi. & ap. PAP. Ep. 375, 376, 377, 386, 387. <sup>p</sup> MICHOV. iv. c. 62. Chron. lib. 27.

(T) Some writers allege that he was strangled by the devil in the very act of uncleanness (1).

(1) Chron. Euseb. ap. Murat.



name of *Sixtus IV.*<sup>1</sup>. This new pope was no sooner raised to the chair, than he exerted his endeavours in perfecting the plan against the *Turks*, for the execution of which his predecessor had laboured so ineffectually. Legates were sent with full powers to reconcile the Christian princes, who were at variance with each other, that they might unite in the common cause against the enemies of their faith. Indulgencies were granted, and subsidies raised, to forward the expedition, and the emperor very warmly solicited to act with vigour as the chief power of this confederacy<sup>2</sup>. But *Frederic*, whose genius was better turned for negotiation than war, found means to procrastinate all the measures that were concerted for the benefit of this grand association, employing his chief attention in those domestic affairs, which he thought more nearly concerned his interest. He had, for some time, been engaged in treating privately with the electors about obtaining their votes for chusing his son *Maximilian* king of the *Romans*; and the steps which he had taken in this affair, were the chief obstacles which *Charles* duke of *Burgundy* met with in aspiring to the same honour. That enterprizing prince, therefore, finding it impracticable to carry his point, altered his scheme, and resolved to cultivate the friendship of the emperor, who, he did not doubt, would be prevailed upon to erect his dominions into a kingdom, and confer upon him the title of king of *Burgundy*, and vicar of the empire in these parts. In consequence of this resolution, he made the proposal to *Frederic*, by which he laid all the countries, which had been dismembred, would be re-united to the empire, and at the same time offered his only daughter *Mary* in marriage to *Maximilian*, son of the emperor. While this treaty was upon the carpet, he invited *Frederic* to a conference at *Triers*, where he did not doubt of being able to manage him for his own interest. Nay, so sure was he of his compliance, that he had prepared his royal ornaments and regalia, together with the throne, canopy, and all the other requisites for a pompous coronation. The emperor, who had his own private designs upon *Charles*, accepted of the invitation, and repaired to *Triers*, where he was treated with infinite splendor. The match was seemingly agreed to, though the emperor desired it might be consummated before the duke should be crowned; but *Charles* insisted upon its being deferred until that ceremony should be performed. At last *Frederic*, in all appearance, yielded to his intreaties, and, the following day being fixed for the coronation, he in that expectation did homage to the emperor, and took the oath of fidelity for *Guelderland*, and all the other territories he possessed within the dominions of the empire. *Frederic*, having thus accomplished his aim, and being unwilling to cater for the ambition of a prince, who was already too proud; insolent, and formidable, retired next morning from *Triers*, in the dawn, on pretence of going to compromise a difference between the archbishop and city of *Cologne*, leaving the duke overwhelmed with shame and vexation<sup>3</sup> (U). Affronted and chagrined as he was at this disappointment, he did not desist from his enterprize; but, on the contrary, employed all his efforts to atchieve it, sparing neither men nor money in the exertion of his endeavours. Among other things, he thought proper to grant his protection to *Robert* count palatine, who disputed the archbishopric of *Cologne* with *Herman* landgrave of *Hesse*. For this purpose he besieged the town of *Nuys*, situated upon the *Rhine*, which was defended with great valour and perseverance by *Herman*, for the space of a whole year, until the besieged were reduced to the utmost extremity and want; when the troops of the empire marched to its relief, and obliged him to raise the siege<sup>4</sup> (X)<sup>i</sup>

Charles, duke of Burgundy, invites the emperor to an interview at Triers. A. D. 1473.

From whence Frederic retires abruptly.

The duke besieges the town of Nuys.

*LEWIS XI.* of *France*, having attempted ineffectually to engage the *Germanic* body in a war with *Charles*, endeavoured to form an alliance against that ambitious prince, with *Rene* duke of *Lorraine*, *Sigismund* duke of *Austria*, and the *Swiss* cantons; and in these negotiations he succeeded to his wish. The first was persuaded, by the emissaries of *Lewis*, that *Charles* duke of *Burgundy* intended to include *Lorraine* in the kingdom which he had projected for himself; *Sigismund* was flattered with the hope of recovering the county of *Ferrefe*, *Suntgau*, and other fiefs in *Alsace*, which he had mortgaged to the *Burgundian*;

<sup>1</sup> SPOND. CONT. BARRE, t. ii. p. 621. HEISS, l. iii. c. 2. KRANTZ SAX. l. xii. c. 11.

<sup>2</sup> ONUPHR. in Vit. Sixt. IV.

<sup>3</sup> PHIL. DE COMM. l. ii. c. 8.

<sup>4</sup> Id. c. 12. Chron. Mindens. ex MEIB. p. 573.

(U) *Heiss* alleges, that the duke of *Burgundy* incurred the suspicion of *Frederic*, in consequence of the underhand insinuations of *Lewis XI.* of *France*, who was alarmed at the prospect of such a formidable alliance; while the author of the notes upon that historian pretends, that *Charles*, having assumed the arms of *Austria*, because some territories belonging to that family had been mortgaged to him by *Sigismund*, *Frederic* was extremely incensed at this instance of his presumption, and for that reason commenced his inveterate foe.

(X) *Krantz* affirms, that the siege was raised in consequence of a treaty with the emperor, confirming the

match which had before been projected between his daughter and *Maximilian*; while *Philip de Commines* imputes his retreat to the remonstrances of the *English*, who had made preparations for invading *France* at his instigation, and now threatened to desist from the expedition, unless he would immediately march into that kingdom, that they might the more easily act in conjunction. He was alarmed by the incursions of the duke of *Lorraine*, who had declared war against him, and invaded his dominions, at the desire of *Lewis XI.* of *France*.



a and the *Swiss* entered into the pay of *France*, after *Lewis* had terminated, in an amicable manner, a war that raged between them and *Basil*, assisted by *Strasburg* and the imperial cities of *Alface*; and reconciled them with *Sigismund*, whose family they had stripped of the towns of *Raperswil*, *Dressanbau*, *Frewensfeld*, and the county of *Turgow*.

A. D. 1476.

THIS league being established, *Sigismund* offered to redeem the mortgage with a sum of money which he had borrowed from the imperial towns for that purpose; and *Charles* refusing to part with the fiefs, he had good reason to complain of the injustice. At the same time *Hagenbach*, governor of the towns for the duke of *Burgundy*, oppressed them in such a manner, that their patience forsook them, and they revolted from his authority. *Ensisheim* was the first that shook off his yoke, and repulsed him in the attempt he made to enter and destroy the town. Enraged at his disappointment, he retired to *Brisac*, where he laid a scheme for massacring the inhabitants; but the garrison, composed of *Germans* and *Walloons*, refused to execute his orders. His person was seized upon by the burghers; he underwent a fair trial, in which being convicted of tyranny, murder, and treason, he was condemned to lose his head, and suffered accordingly, by torch-light, in the presence of an innumerable concourse of people.

*Hagenbach, the duke's governor, oppresses the towns of Alface.*

THE duke of *Burgundy*, exasperated at this execution, sent six thousand men into the *Suntgau*, under the command of *Hagenbach's* brother, who committed horrible ravages; but he was soon obliged to retire before the *Swiss*, who hastened to the relief of that province. They were joined by the inhabitants of *Basil*, *Strasburg*, and other towns on the *Rhine*; and, advancing into *Franche Compté*, they defeated *Blamont*, the marshal of *Burgundy*, who had come to raise the siege of *Hericourt*, which afterwards surrendered to the victors.

*His brother ravages the Suntgau.*

THIS was the prelude of a war, that ended in the destruction of *Charles*. Had that prince contented himself with maintaining the war against *Lewis*, he might have acquired reputation and advantage from his riches and his power; but, blinded by ambition, he neglected to cultivate the friendship of the duke of *Lorraine*, and his confederates the *Swiss*, who entered into alliance with *Lewis*, and defeated *Charles* in three battles; in the last of which, fought at *Nancy* on the fifth of *January*, he was mortally wounded, and next day found dead upon the ice<sup>u</sup> (Y).

*The duke loses a battle, and his life.*  
A. D. 1477.

As he had exhausted his finances, and ruined his troops with continual wars, so as to impoverish his subjects, the principal noblemen of his dominions resolved to bestow his daughter upon some prince, who should be capable to protect them in their independency. *Lewis XI.* demanded the princess for the dauphin, and the emperor claimed her as being already betrothed to his son *Maximilian*. *Lewis*, immediately after the death of *Charles*, re-united to his crown all *Burgundy*, *Picardy*, and *Ponthieu*, *Artois*, with the cities of *Arras*, *Tournay*, and those upon the river *Somme*, as fiefs and appendages of *France*, which could never be possessed by a woman. The precipitation and rapacity with which he made these acquisitions, and the wars he maintained for that purpose, gave such umbrage to the inhabitants of *Ghent*, that they resolved to break with him intirely, seized the person of their princess, beheaded two of her counsellors, and dismissed the rest, because they were in the *French* interest, and levied an army, the command of which they bestowed upon *Adolphus* duke of *Guelderland*, whom *Charles* of *Burgundy* had imprisoned in the castle of *Namur*, as an unnatural wretch, who had treated his own father with unheard-of barbarity. They even destined this wicked and debauched prince for the husband of the young duchess, who was delivered from the horrors of such a marriage by death; for he was slain in an action with the *French*, whom he undertook to drive from *Tournay*, which they had surprised. Upon his demise, the people of *Ghent* no more interested themselves in the fate of their princess, who at one time received the addresses of the dauphin of *France*, the son of the duke of *Cleves*, the earl of *Rivers*, and the archduke of *Maximilian*. The interest of the dauphin was supported by *Lewis* of *Bourbon*, bishop of *Liege*, and uncle to the duchess; but he was betrayed by *La Marck*, his own favourite, who caused an insurrection against the bishop, at *Liege*, where that prelate was hated, as author of all the mischief which *Charles* of *Burgundy* had done to that city and its territory. *La Marck*, having stipulated with the *Liegeois*, that one of his sons should be raised to the vacant bishopric, levied a powerful army, with which he besieged *Lewis*; who, hazarding a sally, was betrayed by his own people, and slain by the treacherous *La Marck*. This miscreant not only killed his benefactor with his own hand, but afterwards stripped his dead body, and threw it into the river *Meuse*<sup>x</sup>.

*The inhabitants of Liege revolt against their bishop; who is slain by the hands of his own favourite La Marck.*

THE death of this prelate destroyed the interest of *France* at the court of *Flanders*; the young duchess herself declared against the son of the duke of *Cleves*, who was a youth of very unpromising parts; and the earl of *Rivers* was rejected on account of his birth, which

<sup>u</sup> COMM. I. V. KRANTZ Sax. I. xii. c. 15.

<sup>x</sup> Hist. Eccles. Leop. part ii. l. 10.

(Y) See the History of the *Swiss*.



Maximilian's  
interest pre-  
vails at the  
court of Flan-  
ders; and he  
espouses Mary  
duchess of  
Burgundy.

was not deemed illustrious enough for the husband of the heiress of *Burgundy*; so that all these competitors gave place to the fortunate *Maximilian*, who had nothing to boast of but his birth and natural endowments; for his father was so fordidly avaritious, that he would not bestow the least expence upon his education.

*FREDERIC*, however, seemed to shake off his natural indolence, when the business was to acquire a rich inheritance for his posterity; he sent ambassadors to demand the young duchess in marriage for his son; and at the first audience they produced the letter and ring, which she had formerly sent to *Maximilian*, with the consent of her father. *Lewis XI.* of *France* endeavoured to traverse the success of this embassy, by the intrigues of *Robert Gaguin*, general of the *Trinitarians*, whom he sent to *Flanders* for that purpose: but the duchess dowager's efforts co-operated with the inclinations of her daughter-in-law, in favour of *Maximilian*, and the emperor managed his interest so successfully, that the marriage was effected between *Mary* of *Burgundy* and his son *Maximilian*, who was then about twenty years of age<sup>1</sup>. This young prince was no sooner married, than, in order to gain the esteem and good will of his people, he, with the assistance of the *Flemings*, put himself in a condition to oppose the enterprizes of the *French*, whom he compelled to restore *Quesnoi* and *Bouchain*; in consideration of which restitution, he granted them a truce, and *Lewis* took this opportunity to make new preparations for war.

A. D. 1479.  
A treaty con-  
cluded between  
Casimir king  
of Poland and  
Matthias of  
Hungary.

DURING these transactions, *Matthias* king of *Hungary*, and *Casimir* of *Poland*, took the field against each other, in order to maintain their different pretensions to the crown of *Bohemia*; and an obstinate battle was fought near *Breslaw*, in which *Casimir* saw himself defeated. However, as the *Turks* had invaded *Moldavia*, taken *Croia* in *Albania*, and threatened *Italy* itself, the pope employed all his influence in mediating a peace between the *Pole* and the *Hungarian*, that they might turn their arms against the common enemy; and a treaty was concluded on the following conditions: that *Matthias* should possess *Moravia* and *Silesia*, with the titular dignity of king of *Bohemia*, during life; but the sovereignty of that kingdom should be vested in *Ladislaus*, son of *Casimir*; though, in case of the death of that prince without issue, *Matthias* should be acknowledged as his successor<sup>2</sup>.

Matthias lays  
siege to  
Vienna.

AFTER this accommodation, *Matthias* continued very quiet, until *Maximilian* was engaged in the war with *France*, when, either instigated by some new provocation from the emperor, or allured by the prospect of advantage, he marched into *Austria* with a strong body of forces, and laid siege to *Vienna*. *Frederic*, terrified at this irruption, and being altogether unprovided, and naturally averse to war, proposed and purchased an accommodation, by renouncing all his pretensions to the crown of *Hungary*, and giving the investiture of *Bohemia* to *Matthias*, together with a present of one hundred and fifty thousand crowns; in consequence of which, the king of *Hungary* raised the siege and retired<sup>3</sup> (Z).

IN a few months after this event, the archduchess *Mary* was delivered of a son, baptized by the name of *Philip*, and *Maximilian*, seeing the succession of the *Low Countries* confirmed to his family by the birth of this prince, renewed hostilities against *Lewis XI.* in order to recover the dominions of which the *French* had dismembered the duchy. He was assisted in these endeavours by *John de Châlons*, prince of *Orange*; but as his father, and uncle *Sigismund*, refused to assist him with money or troops, and the *Flemings* were almost quite exhausted, he made but small progress in the war; while *Lewis* renewed his alliance with the *Swiss*, who furnished him with six thousand men, and gained several advantages over the *Flemings* and the prince of *Orange*.

IN this emergency, *Maximilian* addressed himself to the diet of the empire convoked at *Nuremberg*, representing that the king of *France* had made himself master of *Cambray*, *Bouchain*, and *Quesnoi*, three towns that were under protection of the empire; and at the same time *Frederic* exhorted the states to arm for the recovery of these imperial fiefs.

*LEWIS*, intimidated by these representations, in consequence of which he expected to see the forces of the empire in his dominions, evacuated the places in question, and proposed a truce for a year; which was accepted by *Maximilian*, who found himself unable to maintain a war. During this cessation, however, he found means to interest the people of *Liege* in his cause, by sending back their peron, or great standard, which duke *Charles* had transported to *Bruges*; and they reinforced him with a body of troops; so that, when the truce expired, he found himself in a condition to act with advantage.

<sup>1</sup> FUGGER. l. v. c. 26.

<sup>2</sup> BARRE, t. viii. p. 682.

<sup>3</sup> CROMER. l. viii. in fin.

(Z) In the course of this year, *Christian* king of *Denmark* arrived at *Ratembourg*, on a visit to the emperor, who, at his request, erected the country of the *Dybmarsians*, *Stormaria*, and *Holstein*, into a duchy, of which *Christian* received the investiture. Then he proceeded

on a pilgrimage to *Rome*, and, on his return to his own dominions, solemnized the marriage of his son *John* with *Christina*, daughter of *Ernest*, elector of *Saxony*: on which occasion he is said to have instituted the order of the elephant (1).

(1) Barre, t. vii. p. 714.



He accordingly took the field against *Des Cordes*, the *French* general; and hazarding a battle at *Guinegaste*, near *Terouane*, obtained a victory, which, in some measure, re-established the affairs of the *Low Countries* <sup>b</sup>.

AFTER this action, a truce was agreed to for seven months, during which the pope A. D. 1480. offered his mediation to effect a solid peace: but *Lewis* in the mean time being seized with a dangerous distemper, *Edward IV.* king of *England*, who was in alliance with *Maximilian*, counselled that prince to evade a treaty; but, if possible, to prolong the truce for two years, before the expiration of which, the death of the *French* king would, in all probability, enable him to procure a more advantageous accommodation.

As for the pope, his efforts of intercession were suspended by the progress of the *Turks*; b who, having taken *Otranto*, filled all *Europe*, and *Italy* in particular, with such consternation, that his holiness made peace with the *Florentines*, against whom he and the king of *Naples* had been engaged in a war, and wrote to the emperor and the states of *Germany*, as well as to all other princes in Christendom, to compromise their differences, and march against the infidels. The *German* princes were likewise solicited to the same purpose by *Matthias* king of *Hungary*, to whom *Mohammed* had offered the kingdom of *Bosnia*, provided he would grant him an unmolested passage through his dominions. In compliance with the pope's request, several princes and states engaged in a league against the *Turks*; but the emperor's sloth and avarice would not allow him to contribute to the success of this expedition, and it was well for *Europe* that *Mohammed II.* died at *Nicomedia*, before he could c execute the schemes he projected.

Mohammed dies at Nicomedia.

*MAXIMILIAN*, far from inheriting the sluggish disposition of his father, exerted uncommon activity during the truce with *France*, in appeasing the troubles of the *Low Countries*. He suppressed a mutiny at the *Hague*, and exacted a considerable fine from the burghers of *Leyden*, who had afforded an asylum to some of the mutineers; then he repaired to *Luxemburg*, where he renewed the oath of allegiance from the magistracy of the town, and the noblemen of the country; and, on his return to *Holland*, created his son *Philip* knight of the golden fleece.

Maximilian appeases the troubles of the Low Countries.

AFTER having been proclaimed duke of *Brabant*, he defeated the people of *Guelderland*, who had made incursions into the province of *Holland*, and he and his wife were publicly d acknowledged at *Nuremburg*, as duke and dutchess of *Guelderland*. This expedition being happily terminated, he besieged and took *Venloo*, which had revolted; from thence he marched to *Mons*, which surrendered, after having been reduced to the utmost extremity; and there he received the accustomed oath from the nobility, clergy, and commons, in quality of count of *Hainault*.

*LEWIS*, terrified at the rapidity of his conquests, sent *Philip de Commines* to *Flanders*, to negotiate an accommodation; but the archduke kept aloof, in expectation of the king's death, when he hoped *France* would purchase a peace at the expence of all she had taken from the house of *Burgundy*; and, in all probability, *Philip's* endeavours would have been ineffectual, had not an unforeseen accident contributed to his success. *Mary* died while e she was big with child, leaving a son called *Philip*, and a daughter, whose name was *Margaret*; and great disputes arose about the guardianship of these children, which *Maximilian* claimed as the father, though he was opposed by the near-relations of the deceased princess, supported by the suffrages of the states general. Mean while both sides agreed, that it was necessary to negotiate a peace with *France*, which was accordingly concluded at *Arras*, and signified by *Maximilian* himself <sup>d</sup>; and, in pursuance of this accommodation, the young princess *Margaret* was sent to *Amboise*, in order to be educated for a wife to the young dauphin; whose father dying soon after the peace, he ascended the throne of *France* by the name of *Charles VIII.*

A. D. 1482. Mary dies.

*MAXIMILIAN's* hands were no sooner rid of this troublesome war, than he turned his f arms against the *Liegeois*, made himself master of *Tongres*, and defeated their general *La Marck*, who marched to the relief of the place. He met with the same success in several other petty quarrels, and perhaps his pride increased with his good fortune. Certain it is, the *Flemings* were very much disgusted with his administration, and loudly complained, that he bestowed the best offices and governments upon *Germans* and *Burgundians*: nor did he seem to regard their complaints; on the contrary, some of his council, for their own private ends, having persuaded him that he had a right, not only to the guardianship of his own children, but also to the government of his dominions, he resolved to take both into his own hands; and, with this view, possessed himself, by surprize, of *Dendermond*, *Oudenarde*, and some other places. The inhabitants of *Ghent* and *Bruges*, dreading the same g fate, secured the person of his son *Philip*, and sent to demand protection from the king of *France*; who, in order to take the advantage of this quarrel among his neighbours, detached some forces to their assistance, under the command of the *Sieur Crevecœur*; so that *Flan-*

A contest ensues about the guardianship of her children.

<sup>b</sup> KRANTZ Sax. l. xii. t. 19. <sup>c</sup> BONFIN. dec. iv. l. 6. <sup>d</sup> PEUVES. de Mem. de COMMEN. c. iv. p. 272.



A. D. 1485.  
An accommo-  
dation.

ders was involved in a civil war, which lasted three years, to the ruin and desolation of the country. At length, by the interposition of some of the principal noblemen, peace was concluded, on condition that *Maximilian* should continue tutor to his own son, under certain restrictions.

DURING the troubles of *Flanders*, there were several commotions in *Germany*, one of which was produced from a quarrel between *Albert* of *Bavaria* and his brother *Christopher*, about the domain of *Landsberg*, which the latter continued to possess, in opposition to a previous agreement. The inhabitants, being oppressed by *Christopher*, complained to *Albert*, who asserted his own right by force of arms, and hostilities commenced with various success; until, at length, *Albert* made advances to peace, which was concluded at *Landshut*, on condition that he should enjoy *Landsberg* and its dependencies, and yield *Schongaw*, with all its fiefs, in exchange to his brother.

IN the following year, he prevailed upon the inhabitants of *Ratisbon*, which had been enfranchised, and declared a free imperial town, by *Frederic Barbarossa*, to submit again to the sway of the *Bavarian* house; and afterwards espoused the emperor's daughter *Cunegunda*, with whom her uncle *Sigismund* gave him the county of *Tyrol* by way of portion. This match being made without the consent or privity of the emperor, he complained of the alliance as an incroachment upon his paternal authority, as well as upon the rights of the empire, and threatened to proscribe both *Sigismund* and *Albert*; but, as they knew his indolence and incapacity, they gave themselves no concern about his menaces.

Matthias de-  
clares war a-  
gainst the em-  
peror, and  
invades Auf-  
tria.

MATTHIAS, piqued at a repulse he sustained from the emperor, when he demanded this princess in marriage, and incensed, moreover, at *Frederic's* still continuing to assume the title of king of *Hungary*, declared war against him, entered *Lower Austria* with an army of twenty thousand men, and invested *Haimbourg*, which surrendered after a siege of four months. From thence he advanced into the territory of *Vienna*, from which he carried off an immense load of booty.

NEXT year he divided his forces, which had acquired the appellation of *Black Bands*, into two armies, one of which he led in person to the frontiers of *Lower Hungary*, which was threatened by the *Turks*, and sent the other under the command of *David Hazi*, to besiege *Pruck* on the river *Leit*, one of the strongest places in *Austria*; which he took by assault, and made himself master of all the other towns, except *Vienna* and *Cornembourg*. The next enterprize he undertook was the siege of this last place, which was gallantly defended by the governor, in the hope of his being speedily succoured.

The indolence  
of the emperor.

FREDERIC had retired to *Gratz*, where he convoked the states of his provinces to demand subsidies; but, as he was not at all beloved by his subjects, they lent a deaf ear to his intreaties. His chancellor advised him to open his treasures, and enlist foreign troops; but he could not be prevailed upon to try that expedient, until his friends represented, that, should *Matthias* once make himself master of *Cornembourg* and *Vienna*, he would easily subdue *Carintbia*, *Stiria*, and *Carniola*; then the fear of losing all his dominions triumphed over his avarice; he set on foot levies in *Bavaria* and *Suabia*, and a considerable body of forces being enlisted, were ordered to march with all expedition to the relief of *Cornembourg*. *Hazi*, informed of their motions, quitted his lines, and gave them battle; when, after an obstinate dispute, they were totally routed; then he recommenced the operations of the siege, and tho' he himself lost his life in a fall made by the besieged, his place was filled with *Stephen* count *Scepu*, and the town at last obliged to surrender.

The Hunga-  
rians make  
themselves  
masters of all  
the Lower  
Austria;  
A. D. 1486.

MATTHIAS, encouraged by this success, took the command of the army upon himself, and sat down before *Vienna*, which he reduced after a very desperate resistance, whilst count *Stephen* blocked up the fortress of *Neustadt* in such a manner, that no supplies could enter the place, and the governor having held out six months, during which one half of his garrison perished by famine, submitted to the king of *Hungary*; who, in this manner, became master of all the *Lower Austria*.

WHILE *Matthias* was thus employed, *Frederic* kept aloof, and looked upon the loss of his capital with indifference; answering to those who pressed him to take measures for its relief, that it had not yet suffered that extremity, to which he himself had been formerly reduced by its rebellious adherence to the interest of his brother *Albert*. Instead of exerting himself, therefore, in its behalf, he coolly abandoned it to the fate of war; and in order to divert his imagination from a misfortune, which he either would not or could not avoid, he resolved to visit his son *Maximilian* in the *Low Countries*, consoling himself with an observation, which he had long adopted as an infallible maxim, "that oblivion is the best remedy for irreparable ills." At length, however, he condescended to solicit the assistance of the states, and *Albert* duke of *Saxony* was appointed to march into *Austria*, at the head of some forces; where finding *Matthias* too powerful to be attacked, and be-

e FUGGER. l. v. c. 50.

f ADLZR. Ann. Boicr. Gent. part ii. l. 9.

g CZECHOS. l. vii. c. 5.



a ing unwilling to involve *Germany* in a war, he endeavoured to compromise the affair, and at length brought it to a tolerable conclusion. In a word, it was agreed, that there should be a truce for eight months; that *Matthias* should keep possession of *Austria*, until he should receive the sum of money which he had before stipulated for defraying the expence of the preceding war; and that, provided *Matthias* should die in the mean time, *Austria* should return to its old master, who should also retain the title of king of *Hungary*. These articles were ratified by the emperor, and peace for the present re-established <sup>h</sup>.

In the mean time, the emperor repaired to the *Low Countries*, where he resided three months; at the expiration of which, he set out on his return, by the way of *Aix-la-Chapelle*, where he bestowed upon *William the Young* the investiture of *Juliers* and *Bergue*; then he b visited *Cologne*, where he received the oath of allegiance from the prince of *Cleves*, for his duchy, together with the counties of *La Marck* and *Genap*; and from thence he took the road to *Frankfort*, accompanied by *Maximilian*, who was unanimously chosen king of the *Romans*, by six electors, notwithstanding the opposition of *Matthias*, who made sundry efforts to traverse his election. <sup>Maximilian is chosen king of the Romans, and</sup>

The princes of the empire had long ago solicited *Frederic* to assemble a diet for this purpose; but, knowing the activity of the archduke, he was afraid of losing the little authority he had left, and still evaded their request till this occasion, and even now consented with reluctance.

*LADISLAUS*, king of *Bobemia*, protested against this election, to which he had not c been summoned, and, on the supposition that the *German* princes designed to deprive him of his vote, he threatened to do himself justice by force of arms; but he was appeased in the sequel, by an authentic act of the diet, confirming the right of voting to him and his successors; and *Maximilian* was crowned at *Aix-la-Chapelle*, with the consent of the pope, who congratulated him upon his promotion <sup>1</sup> (A). <sup>crowned at Aix-la-Chapelle;</sup>

AFTER this ceremony, he repaired to *Bruges*, to put the finishing stroke to the treaty between him and the states of *Flanders*, which was confirmed in the presence of the emperor, who had gone thither at the head of a good body of troops; and perceiving that his son would have occasion for them, to support the war against *France*, left them under his command, when he himself returned to *Germany*. As these forces committed great ravages d in the country, which was already desolated; and the nearest relations of the deceased princess *Mary* were excluded from all share in the education of their young prince *Philip*, who was intirely under the management of *Margaret* dowager of *England*, and some other strangers; the subjects soon forgot the duty they owed to their prince, and now listened to nought but the suggestions of suspicion and disgust. To such a degree did this dissatisfaction prevail, that, upon *Maximilian's* arrival at *Bruges*, where the states-general of *Flanders* were assembled, in order to apply some remedy to the disorders which were daily committed by his troops, a report was spread, that he intended to use them for making himself master of the city. The citizens and tradesmen, alarmed at this intimation, ran immediately to arms, and secured his person under a guard in the castle <sup>k</sup>; at the same time e imprisoning some of his counsellors and favourites, four of whom were afterwards beheaded. The inhabitants of *Ghent*, following the example of *Bruges*, brought *Payart*, archdeacon of their church, to his trial, together with ten other persons, who lost their heads, for having allowed *Maximilian* to enter the city with five thousand men, in lieu of five hundred, to which number his train had been limited by agreement. On account of this imprisonment of *Maximilian*, the states of the country were convoked at *Mechlin* by the young prince *Philip*, in order to concert measures for obtaining his father's enlargement; and the assembly, at the unanimous desire of the members, was transferred to *Ghent*, which they considered as a more convenient place for their deliberations. The *Flemings* began the conferences with heavy complaints against *Maximilian*, whom they accused of having committed f divers misdemeanours and acts of arbitrary power: these articles were answered by his friends and partizans, who defended his conduct with great warmth and resolution; and strong debates ensued upon the reasons alleged on both sides. At length, pope *Innocent* and the emperor interposed in behalf of their imprisoned sovereign; the first threatening

<sup>h</sup> HEISS Hist. de l'Emp. l. iii. c. ii. <sup>1</sup> FREHER. t. iii. Rer. Ger. <sup>k</sup> OLIV. MARCHIAN. l. ii. KRANTZ, l. xiii. Sax. & seq. BEUTER. de reb. Maximil. l. iii.

(A) In this diet at *Frankfort*, a law was made for preserving the peace of the empire for ten years, during which, if any person should injure another in body or estate he should be prosecuted by all the rest as a violator of the public peace. This law was religiously observed by a great many, particularly by the *Suabians*, who entered into an association with each other, by which they were rendered so formidable to their neighbours, that several cities of the empire, and powerful princes, desired to be included in their confederacy, which was distinguished by the name of the *Suevicum Fœdus*, or the *Suabian* league (1).

(1) Naucler. Gener. 50.



He is set at liberty.

He renounces the articles of the peace.

them with spiritual, and the other with temporal arms, in case they should persist in detaining him in custody; and the states, in consequence of these remonstrances, engaged in a treaty with *Maximilian*, which being concluded, signed, and ratified, he was set at liberty, after a detention of ten months, and conducted to his troops, who kept the field, and advanced to meet their delivered monarch <sup>1</sup>. Such was the precaution of the states in executing this treaty, that they obtained an obligation from *Philip* duke of *Cleves*, in consequence of which he accompanied *Maximilian* into the middle of his forces, and intreated him, now he was at full liberty, to confirm the accommodation by word of mouth. To this request that prince answered, "Nephew, I will keep my promise." Nevertheless, at his arrival in *Brabant*, where he was met by his father with a strong army of *Germans*, he changed his resolution, at the sollicitation of the emperor, the princes of *Saxony*, *Bavaria*, *Brandenburg*, *Brunswick*, *Hesse*, *Baden*, and others who accompanied *Frederic*, and could not approve of such an extorted peace, which was immediately declared void, and the war recommenced <sup>m</sup>.

THE emperor and *Maximilian* at first endeavoured to engage the duke of *Cleves* in their party, and threatened him, as a vassal, with the ban of the empire, and proscription, unless he would obey his sovereign: but the duke excused himself, on account of the oath, which, by the express order of *Maximilian*, he had sworn to the states of *Flanders*; and, protesting against the infringement of the treaty, he continued firmly to oppose them, resolved to live and die with honour, rather than incur the charge of perjury and equivocation. *Frederic*, finding him thus obstinately determined, resolved to inflict upon him exemplary chastisement: for this purpose, being at *Antwerp*, he ordered a throne to be raised in the court of *St. Michael's* cloister, upon which seating himself in his imperial robes, he solemnly put the duke to the ban of the empire, declaring him a traitor, and divesting him of his honours and dominions <sup>n</sup>. He at the same time undertook the siege of *Ghent*, in which, after he had spent six weeks, without being able to do any thing of consequence, he abandoned his enterprize, laid waste the country, and returned to *Germany*, leaving the command of his troops to *Albert* duke of *Saxony* (B).

Frederic enters into a negotiation with the king of Hungary;

who dies, and is succeeded by Ladislaus,

THIS abrupt return was owing to the information he had received, that the *Hungarians* had again invaded *Austria*, because he still delayed the payment of that sum with which he had formerly purchased their forbearance. He therefore, in his own name, and in that of his son *Maximilian*, sent an embassy to *Matthias*, who was at that time sick in *Vienna*, desiring that a negotiation might be set on foot; and when his ambassadors returned to *Lintz*, they were accompanied by the bishop of *Waradin*, who was invested with full powers to conclude a treaty of peace. The negotiation lasted a long time without success, because *Frederic* demanded the restitution of *Austria*, and refused to reimburse *Matthias* for the expence of the war; whereas the king of *Hungary* now raised his demand to a very considerable sum. *Maximilian*, equally displeased at the extortion of *Matthias*, and the interested proceedings of the emperor, proposed to observe a medium, and purchase a peace with part of the sum which the king of *Hungary* demanded: but whether this moderate advice was not agreeable to the emperor, or that he had taken umbrage at the good intelligence that subsisted between the enemy and his own son, he would not allow *Maximilian* to assist at the conferences. Whatever his motive might be, certain it is, he sought nothing less than the conclusion of a peace; for he could not bear the thoughts of parting with his money for the redemption of a province, which he saw himself on the eve of retrieving without expence, as the distemper of *Matthias* was said to be incurable: in effect, his malady every day increased, and *Frederic* found means to invent new delays, which retarded the treaty until the king of *Hungary* actually expired, when, instead of concluding a peace, he demanded the vacant throne, either for himself or his son *Maximilian*. Notwithstanding this request, the *Hungarians* elected *Ladislaus* king of *Bohemia*, though *Maximilian* had already recovered all *Austria*, made himself master of a good part of *Hungary*, and had the promise of powerful succours from the empire: in spite of these advantages, *Frederic* made peace with *Ladislaus* <sup>o</sup>, on condition that he should be reimbursed in one hundred thousand florins, to defray the expence of the war; that he should remain sole possessor of *Austria*; that *Ladislaus* should retain the crown of *Hungary*; and that *Maximilian* and his descendents should enjoy the title, with the right of succeeding to the crown in default of issue.

<sup>1</sup> Chron. Car. VIII. &c. <sup>m</sup> Chron. Brabant. 161. Hungar. post BONFIN. RANZ. Indic. 37.

<sup>n</sup> HEISS, Hist. liv. iii. c. 2.

<sup>o</sup> To. Rer.

(B) About this time the emperor erected *Austria* into an archduchy, and conferred the title upon *Philip*, the son of *Maximilian*, who was the first of the family of *Hapsburg* distinguished by the name of archduke (1).

(1) Marian. lib. xxv. c. 12.



- a DURING these disputes, *Frederic*, by an authentic act, annulled the donations of the *Tyrol*, which his brother *Sigismund* had made in favour of *Albert* duke of *Bavaria*, on his marriage with *Cunegunda*; declaring that, like the other fiefs belonging to *Sigismund*, it ought to have reverted to the king of the *Romans*, who was his sole and lawful heir. *Albert* protested against this act, and engaged a number of princes and towns in his interest; while the emperor, tho' dissuaded by *Maximilian* from such violent measures, put the duke of *Bavaria-Munich* to the ban of the empire, together with the inhabitants of *Ratisbon*, who had acknowledged the sovereignty of that prince. In a diet convoked at *Nuremberg* he adjusted the proportion of money and troops to be furnished by each prince and town of the empire, in order to execute this sentence, and the command of the army was given to the elector of *Brandenburg*, who, tho' he took the field, could do nothing of consequence against the *Bavarian*, so well had this prince secured his dominions.

At length *Frederic*, being tired of the war, which was not at all adapted to his disposition, listened to the remonstrances of *Maximilian*, who mediated a peace, on condition that *Ratisbon* should be re-established in the privileges of an imperial town; and that *Albert* should restore *Tyrol* to the house of *Austria*, in consideration of being put in possession of the lordship of *Akensperg*, and receiving a proper dowry with the princess *Cunegunda*.

- b In *Flanders* the war still continued to the utter ruin of the country, till at length an accommodation was patched up between *Maximilian* and *Charles* king of *France*, who wanted to cultivate the friendship of the king of the *Romans*, that he might, in the course of their correspondence, find some favourable occasion for disengaging himself, without giving offence, from his match with *Margaret*, *Maximilian's* daughter, who had been educated at the court of *France*, and actually betrothed to *Charles*. Besides this motive, he longed for an opportunity of weaning *Maximilian* from the thought of consummating his marriage with *Ann* heiress of *Britanny* (C), which had been performed by proxy, and which the king of *France* intended, if possible, to dissolve in his own favour; for his design was to reunite *Brittany* to his kingdom. With this view *Charles* had recourse to arms, invaded the duchy of *Brittany*, made himself master of the greatest part of it by force, besieged *Rhiden* where the princess was with her court, and, by presents and promises, brought over to his interest the noblemen of that country, who delivered the city and the duchess into his hands. A few days after this achievement, he married *Ann*, by virtue of a double dispensation from the pope, setting aside his former contract with *Margaret* the daughter of *Maximilian*, as well as removing the impediment of consanguinity with his new bride. The king of the *Romans*, incensed at this double affront, by which his daughter was dishonoured and his marriage annulled, resolved to be revenged on the author of his wrongs; and solicited the assistance of the princes of the empire and the *Swiss*; but, at a time when every thing threatened war and confusion, a treaty of peace was concluded at *Senlis*, in which it was agreed that the king of *France* should send back *Margaret* to her brother the archduke, and restore with her the counties of *Artois* and *Burgundy*; but that he should retain the citadels in the four cities of *Artois*, until *Philip* should be of age to ratify the peace.

A. D. 1489.

A. D. 1490.  
The king of France invades Britanny, and marries the duchess Ann.

Is threatened by Maximilian.

A. D. 1492.

- c In the course of this year died *Casimir* IV. king of *Poland*, and father of *Ladislav*, who now reigned over *Hungary* and *Bohemia*; and the death of the *Polish* monarch was soon followed by that of pope *Innocent* VIII. succeeded in the papacy by *Roderic Borghia*, who assumed the name of *Alexander* VI.

NOR did the emperor long survive these alterations. After the last effort of his resentment against the duke of *Bavaria*, which roused him from the lethargy of his sloth, to the astonishment of the whole empire, he resolved to give himself no farther trouble with the affairs of government, but to spend the remainder of his life in a peaceful retreat.

- f WITH this view he retired to *Lintz*, and applied himself to the study of chemistry, astronomy, and astrology; but, in the midst of these amusements, he was seized with a violent disorder, which being increased by his eating melons to excess, put a period to his life, in the 54th year of his reign, and 79th of his age. His distemper is said to have arisen from a cancerated ulcer in his leg, which was amputated by the advice of his physicians, though he died of the fever that attended the operation. On this occasion, when he beheld the limb cut off, "I am now convinced, said he, that a healthy peasant is much better than a sick emperor; and yet I hope I shall enjoy the greatest good that can happen to man,

The emperor Frederic dies at Lintz.

A. D. 1493.

<sup>p</sup> Vide TIL. in Trait. int. reg. Franc. & Angl. in Carol. VIII.

<sup>q</sup> MEZ. Chron. abr. tom. ii. p. 770.

<sup>r</sup> NAUCLER. gen. 50. MICHOV. dit. iv. c. 77. BONFIN. v. Dec. iii.

(C) This marriage was publicly celebrated in the church, and, that it might be held the more binding, putting his naked leg, as far as the knee, into the bed where the princess lay undressed; this being the first time that such a ceremony was performed (1).

(1) Remarq. sur Heise, lib. iii. c. 2.



His *pacific*  
*character.*

His *abstemious*  
*manner of*  
*living, his de-*  
*vice, funeral,*  
*and epitaph.*

“namely, a happy exit from this life.” It is observed of *Frederic*, that his reign was longer than that of any other emperor since the days of *Augustus*, and that he never swore but twice during the whole course of his life; one of these oaths he took at his coronation at *Aix*, and the other when he received the imperial crown at *Rome*. He was surnamed *the Pacific*, because he was averse to war; yet there was an inconstancy in his temper, which often prompted him to quarrels and disputes, though when they came to an open rupture he generally sued for peace. He held an infinite number of diets, in which nothing was ever determined, because he always postponed the business to another meeting. In a word, he seems to have been a prince of a contemptible character, absolutely void of generosity, courage, and resolution; yet, by the alliance made with the house of *Burgundy*, he greatly aggrandized the wealth and power of the *Austrian* family. He seldom or never had recourse to the advice of his friends, was endowed with a fund of low cunning, and a tenacious memory, and scrupulously exact in the offices of devotion, in which he was rather superstitious than sensible. His person was agreeable, and his countenance dignified with an air of majesty. He was plain in his apparel, moderate in his passions, and an enemy to all sorts of excess. He eat so little, that his life was one continual fast, and diluted his wine to such a degree, that it was no stronger than water. He chose for his device the five vowels (D), which were imprinted upon all his books, carved on his buildings, and engraved on his plate. His body was interred at *Vienna*, and his tomb distinguished by an epitaph, which contains an enumeration of his titles, an encomium upon his sagacity and moderation, and an account of the acquisition he made of the *Low Countries*, by the marriage of his son *Maximilian* (E).

## C H A P. XI.

### *Explaining the Beginning of the Reformation in Germany.*

#### MAXIMILIAN I.

A. D. 1493.  
Maximilian  
succeeds to the  
imperial  
throne.

His education.

Marches a-  
gainst the  
Turks.

**M**AXIMILIAN, who had been chosen and crowned king of the *Romans* during the life of his father, received the imperial crown with the unanimous consent of all the electors, immediately after the last offices were performed to *Frederic*; and he brought with him to the throne all the qualities requisite to signalize a great prince, being equally adapted for the administration during war and in the time of peace. His childhood had been so remarkably unpromising, that, even when he was ten years of age, it could not be determined whether he would be absolutely dumb, or altogether idiotical; but this infirmity was so perfectly removed when he attained to a riper age, that in the sequel he attracted the admiration of all those who conversed with him, by the eloquence and facility with which he spoke the *Latin*, *French*, and *Italian* languages. He was particularly addicted to letters, and not only perused the best books with great application, but also employed many hours in writing history with his own hand: yet he owed all this progress solely to his own genius; for he often complained of the preposterous method in which he had been instructed by his preceptor, whose name was *Peter Engelbert*, afterwards bishop of *Neustadt* in *Austria*, a person of great piety, but very ill qualified for forming the mind of a young prince. That very day on which *Maximilian* was elected king of the *Romans*, “Whatever, obligations, said he, we may have to our preceptors, if mine was now alive, “I believe I should make him repent of the manner in which I received his instructions;” and in one of the first diets he held, he engaged all the electors to establish academies in their respective dominions.

WHILE he was making preparations for his father’s funeral, he was informed that the *Turks* had invaded *Croatia*, upon which he began immediately to take measures for opposing their progress; and assembling a powerful army in *Austria*, advanced towards them, with all possible expedition; but the *Moslems*, affrighted at his army, and astonished at his dispatch, retreated with great precipitation; so that, finding no enemy to cope with, he disbanded his army, and applied himself to the domestic affairs of the empire.

<sup>s</sup> HEISS, liv. iii. c. 2.    <sup>t</sup> NAUCLER. & BONFIN. ubi supra.

(D) Among several explications of this device, *c, e, i, o, u*, that which is most generally received, is

*Austria est imperare Orbi universo.*

(E) This emperor, by *Elconora*, daughter of *Edward*

king of *Portugal*, had three sons and two daughters; namely, *Christopher*, who died in his infancy; *Maximilian*, his successor in the empire; *John*, who did not live to be of age; *Helen*, who died an infant; and *Cunegunda*, who married *Albert the Wise*, duke of *Bavaria* (3).

(3) Heiss, liv. iii. c. 2.



- a . . . As he had now been a long time a widower, he was pressed to take another wife, and it was proposed that he should espouse *Blanche Maria*, sister to *John Galeazzo* duke of *Milan*, and niece to *Lewis Sforza*, surnamed *the Moor*, who being guardian to his nephew *Galeazzo*, took possession of the state of *Milan*, not without suspicion of having poisoned his ward. As this princess was reckoned one of the most beautiful women of her time, possessed of a thousand amiable qualities, and a fortune of four hundred and sixty thousand ducats, *Maximilian* received the proposal with all the demonstrations of the most perfect joy, and married her on the sixth day of *March*, of that same year; by which means *Lewis Sforza*, who had been the chief negotiator in this match, reaped all the advantage which he expected from it, in acquiring the favour of the emperor, so as to be able to maintain himself in possession of the duchy, the investiture of which *Maximilian* in private conferred upon him as a fief vacated by the failure of homage and acknowledgment<sup>u</sup>. By this alliance, the emperor being engaged in the interests of *Italy*, resolved to take the advice of the states of the empire, touching the pretension which *Charles VIII.* king of *France* had to *Naples*, and the expedition he had undertaken to make a conquest of that kingdom. For this purpose, after he had assembled the states of *Flanders* at *Louvain*, where he appointed his son *Philip* governor of the *Low Countries*, and saw the deputies take the oath of fidelity to that young prince, he convoked a diet at *Worms*, where he proposed they should determine whether it would be more for the advantage of the empire to oppose the designs of *Charles*, or to engage in a war against the *Turks*: but this alternate being deemed intirely foreign to the interests of the *Germanic* body, the proposal was left undiscussed, and the deliberations of the diet altogether restricted to the intestine affairs of *Germany*. An authentic constitution was enacted for the preservation of the public peace among the princes and states of the empire, that they might have recourse to it as to an oracle; in all cases of difficulty; and the emperor, reflecting upon the trouble to which people were subjected in following the imperial chamber, which always travelled about with the court, fixed that tribunal at *Worms*, from whence it was some time after transferred to another city, and at last settled at *Spire*<sup>x</sup>. In this diet also the county of *Wirtemberg* was erected into a duchy in favour of *Frederic* of *Wirtemberg*, with the unanimous consent of all present; the league of *Suabia* was renewed; the investiture of *Sforza* confirmed; the electors took the oath of fidelity, and *René* duke of *Lorraine* did homage for some of his fiefs which he held of the empire, though he declared his duchy free of all such dependence<sup>y</sup> (F).
- b
- c
- d

He marries  
Blanche, sister  
to the duke of  
Milan.  
A. D. 1494.

Convokes a  
diet at  
Worms.  
A. D. 1495.

NOR would he engage with the emperor in a war with the king of *France*, though *Maximilian* offered to support his pretensions to the kingdom of *Naples*, and even to create him vicar-general of the empire in *Italy*. The diet, however, in consequence of the emperor's representations, resolved to keep an army on foot, in order to stop the progress of the *French* king on the other side of the *Alps*, and decreed that the states of the empire should raise one hundred and fifty thousand florins for its maintenance<sup>z</sup>.

- e CHARLES VIII. king of *France*, had compelled the *Florentines* to put four of their strongest places into his hands, and lend him a sum of money; then he marched to *Rome*, to the great terror of the pope, who shut himself up in the castle of *St. Angelo*, made himself master of the best fortified towns in the ecclesiastical state, and, having received *Alexander's* bastard, *Cæsar Borgia*, as an hostage, marched to *Naples*, where he was acknowledged as sovereign, while king *Alphonso*, terrified at his approach, and knowing himself hated by his subjects, proclaimed his son *Ferdinand* king, and retired with that prince to the isle of *Ischia*, to wait for some favourable revolution<sup>a</sup>.

The king of  
France con-  
quers Naples.  
u

- f THE pope and the princes of *Italy*, seeing the king of *France* master of *Naples*, *Siena*, and *Florence*, engaged in a league against that monarch, and their confederacy was joined by *Maximilian*, who pretended that the *French* king had usurped the rights of the empire in *Tuscany*; and *Ferdinand* and *Isabella*, king and queen of *Arragon* and *Castile*, acceded to the same treaty. *Maximilian* took the opportunity of this conjuncture to propose a match,

<sup>u</sup> KRANTZ. Sax. lib. iii. c. 21.  
<sup>z</sup> CUSPIN. p. 488.

<sup>x</sup> SERRAZ. Hist. Mogunt. l. v.  
<sup>a</sup> GAGUIN. l. ii. p. 284.

<sup>y</sup> Cartulaire de Lorraine, p. 406.

(F) The elector of *Mentz* alleged, that the duke ought to use the same form of taking the oath, which was practised by the other states of the empire; but *René*, positively refusing to comply with that proposal, it was agreed, that he should swear in these terms: "I *René* king of *Jerusalem* and *Sicily*, duke of *Lorraine* and *Bar*, marquis of *Pons*, count of *Provence*, *Vaudemont*, *Harcourt*, &c. swear and promise, as duke of *Lorraine* and *Bar*, to you *Maximilian*, king of the *Romans*, to the sacred *Roman* empire, and your successors in the

" empire, fidelity, submission, and obedience, according to the tenor of the charters of my fiefs: So help me GOD, and his holy Evangelists."

Having taken this oath, he was infeoffed by the emperor; who sat upon a throne, with the sceptre of *Charlemagne* in his hand; then he paid seven hundred francs for the ransom of his horse, cloaths, and privileges, exclusive of the sum due to the elector of *Mentz*, arch-chancellor of the empire (4).

(4) Struv. period. x. sect. iii.



The marriage  
of Philip with  
the infanta  
Jane.

which was afterwards effected, between his son *Philip*, who had now attained to the eighteenth year of his age, and the infanta *Jane*, one of the daughters of their catholic majesties; and though at that time this princess was, by the order of birth, posterior to her brother the infant *John*, who, some months after, was married to *Margaret* the sister of *Philip*, and also to her sister *Isabella*, wife of *Emanuel* king of *Portugal*, nevertheless, contrary to all appearance, she, by the death of her brother and sister, and the children of their respective marriages, became sole heiress of the kingdoms of *Spain*; so that this alliance was no less advantageous to the house of *Austria*, than that of *Maximilian* with the princess of *Burgundy*<sup>b</sup>.

Charles  
marches from  
Naples, de-  
feats the allies  
in the plain of  
Fornova, and  
returns to  
France.

THE league formed by the emperor, the pope, their catholic majesties, the duke of *Milan*, the marquis of *Mantua*, and the *Venetians*, being published at *Rome*, *Charles VIII.* thought it was high time for him to return to *France*, before the allies could oppose his passage. He therefore began his march with all expedition; but when he advanced into the plain of *Fornova*, about four leagues from *Parma*, he found them already drawn up in order of battle, and an engagement ensued, in which they were defeated, so that he pursued his route to the county of *Asti* without farther interruption, while the duke of *Milan* laid siege to *Novarra*, which had been surprized by the duke of *Orleans*. By this time *Charles* was reinforced by fifteen thousand *Swiss*, with which he intended to attack *Sforza*; but, understanding that these mercenaries, who were much more numerous than his native troops, designed to exact of him a large sum of money, on pretence of arrears, he clapped up a peace in a great hurry, restoring *Novarra* to the duke of *Milan*, on condition that he should not assist the king of *Naples*, and retired to his own dominions.

As for *Ferdinand*, he no sooner heard of the league against *Charles* than he quitted his retreat, and assembling an army, which was joined by a reinforcement of *Spaniards*, retook the places which had submitted to the *French*, compelled the count *de Montpensier*, whom *Charles* had appointed viceroy, to abandon *Naples*, and, in a little time, reduced the whole kingdom to his obedience.

The emperor's  
expedition into  
Italy.  
A. D. 1496.

*CHARLES*, on the other hand, as soon as he arrived in *France*, began to make preparations for retrieving his conquest; and the emperor, being pressed by the duke of *Milan* and the *Venetians* to march into *Italy* with a certain number of horse and foot, to oppose these designs, he accordingly, without staying for the supplies voted in the diet, crossed the *Alps* with a small body of troops: but, being too weak to attempt any thing of consequence, he, by the advice of *Sforza*, marched to *Pisa*, where he was received as sovereign by the inhabitants, who pulled down the arms of *France* which they had set up, and, in the room of them, erected those of the emperor. He afterwards invested the city of *Leghorn*, but was obliged to raise the siege with disgrace; then he retired into *Lombardy*, where having staid some time, fluctuating in his counsels, and altogether undetermined, he at last returned to *Germany*, leaving behind him a very contemptible opinion of his capacity and power<sup>c</sup>.

Proceedings  
of the diets at  
Lindaw and  
Worms.  
A. D. 1497.

HE had convoked a diet at *Lindaw*, in order to forward the supplies, and it was determined to execute the resolutions of the former assembly, under certain regulations, which were, however, referred to the consideration of a subsequent diet, convened at *Worms*, where *James* marquis of *Baden*, *Wolfgang* count of *Nassau*, and the landwogt or governor of *Guelderland*, presided in the name of the emperor. The elector of *Mentz* opened the diet with a long harangue, expatiating upon the disorders that afflicted the empire, and the means for remedying those evils; and the grand master of the *Teutonic* order demanded immediate succour against the *Prussians*, who had desolated *Livonia*. But in this, as in the preceding diets, nothing was executed, though many schemes were projected.

The Frieslan-  
ders revolt  
against Maxi-  
milian.

THIS irresolution served only to nourish the dissensions of *Germany*, and in particular to encourage the *Frieslanders* and *Gueldrians* in their revolt against the emperor. The inhabitants of *Friesland* had refused to pay the ordinary tax imposed by the diet for the occasions of the empire; alleging that, as their country was not a fief thereof, they were not obliged to obey the decrees of the *Germanic* body: and indeed their dependency had never been clearly ascertained; for, although the emperors had appointed governors or podestats of that province, these were always well or ill received, according as they favoured or opposed the liberties of the people: they had even threatened to hang the commissary of the late emperor, and, in all probability, would have executed the threat, had not he left the country without hesitation. *Maximilian*, resolving to assert his right of sovereignty over this stubborn people, nominated the duke of *Saxony* as podestat of *Friesland*, and ordered them to receive and obey him as such, on pain of being declared rebels to the empire.

INSTEAD of submitting to this command, they revolted against the duke, expelled him

<sup>b</sup> PHIL. DE COMM. liv. viii. c. 16.  
FREHER.

<sup>c</sup> MEZ. abr. Chron. tom. ii. p. 781. Rer. German. tom. iii. edit.



- a from their country, renounced all dependence upon the empire, and put themselves under the protection of *Charles* duke of *Guelderland*, who was then engaged in a war with *Maximilian*, in order to recover the investiture of his father <sup>a</sup>.

THE emperor being still in great want of money and troops, assembled another diet at *Fribourg*, in the *Brisgau*, where the princes whom he appointed to represent his person complained, that the states had given him no assistance in his war against the *French* in *Italy*, and demonstrated the necessity of taking vigorous measures against the *Frieſlanders* and the *Swiſs*, who were declared enemies to the confederacy of *Suabia*. The states having deliberated upon these topics, agreed to raise a powerful army against the *Swiſs*, though in the sequel they acquitted themselves very ill of this engagement. Mean while

*Proceedings of the diet at Fribourg. A. D. 1498.*

- b they gave audience to the ambassadors of his *Polish* majesty, who demanded succours against the *Turk*, and sent a deputation to engage the pope to accommodate that monarch with the money raised in *Germany* by the nuncio, against whose exactions they bitterly complained (G). This embassy had likewise orders to represent to his holiness, that the *German* noblemen would exact as their undoubted right one-third of the money arising from indulgences, if the holy see should refuse to restrain the excesses of her minister; and to complain, that the *Concordata* were not observed in the article of benefices, which the pope either bestowed on strangers, when vacant, or disposed of by way of reversion, to the prejudice of the patrons <sup>c</sup>.

- c A LAW was enacted in this assembly to regulate the succession of grandsons in the room of their deceased fathers; and *Albert* duke of *Saxony* was confirmed in the prefecture of *West Frieſland*, which was rendered hereditary in his family.

*Albert duke of Saxony created hereditary podestat of West Frieſland.*

*ALBERT* being invested with this new dignity, endeavoured to attach to his interest one of the factions that divided *Frieſland*, but, notwithstanding his utmost endeavours, they united against his authority, and looked upon the hereditary settlement of his office as an invasion of their rights and privileges, granted to them by *Charlemagne* and his successors (H): so that the duke of *Saxony* was on the point of resigning his government, when he was dissuaded from that renunciation by *Edſard* count of *Emſden*, who undertook to form a party in his favour by means of the friends he had among the *Frieſlanders* <sup>d</sup>.

- d IN the midst of these transactions, *Charles* king of *France*, having died suddenly at *Amboise*, was succeeded by the duke of *Orleans*, under the name of *Lewis XII.* This prince pretending to have an incontestible right to the duchy of *Milan*, resolved to put himself in a condition to pass the *Alps*, and take possession of that duchy; which *Lewis Sforza*, that he might be able to withstand the tempest, took all the necessary precautions to put himself in a posture of defence, and had recourse to the assistance of *Maximilian*.

*Lewis XII. of France claims the duchy of Milan.*

HE spared neither pains nor money to involve *Lewis* in quarrels with his neighbours. *René II.* duke of *Lorraine* was well paid for laying claim to *Provence*, in right of his mother *Yoland*, a daughter of *René* of *Anjou*, titular king of the *Two Sicilies*, and real count of *Provence*; but this dispute was referred to the examination of commissaries, and the duke acquiesced in their decision in favour of *Lewis*.

- e BUT a more formidable neighbour was *Philip* archduke of *Austria*, who reclaimed a great many towns of the succession of *Burgundy*, which had been seized by *Lewis XI.* As *Philip* was very powerful, and well beloved by his subjects, and *Lewis* bent upon his *Italian* expedition, he restored part of those places to the archduke, who did homage to him at *Arras* for *Flanders*, *Artois*, and *Charolois*, while his right to *Burgundy* was referred to the decision of the parliament of *Paris* <sup>e</sup>.

WHATEVER inclination the emperor had to succour his ally the duke of *Milan*, he was obliged to suspend his favourable intention, in order to attend to the war of *Guelderland*, in which he was now engaged. That the reader may have a distinct idea of this affair, it will be necessary to trace it back to its origin, and observe that *Arnold* of *Egmont*, duke of *Guelderland*, after having been detained prisoner for several months, and extremely ill used by his son *Adolphus*, had found means to obtain his liberty, and retort his imprisonment on his ungrateful son. As he had been very much obliged to *Charles* the late duke of *Burgundy*,

*Maximilian engages in the war of Guelderland.*

- f *derland*, after having been detained prisoner for several months, and extremely ill used by his son *Adolphus*, had found means to obtain his liberty, and retort his imprisonment on his ungrateful son. As he had been very much obliged to *Charles* the late duke of *Burgundy*,

<sup>a</sup> Descript. Hist. de Provinces Unies, p. 91. & de Zeland, l. vi.

<sup>c</sup> GREG. DE GRAVAMIN. c. 7. sect. 1.

<sup>f</sup> Chron. de Holl.

<sup>e</sup> DUMONT. Corps Dipl. tom. iii. part ii. p. 413.

(G) This prelate had power to permit people to eat flesh on fasting days, and to distribute indulgences to all those who should contribute a certain sum towards the crusade against the infidels. He collected this money with all the rapacity of a tax-gatherer; and, not content with the considerable sums of which he drained the empire, he employed part in trade, and the rest at usury, for his own advantage (5).

(H) They, in their diets, elected their own podestats, and deposed them when they were displeased with the administration. They paid but a very slight tax or tribute to this governor; would contribute no other way to the welfare of the state, but in marching to war when the business was to defend their own province, and they would fight under none but chiefs of their own chusing (6).

(5) Struv. pericd. x. sect. 3.

(6) Chron. de Holl. & Zel. l. vi.

who,



who, upon this occasion, had interposed his good offices and assistance in his favour, he, in order to manifest his gratitude; and punish his rebellious son at the same time, alienated his duchy for the benefit of that prince, who paid to him ninety-two thousand crowns for the reversion of it, and agreed that *Arnold* should enjoy the revenues during his natural life. In consequence of this purchase, *Arnold* was no sooner dead than the duke of *Burgundy* took possession of his dominions; but *Charles* being slain soon after at *Nancy*, the people of *Guelderland* set *Adolphus* at liberty from the castle of *Vilverden*, in which he had hitherto been detained; and he being afterwards entrusted with the command of the troops belonging to the city of *Ghent*, miserably perished, as we have hinted above, in an expedition against the inhabitants of *Tournay*<sup>a</sup>. *Mary* of *Burgundy*, and, after her death, *Maximilian*, as guardian of her son *Philip*, had endeavoured to maintain, by force of arms, the right which they pretended to have to that duchy, as part of the succession of the house of *Burgundy*. Nevertheless, the possession of it was a long time contested by *Charles* of *Egmont*, the son of *Adolphus*, who, to his dying day, enjoyed a part of that duchy, notwithstanding the power of the house of *Austria*, and the decision of the princes of the empire, who had adjudged it to *Philip*<sup>b</sup>.

The emperor  
turns his arms  
against the  
Swiss.  
A. D. 1499.

WHEN *Maximilian* was engaged in the very hottest of this war, he was obliged, all of a sudden, to desist, and even to make advances towards an accommodation with *Charles* of *Egmont*, that he might be able to turn his arms against the *Swiss*, who had begun to make incursions upon the *Austrian* territories; for the good intelligence between the emperor and that people no longer subsisted. *Maximilian*, when he first succeeded to the dominions of *Sigismund* of *Austria*, by virtue of his being adopted by that prince, had often desired that the *Swiss* would renew with him the friendship and alliance which they had formerly maintained with *Sigismund*; but this renewal they always declined; besides, the greatest part of the princes, and all the nobility, looked upon these people with an evil eye, since they had erected themselves into republics, and renounced the alliance of *Suabia*: on the other hand, the city of *Constance*, which had hitherto refused to enter into this league, or into the confederacy of the *Swiss*, notwithstanding repeated invitations from both, had at length united with the circle of *Suabia*. Finally, the revival of the antient quarrel between the inhabitants of *Etschland* and the city of *Coire*, which had been frequently referred to arbitration to no purpose, contributed to bring matters to an open rupture.<sup>c</sup>

WHEN the bishop of *Coire* died, the regency of *Tyrol* seized upon some fiefs of the bishopric, in hope of obliging the chapter to own the archdukes of *Austria* as their avoyers; but these refusing to comply with this demand, several boroughs and castles were pillaged and burnt. The *Grisons*, informed of these outrages, hastened to the assistance of their allies, and were defeated by the *Austrians*, who pursued them to the valley of *Engadina*, which they laid waste with fire and sword.<sup>d</sup>

IN this emergency they solicited succours of the *Swiss*, who forthwith marched to their assistance, and crossing the *Rhine*, came in sight of the enemy, in the neighbourhood of *Bregentz*, where a battle ensued, in which the *Austrians* were routed with great slaughter.

DURING this expedition, the inhabitants of the *Brisgaw* and *Suntgaw* fell upon the lands of *Nuremburg* and *Rosemburg*; but their career was soon stopped by the *Swiss* of the neighbouring canton, who assembled to the number of two thousand, and attacked them with such fury, that they were forced to betake themselves to flight, after having left a great part of their number killed upon the spot.<sup>e</sup>

The Swiss re-  
new their al-  
liance with  
the French  
king.

LEWIS the French king, taking advantage of this favourable conjuncture, renewed with the *Swiss* the ancient alliance which they had formed with his predecessors, and the treaty was concluded at *Lucerne*, with this reserve, that *France* should not molest the allies of the *Swiss*: an article which secured the cities of *Strasburg*, *Basil*, *Kayserberg*, *Colmar*, *Scelestadt*, and other towns of *Alsace*.

Rout the im-  
perial army  
in the canton  
of *Schaffhau-  
sen*, and at  
*Tungen*.

THE emperor, enraged to find such resistance from a people he affected to despise, ordered a numerous army to rendezvous near *Constance*, which, being divided into small bodies, pillaged the villages and castles in the canton of *Schaffhausen*; but, while they were employed in acquiring booty, without dreaming of the enemy's approach, the *Swiss*, who had assembled privately, and reconnoitred their motions, took the opportunity of falling upon them when they were thus divided and incumbered, and cut them all in pieces. The same fate overtook a body of the *Suabians*, who had surprized *Tungen*, and plundered the cantons of *Appenzel* and *St. Gall*: they fell into an ambuscade, and were destroyed by the *Swiss*, who retook *Tungen*, and demolished its fortifications.<sup>f</sup>

THE news of these successes having reached the emperor, while he was engaged in the war against *Charles* duke of *Guelderland*, over whom he had gained sundry advantages, he left the command of his army to the duke of *Saxony*, and, with four thousand chosen men,<sup>g</sup>

<sup>a</sup> KRAN. Sax. l. xiii. c. 22.

<sup>b</sup> HEISS, l. iii. c. 3.



a took the route of *Cologne* and *Mentz*, entered *Suabia*, crossed the *Black Forest*, arrived at *Constance*, and from thence repaired to the *Suntgaw*, where he collected a body of fifteen thousand men, and gave the command of them to *Henry* count of *Wurtemberg*.

THEN he demanded succours from the towns and princes of the *Suabian* league; and though some of them supplied him with troops, the greater number evaded his request, and pressed him to convoke a diet at *Worms*, which was summoned accordingly; but, before the meeting of this assembly, the forces furnished by the towns of *Franconia* and the states of *Suabia* were, in their march to *Titenang*, on the lake of *Bregentz*, met in the valley of *Engadina*, by the inhabitants of *Coire* and the *Grisons*, who put them to the sword, and then ravaged the *Tyrol* without mercy.

Maximilian receives supplies of men from the cities of *Franconia* and *Suabia*, who are cut in pieces by the *Grisons*.

b *MAXIMILIAN* hoped that the troops he expected from *Austria* would repair this loss; but he was disappointed in his expectation: for when they had advanced as far as *Oberdorf*, the *Swiss* army appeared, and a very obstinate battle ensued, in which the *Austrians* were totally defeated.

THE victors having secured the ammunition and stores of the vanquished, marched towards *Dormeck* upon the *Rhine*, which was invested by the count of *Furstenberg*; and taking the advantage of this general's want of precaution, charged him unawares, while his troops were dispersed; and, though the fight was maintained for some time with equal fury on both sides, the imperialists received a total overthrow; the counts of *Furstenburg* and *Bitsch*, together with four thousand soldiers, fell upon the spot, and all the cannon and baggage were seized by the enemy, who gave no quarter during this engagement, which was the seventh battle lost by the *Austrians* in less than six months.

*MAXIMILIAN* was at *Lindaw* when he received the melancholy news of this misfortune, which effectually humbled his pride, and induced him to make the first advances to a peace, which, after some negotiations at *Zurich Schaffhausen*, was at length established by the mediation of the duke of *Milan*, and some other princes, and the articles were not very disadvantageous to his interest, considering the ill fortune of his arms during the war.

d By this peace it was agreed, that the country of *Prettigaw* should belong to the emperor, that the quarrel between the city of *Coire* and the inhabitants of *Tyrol* should be referred to the arbitration of *Frederic* bishop of *Augsburg*, and that all other differences should, in like manner, be decided by impartial umpires. At the desire of *Maximilian*, the house of *Austria*, the duke of *Milan*, the electors and other members of the empire, the cities of *Strasburg* and *Basil*, with their bishops, and the other imperial towns of *Suabia* and the *Rhine*, were comprehended in the treaty; while the *Swiss* on their side included the king of *France* and his allies, the abbot and city of *St. Gall*, together with the canton of *Appenzel* <sup>k</sup>.

The war is terminated by a treaty and arbitration. A. D. 1500.

e THIS peace was succeeded by an accommodation between *Maximilian* and *Charles d'Emont*, to whom the emperor restored the towns he had taken in *Guelderland*, permitting him at the same time to assume the title of duke, on condition that he should acknowledge the duchy as a fief of the empire. As for the *Swiss*, they acquired such reputation by this war, which they maintained against *Maximilian*, that *Basil* and *Schaffhausen*, and afterwards *Appenzel*, engaged in their league, and completed the number of thirteen cantons which now compose their alliance<sup>1</sup>.

The emperor makes peace with *Charles* duke of *Guelderland*.

*MAXIMILIAN* being freed from these broils, assembled a diet at *Augsburg*, in order to re-establish the public peace, and reform the abuses which had crept into the administration of justice; and the session was opened with complaints touching the annates, benefices, and taxes, which the court of *Rome* exacted of the provinces, to defray the expences of a war against the *Turks*. The sums thus levied had been remitted to *Cæsar Eorgio*, who had squandered them away in debauchery; and the princes inveighing loudly against this abuse, embassadors were sent to complain of it to pope *Alexander*, who promised that such profusion should be prevented for the future. This step being taken, they prolonged the league of *Suabia* for twelve years, re-established the imperial chamber, which was grown into disuse; and, as this could be of little advantage, unless proper measures should be taken to execute its decrees and support its authority, the empire was divided into the six circles of *Bavaria*, *Franconia*, *Suabia*, *Saxony*, the *Rhine*, and *Westphalia*: but as the provinces possessed by the house of *Austria* in *Germany*, and those of the electors, were not comprehended in these six circles, *Maximilian* formed his own *German* dominions into a circle, as an example to the other electors, and four new divisions were added to the former six, namely, the circles of *Austria* and *Burgundy* for the provinces belonging to the house of *Austria*, that of *Upper Saxony* for the electors of *Saxony* and *Brandenburg*, and that of the *Upper Rhine* for the ecclesiastical electors and the *Palatinate* (I).

<sup>k</sup> KRANTZ. ubi sup.

<sup>1</sup> BARRE, tom. viii. p. 824.

(I) Each circle chose a director to conduct the civil affairs, and a duke or general to command in all military expeditions, and to keep the troops and fortresses in proper order. At first it depended upon the imperial court



THE kingdom of *Bohemia* was not comprehended in this division, because it was not then connected with the *Germanic* body, and a misunderstanding subsisted between *Ladislaus* and the emperor<sup>m</sup>.

John king of Denmark takes the field against the Dythmarfians,

ALTHOUGH the interior parts of the empire enjoyed the happy fruits of *Maximilian's* paternal care, the war continued to rage between *John* king of *Denmark* and the *Dythmarfians*, who had revolted against him as duke of *Holstein*, and put themselves under the protection of the archbishop of *Bremen*. Before the commencement of hostilities he offered them a general amnesty, and a confirmation of all their privileges, provided they would own their dependence upon the duchy of *Holstein*; and they, rejecting his advances, he took the field against them. Their towns and villages soon fell into his hands, and their country was abandoned to pillage; yet they seemed to draw fresh courage from despair; they destroyed several detachments which he sent to reconnoitre their situation; for when they received the first account of his approach they abandoned *Mildorp* their capital, and retired into the centre of their country, where their dykes and canals served them for intrenchments.

by whom he is totally defeated.

THESE they fortified with great skill and precaution, and when the king advanced to attack them, they waited until they saw his army hampered among defiles and morasses, and then falling upon them with incredible fury, made a terrible slaughter, and obtained a compleat victory. *Adolphus* and *Otho* counts of *Oldembourg*, together with one hundred and sixty officers, were killed upon the spot, and the king obliged to fly for shelter to *Holstein*, where he set on foot new levies, in order to retrieve his reputation; but he was diverted from his purpose by the neighbouring princes, who negotiated an accommodation<sup>n</sup>.

MEAN while *Lewis XII.* of *France*, having made his preparations for wresting the *Milaneze* from *Ludovic Sforza*, sent a strong body of troops into *Italy*, took, plundered, and burnt, the town of *Novi*, made himself master of *Valentia*, *Tortona*, and *Alexandria*, while *Ludovic*, betrayed by his officers, fled for refuge to the emperor: *Milan* submitted without resistance, and *Genoa* received a garrison of *French* troops. *Lewis*, being informed of these conquests, set out from *Lyons*, and repaired to *Milan*, where he made a public entry, and was acknowledged as sovereign; where all the powers of *Italy*, except the king of *Naples*, sent ambassadors to congratulate him upon his good fortune.

HAVING appointed governors to all the conquered places, and made a truce with the emperor, he returned to *France*; but, in his absence, *Trivulci*, who commanded in *Milan*, rendered himself so odious to the people by his arrogance and cruelty, and oppressed the *Gibelines* in such a manner, that they began to cabal against his administration, and, in less than three months, disposed almost all the towns of the *Milaneze* to receive the banished *Ludovic*. That prince, finding the emperor neither very able nor willing to give him effectual assistance, had began to levy a body of horse in the provinces of the empire, and having contracted with the *Swiss* for eight thousand infantry, begun his march with that army, and entered the *Milaneze*, where the people opened their gates to him, and renewed their oath of allegiance; while *Trivulci*, perceiving the citizens of *Milan* ripe for a revolt, quitted the city, and shut himself up in *Novarra*, which was immediately invested by *Ludovic*, and, in a few days, capitulated: but the chevalier *Bayard*, who commanded in the citadel, refused to be comprehended in this capitulation, and held out with incredible fortitude and perseverance. Mean while *Maximilian*, having received the subsidies that were voted in the great diet at *Worms*, for the preservation of public peace, began to levy troops in all the provinces, in order to oppose the progress of *Lewis*: but, all of a sudden, these levies were suspended, and the *French* king sent a strong body of forces into *Italy*, under the command of the cardinal *d'Amboise*, and the *Sieur de la Tremouille*, who, without hazarding a battle, carried on a secret negotiation with the *Swiss* in *Ludovic's* army; and these, in

<sup>m</sup> MULLER, l. i. c. 2 & 3.

<sup>n</sup> MEURSIUS, Hist. Dam. lib. ii.

court to nominate any prince it should judge a proper person to convoke the diet and direct the affairs of the circle; but as this office was naturally bestowed upon him who maintained the chief rank in every circle, it became hereditary in the sequel: and it is now exercised in the circle of *Austria* by the archduke of that name; in the circle of *Bavaria* by the elector and the archbishop of *Salzburg*; in *Franconia* alternately by the bishop of *Bamberg*, and the margraves of *Brandenburg*, *Barent*, and *Anspach*: in *Suabia* by the duke of *Wurtemberg*, and the bishop of *Constance*: in the *Upper Rhine* by the bishop of *Worms* and the count *Palatine de Simmeren*; in the *Lower Rhine*, by the elector of *Mentz*

alone; in *Westphalia*, by the bishop of *Munster*, conjointly with the elector of *Brandenburg* and the *Palatine*, who inherited the office of director from the last duke of *Juliers* and *Bergue*, as part of his succession, which was divided among them.

The directors of *Lower Saxony* are the duke of *Magdeburg* and *Bremen* (formerly archbishops) and the dukes of *Brunswic-Lunenbourg*. The electors of *Saxony* is sole director of *Upper Saxony*; and the circle of *Burgundy*, which heretofore comprehended *Franche-Comté*, and all the provinces of the *Low Countries*, was directed by the kings of *Spain*, while these countries were under their dominion (1).

(1) Barre. tom. viii. p. 828.



a a most treacherous manner, fold and delivered that unhappy prince to the *French* king, who ordered him to be confined in the castle of *Loches*, where he lived ten years, deprived of all the comforts, and even the necessaries, of life, and at last died of grief and mortification °.

who is betrayed by the Swiss, and confined in the castle of Loches to the day of his death.

*LEWIS* having secured himself in the possession of the *Milanese*, concluded with *Ferdinand* king of *Arragon* a treaty, in consequence of which they joined their forces in order to conquer and divide the dominions of the king of *Naples*; and this poor prince was obliged to renounce his kingdom, and depend upon the generosity of the *French* king, who bestowed upon him and his heirs the county of *Maine* and all its dependencies, together with a pension of thirty thousand livres, and all rights and privileges granted to the princes of the blood.

Lewis conquers the kingdom of Naples.

b In order to preserve this conquest, and confirm the *Milanese* to his family, *Lewis* resolved to cultivate the friendship of the emperor, and actually demanded the investiture of that duchy from *Maximilian*, who was at first very averse to the proposal, because a report prevailed, that *Lewis*, by the help of the pope, aspired to the imperial crown. However, the *French* monarch soon undeceived him and the princes of *Germany* in this particular, by the most solemn protestation, and, knowing the avaritious and interested disposition of the emperor, he conquered his reluctance with a sum of money, and the proposal of a match between *Charles* son of the archduke *Philip* and his own daughter *Claudia*. This alliance was accordingly negotiated at *Trent*, by the cardinal *d'Amboise*; though the parties were in their infancy: a treaty of peace was concluded between the emperor and *France*, importing, that *Lewis* should assist the king of the *Romans* against the *Turks*; maintain the rights of *Maximilian* and his successors to the kingdoms of *Hungary* and *Bohemia*, after the death of *Ladislaus*, and facilitate his coronation at *Rome*; and, in consideration of these articles, the emperor should grant to *Lewis* the investiture of the *Milanese* <sup>p</sup> (K).

Concludes a treaty with Maximilian. A. D. 1501.

OTHER additional articles of this treaty were signed and ratified at *Blois* in *France* by the archduke *Philip*, on his way with the archduchess, through this kingdom to *Spain*, where they were declared the presumptive heirs of *Ferdinand* and *Isabella*.

d THE city of *Basil* having joined in the league of the *Swiss*, in diametrical opposition to the authority of the *Germanic* body, which had forbid the imperial towns to engage in that confederacy, a diet was convoked at *Nuremberg*, in order to concert measures for detaching it from that connection, as well as for preventing other cities from following its example; and it was proposed to summon the citizens to abandon the *Helvetic* league, and unite with that of *Suabia*, on pain of being put to the ban of the empire; but, after much altercation and debate, they agreed to consider *Basil* as an imperial town, and compel it occasionally to pay those taxes that should be imposed by the diet on the other cities of the empire.

Proceedings of the diet at Nuremberg. A. D. 1502.

e MEASURES were likewise taken to reform the current coin, and raise the *Teutonic* order to that importance they had lost since their last treaty with *Poland*, by which they forfeited *Pomerania*, *Marienbourg*, *Elbing*, *Culm*, and *Oberm*, with their territories. The states of the empire interposed their good offices in behalf of the knights, and sent ambassadors to the diet which the king of *Poland* assembled at *Posnan*, to terminate the dispute; but that prince would neither restore the places, nor remit the homage they paid for the towns they still held in *Prussia*; and the order, being very much reduced, was fain to wait for a more favourable opportunity °.

f MEAN while the pope sent cardinal *Raymond* as his legate, to let the emperor know he had resolved to publish a crusade against the infidels, and for that purpose had agreed with the ambassadors of several potentates, that the *Hungarians*, *Bohemians*, *Poles*, and *Germans*, should carry on the war against the *Turks* in *Thrace*, while the *French* and *Spaniards* should make their efforts in *Greece*, and his holiness with the king of *England*, the *Venetians*, and princes of *Italy*, would attack *Constantinople* by sea. In consequence of this resolution, he had sent nuncios to all the courts, to exhort the sovereigns to compromise their quarrels, that they might unite their forces against the common enemy of Christendom.

The pope proposes a crusade against the Turks.

ALTHOUGH *Maximilian* very well knew that *Alexander's* sole aim in this crusade was to amass money by voluntary contribution, he affected to applaud the project; but at the

° NAUCEER. Chronic. gener. 51. p. 515.

<sup>p</sup> GUICC. l. v.

<sup>q</sup> MULLER. l. i. c. 16.

(K) This article of the treaty was signed by *Francis* of *Valois*, presumptive heir of the crown, the princes of the blood, and the grandes of the realm. The other articles imported, that the king should restore to their estates and honours those who had been banished from *Milan*, and that he should receive from *Maximilian* the

investiture of that duchy, in consideration of a hundred and twenty thousand florins, payable in twelve months, a pair of golden spurs yearly on *Christmas-day*, and five hundred lances to be sent, when the emperor should go to receive the imperial crown at *Rome* (1).

(1) *Remarq. sur Heiss*, liv. iii. c. 5.



A. D. 1504.

The electors  
engage in an  
association to  
furnish troops  
against the  
Infidels.

They complain  
of the aulic  
council.

Refuses to ad-  
mit the arch-  
duke Philip  
into the electo-  
ral college.

New preroga-  
tives attached  
to the title of  
archduke.

The emperor  
concludes a  
treaty with  
Henry VII. of  
England.

War between  
the king of  
Denmark and  
the hans-  
towns.

The senate of  
Lubec sue for  
peace.

The Swedes  
are declared  
rebels to the  
king of Den-  
mark.

same time declared for himself, that his finances were by no means equal to his zeal, and therefore counselled the legate to address himself to the *Germanic* body. a

*RAYMOND*, in all probability, followed his advice, and was amused with some promises by the princes and towns; for the electors engaged in an association at *Gelnhausen*, obliging themselves to furnish a certain proportion of troops to march against the infidels; and they wrote to the kings of *France*, *Spain*, and *Denmark*, inviting them to join in the alliance. At the same time they represented to the emperor, that the erection of the aulic council lately established at *Ratisbon*, was contrary to the laws of the *Germanic* body, as the princes of the empire had never consented to the establishment of that tribunal, which greatly interfered with the authority of the imperial chamber. *Maximilian* however, paid little regard to these remonstrances, which were next year repeated in an assembly at *Frank-* b  
*fort*; and the princes, on the other hand, lent a deaf ear to his intreaties, when he solicited them to admit his son *Philip* into the electoral college. His design was to erect *Austria* into an electorate; but failing in that enterprize, he resolved to invest the sovereign of that province with prerogatives that would as conspicuously distinguish him from the other princes. He began by confirming the title of archduke, which had been conferred upon him by *Frederic III.* Then he decreed, that the archduke, after having three times demanded his fief of the emperor, should be deemed to have obtained it, even though it had been refused; that he should receive it with the sword only, and that *gratis*, on the frontiers of *Austria*; and that he should not be obliged to answer any challenge to single combat. The electors, in order to counterbalance these privileges, which they did not approve, re- c  
newed their association of *Gelnhausen*, engaging to assist each other reciprocally against all violence, to maintain their rights in the election of an emperor, or king of the *Romans*; to oppose every attempt to diminish the authority of the *Germanic* body; and to appear every two years, personally, at an appointed time and place, to deliberate upon the affairs of the empire.

AFTER this diet *Maximilian* concluded a league of friendship and commerce with *Henry VII.* king of *England*, who, tho' he refused to lend the emperor the sum he wanted to borrow, presented him with ten thousand pounds, as a contribution against the *Turks*; and about this period he was informed that *Joachim*, margrave of *Brandenburg*, had married *Elizabeth* princess of *Denmark*, and engaged to assist *John* king of that country against d  
*Lubec* and the other hans-towns of the north, which had declared for the administrator of *Sweden* against the sovereign of *Denmark*. But before he denounced war, he endeavoured to detach the regency of *Lubec* from the *Swedes*, by representing, that this people had shaken off the dominion of *Denmark*, in diametrical opposition to the treaty of *Colmar*, by which the three kingdoms were united under one sovereign; and that *Suante-Sture*, the administrator, had not only made an attempt upon the life of the king, but also detained the queen prisoner, contrary to his own promise, and all the laws of hospitality.

THE inhabitants of *Lubec* paying no regard to these remonstrances, *John* threatened to deprive them of their privileges, and, in the mean time, made prize of their ships and vessels, a circumstance which incensed them to such a degree, that they declared war against Den- e  
*mark*, and fitted out a powerful squadron to annoy the *Danes* by sea. The administrator of *Sweden* made preparations for co-operating with these allies, and the whole north was on the eve of being involved in war; when *Raymond*, the pope's legate, at that time employed in preaching the crusade through the provinces of *Germany*, used his best endeavours for disposing the parties to an accommodation: the queen of *Denmark* was released, and conferences were opened; but before they could agree about the articles, *Suante-Sture* died, and was succeeded by his son *Steno*. The senate of *Lubec* having, about this time, intailed upon themselves a war with the duke of *Mecklenburg*, and terrified at the prospect of falling a sacrifice to two such powerful enemies, sent ambassadors to his *Danish* majesty, to sue for peace, which was granted on pretty equitable conditions. f

*JOHN* being now at liberty to prosecute the war against *Sweden* with his whole force, the administrator, by the intercession of the envoys of *Scotland* and *Brandenburg*, obtained his consent to the opening of conferences at *Colmar*, where the *Swedes* refusing to appear, were convicted of rebellion, the administrator declared a traitor, deprived of his nobility, and his estate confiscated; and this sentence, being confirmed by *Maximilian*, was published through the whole empire.

THIS confirmation being obtained, the king of *Denmark* confiscated all the estates belonging to the *Swedish* noblemen in *Denmark* and *Norway*, and gave the hans-towns to understand, that, should they continue to trade with *Sweden*, or assist that kingdom in any shape whatsoever, he would revoke all the privileges granted by his predecessors to their ships in the ports of *Denmark*.



<sup>a</sup> THE *Swedes*, alarmed at the emperor's decree, as well as at his *Danish* majesty's resolution, sent ambassadors to *Copenhagen* to sue for peace; but, as they had already deceived the king, all they could obtain was a short suspension of arms<sup>s</sup>.

<sup>b</sup> DURING these commotions, there was such a formidable insurrection among the peasants in *Germany*, that it was found necessary to raise a strong army, in order to bring them to reason; for they had resolved, like the *Swiss*, to shake off the yoke of their masters, and live independent, in the form of a republic<sup>t</sup>. Scarce was this disturbance quelled, when a new war broke out in the empire. *George de Rich*, duke of *Bavaria*, of the branch of *Landshut*, had made his will in favour of his son-in-law *Rupert*, count *Palatine*, son of *Philip* the elector; and tho' he could not prevail upon the emperor to confirm this disposition, he had, some time before his death, not only bestowed the vicariate of the *Lower Bavaria* upon *Rupert*, but also laid injunctions upon the states of these provinces to obey that prince. At his death, *Albert* and *Wolfgang*, dukes of *High Bavaria*, his nearest relations of the branch of *Munich*, had obtained the investiture of his dominions. *Rupert* pretended to the succession in consequence of the will, as husband of *Elizabeth*, daughter of duke *George*, and because the greatest part of the fiefs were allodial. *Albert* and *Wolfgang*, on their side, affirmed, that the will of *George* was contrary to the antient treaties of the family, by which it was stipulated, that if any prince of the house of *Bavaria* should die without male issue, the nearest relation of the collateral line should succeed to his dominions. This affair was brought before the emperor, who adjudged the succession to collateral heirs, and *Rupert*, refusing to abide by that sentence, was put to the ban of the empire. His father *Philip*, who was threatened with the same penalty, provided he should espouse the cause of *Rupert*, hesitated some time between his fear and paternal affection; at length, however, being encouraged with promises of succour from *France*, he armed for the support of his son, and underwent the same punishment from *Maximilian*. Armies on both sides immediately took the field: the emperor, who commanded the first, was accompanied by *Albert* and *Wolfgang*, dukes of *Bavaria*, *Frederic* margrave of *Brandenburg*, and the bishop of *Strasburg*; and invading the territories of duke *George*, committed great ravages, took possession of divers cities, and meeting with a body of troops which *Rupert* had levied in *Bohemia*, cut them in pieces near *Ratisbon*. After this action, *Maximilian* divided his forces, one half of which had orders to attack the territories of *Rupert*, while the other, headed by the emperor himself, marched towards *Alsace* against the elector *Philip*, took possession of several places in the *Palatinate*, among others *Kuffstein*, and *Geroldsecke*, and compelled the elector to sue for peace. *Udalrich* duke of *Wurtemberg*, who was at the head of a second army, composed of twenty thousand foot and eight hundred horse, entered the dominions of the count *Palatine*, burned the monastery of *Maulbrunnen*, and took possession of several places. A third body, which had been raised by *Alexander* count *Palatine*, duke of *Bavaria*, and count of *Weldentz*, was no other than a number of peasants assembled in a hurry, and much better adapted for plundering and ravaging the country, than for carrying on a regular war. These, however, he sent into the *Palatinate*, some towns of which fell into their hands: but the greatest excesses were committed by the fourth corps, which destroyed with fire and sword<sup>u</sup>, under the conduct of *William* landgrave of *Hesse*, accompanied by *Henry* duke of *Brunswick*, *Henry* duke of *Mecklenburg*, *Emien* count of *Leinengen*, the counts of *Lippe* and *Koningstein*, and several other noblemen, some of whom had voluntarily taken arms, out of hatred to the elector of *Palatine*, while others engaged with a view to support some particular pretensions, and a third fort embraced the service for payment and promotion.

<sup>f</sup> DURING these operations, the elector *Philip* retired to his fortress of *Heidelberg*, a place strong by its situation, defended by good walls and towers, difficult of access, and provided with a noble train of artillery. The town was likewise well fortified, supplied with provisions for three years, and the garrison composed of people determined to sacrifice themselves for the defence of their prince.

<sup>g</sup> THIS invasion of the *Palatinate* lasted five months, at the end of which *Rupert* dying, the emperor ordered both parties to lay down their arms; and that no person might have cause to complain that his rights were invaded, issued orders for convoking a diet at *Cologne*, where the pretensions on both sides should be heard and considered, and a definitive sentence pronounced by the princes of the empire. The elector *Palatine* repaired to this diet, and was by *Frederic* elector of *Saxony* presented to the emperor, of whom he asked pardon, and intreated peace. *Maximilian* received him into favour, and, with the advice of the princes of the empire, regulated the conditions of the treaty between *Philip* and the dukes of *Bavaria*. In this accommodation regard was had to the children of *Rupert*, who, besides the treasures of duke *George*, were left in possession of the territories lying between

An insurrection of the peasants.

Rupert count Palatine put to the ban of the empire.

The emperor takes the field against him and his father Philip.

Terrible ravages committed.

Rupert dies; and the difference referred to the decision of a diet. A. D. 1552

<sup>s</sup> BARRE, tom. viii. p. 808. <sup>t</sup> SUR. in comment. Basil. in supplem. in NAUCLER. <sup>u</sup> SPONDAN. Contin. BARRE, tom. ii. p. 797.



the *Danube*, the *Nab*, and the antient limits of the *Palatinate*. His other dominions were given to *Albert* and *Wolfgang*; the old quarrel between the elector *Palatine* and the duke of *Wirtemberg* was compromised, and as it was stipulated in the treaty, that each should remain in possession of the lands and places which he had acquired during the war, the emperor remained master of the fortresses of *Rottenberg*, *Kuffstein*, and several other towns. Yet the articles of this peace were not fully executed till two years after this period, in the diet which was held at *Constance* <sup>x</sup>.

Confirmation  
of the treaty  
of Blois.

It was now that the treaty of *Blois* was concluded, and confirmed the alliance before projected between *France* and *Austria*; an alliance by which, indeed, *Lewis XII.* acquired the investiture of *Milan*, but importing, at the same time, that in case *Lewis* should prevent the stipulated marriage between the princess *Claudia* and the archduke *Charles* of *Luxemburg*, this prince should, by way of indemnification, possess the duchy of *Burgundy*, the *Milanese*, and the county of *Asti*; whereas, should the match miscarry through the fault of *Maximilian*, or of *Philip* prince of *Spain*, the young archduke's father, the house of *Austria* should cede her pretensions to the duchy of *Burgundy*, the *Artois*, *Charolois*, and other domains; so that this, at any rate, was a very impolitic agreement in *Lewis*; for by giving his daughter in marriage to *Charles*, he gave away *Brittany* as her dowry; and, by refusing the match, he lost the duchy of *Burgundy*, and his *Italian* fiefs. But this treaty was opposed by the states of *France*, with the private consent and approbation of *Lewis*, and the princess given in marriage to *Charles* count of *Angoulesme*, presumptive heir to the crown.

Which is in-  
fringed by the  
French.  
A. D. 1506.

DURING these transactions *Isabella* queen of *Castile* dying, after having left her dominions to her husband *Ferdinand*, *Philip* of *Austria* repaired to *Spain* with his wife *Jane*, in order to reign in conjunction with his father-in-law. Pope *Julius II.* who succeeded *Alexander*, made himself master of *Bologna*, with the assistance of *Lewis* and cardinal *d'Amboise*, and projected schemes for raising a new sovereignty by force of arms.

Philip dies,  
having ap-  
pointed *Lewis XII.* tutor to  
his son  
*Charles*.  
A. D. 1507.

MEAN while *Philip*, titular king of *Spain*, was overtaken by death at *Burgos*, and, to the astonishment of all mankind, appointed *Lewis XII.* tutor to his son *Charles*, notwithstanding the reason he had to doubt the friendship and integrity of that monarch; but this step was the consequence of the hatred he bore to *Ferdinand*, whom he looked upon as a perfidious hypocrite; and he knew that the *Flemings* would never own the emperor as regent during his son's minority.

Maximilian  
appoints his  
daughter *Margaret* gover-  
nante of the  
Low Coun-  
tries.

NEVERTHELESS the seventeen provinces, though they chose their own governors for the space of eighteen months, finding themselves involved in a war with *Charles* duke of *Guelderland*, who made great efforts to recover the whole extent of his dominions, were at length obliged to yield the regency to *Maximilian*, who declared his daughter *Margaret* of *Austria* their governante <sup>y</sup>.

THOUGH the emperor had made a very good accommodation with the king of *France*, with regard to *Milan*, he could not forget the outrage which he thought he had received from the *Venetians*, by the part they acted in that affair; besides, they possessed lands in *Istria*, to which he had pretensions. He therefore convoked a diet, where, though under another pretext, it was resolved to declare war against the republic and her adherents <sup>z</sup>; and in order to execute this design the more effectually, he engaged in a league with pope *Julius II.* and the kings of *France* and *Spain*, who could not without regret behold the *Venetians* in peaceable possession of several cities in the duchy of *Milan*, and in other parts of *Lombardy*, to which they had no other right than that of conquest. But, before this alliance was made, *Maximilian* undertook an expedition into *Italy*, in order to oppose the progress of *Lewis*, who was suspected of a design to enslave that country; he accordingly began his march with a contemptible number of troops, and was by the *Venetians* refused a passage through the valley of *Trent*; so that he was obliged to desist from his enterprize, after having sustained considerable loss in an engagement with *Bartolomeo d'Alviano*, the general of the republic. Thus baffled, he was fain to conclude a truce; and, as he was disappointed in the other part of his design, which was his coronation at *Rome*, he, by a circular letter, laid injunctions upon all the states of the empire, to give him the appellation of *Roman emperor elected*, a title which hath since been assumed by all his successors, at their election, in consequence, however, of the pope's permission.

Maximilian  
concludes a  
treaty of truce  
with the Ve-  
netians.

As the *French* troops, which had joined the *Venetians*, refused to act offensively against the dominions of the emperor, the state of *Venice* were fain to listen to the proposals of *Maximilian*, and open a congress at their city, where, after abundance of altercation and political craft exercised on both sides, a separate treaty of truce was concluded between *Maximilian* and the *Venetians*, to which *Lewis XII.* had liberty of accession for the space of three months. The *French* king was so incensed at this exclusive accommodation, that, with the help of cardinal *d'Amboise*, he formed the project of a league against the *Venetians*, in order

<sup>x</sup> HEISS Hist. de l'Emp. l. ii. c. 3.  
Chron. Spanheim.

<sup>y</sup> Annal. de l'Empire, tom. ii. p. 567.

<sup>z</sup> TRITHEM. in



a to divest the republic of all the dominions she had usurped in *Italy* from the empire in *Lombardy*, from the kings of *France* and *Spain* in the *Milanese* and *Apuglia*, and from the pope in *Romagna*. This scheme was particularly relished by the emperor, as it not only flattered his interest, but also his revenge; for the *Venetians*, immediately after the truce they had concluded with him, decreed a triumph to their general who had defeated his troops; an impolitic compliment, which he looked upon as an indelible affront offered to his reputation. He therefore entered into the association, which was effected by the treaty of *Cambray*, concerted between *Margaret* duchess-dowager of *Savoy*, sister of the deceased archduke, and cardinal *d'Amboise*, who met at that place, on pretence of terminating the difference between *Charles* the emperor's grandson and the duke of *Guelderland* <sup>a</sup> (I.).

The treaty of Cambray concluded against the Venetians. A. D. 1508.

b THIS league was attended with all the success that could be expected; for the emperor and the king of *France* wrested from the *Venetians* almost all the cities which they possessed in *Lombardy*; nor was the pope backward in taking all that lay convenient for his purpose. In a word, the *Venetians* thought themselves so little able to withstand this alliance, that they abandoned all their territories upon the continent, after having lost the famous battle of *Ghiera d'Adda*, in which their whole infantry was cut in pieces <sup>b</sup>. While the *French* troops, under the marshal *de Chaumont*, reduced one town after another, *Maximilian* advanced at the head of his army towards *Innsbruck*, in order to attack the *Venetians*; and *Christopher* count *Frangipani*, with the duke of *Brunswic*, who commanded the light troops, entering *Istria* and *Friuli*, retook all the places which had been lost the preceding year. The

The Venetians are defeated, and abandon the continent. A. D. 1509.

c *Venetians* were now reduced to such extremity, that they sent a *charte blanche* to the emperor, and implored his clemency in the most submissive and pathetic terms. But the effects of his compassion in favour of the republic were prevented by the remonstrances of cardinal *d'Amboise*, who exhorted him to seize this opportunity of reducing this insolent state; and, in all probability, it would now have been enslaved, had not the measures of the *French* and *Germans* been traversed by the king of *Arragon* and the pope, who would by no means concur in the ruin of the only power which had hitherto hindered these nations from subduing all *Italy* <sup>c</sup>.

They send a charte-blanche to the emperor.

d MEAN while *Maximilian* repaired to *Trent*, accompanied by the cardinal, who there received the investiture of *Milan* in the name of *Lewis XII*. The league of *Cambray* was likewise renewed; and an interview proposed between the emperor and the *French* king on the frontiers of the *Milanese*. *Lewis* kept the appointment; but *Maximilian* sent an excuse: then the king of *France* repassed the *Alps* with part of his army, leaving the rest under the command of *Chaumont*.

Cardinal d'Amboise receives the investiture of Milan in the name of Lewis XII.

e HE was no sooner gone than the *Venetians* felt their courage revive. They surprised *Padua*, and retook several other places garrisoned by the troops of the emperor, who, being informed of these transactions, solicited succours of his allies, and they reinforced him so effectually, that he found himself at the head of fourscore thousand men, with whom he entered *Lombardy* by the mountains of *Vicenza*, in spite of an obstinate opposition he sustained from the peasants, who were devoted to the *Venetians*, and besieged *Padua*, which was defended so gallantly, that he was fain to abandon the enterprize and retreat to *Innsbruck*.

The emperor invests Padua; but is obliged to raise the siege.

THE *Florentines*, knowing that his finances were quite exhausted, took this opportunity of buying their peace with him; and, in consideration of forty thousand crowns of gold, he

He confirms the privileges of Florence.

<sup>a</sup> Mez. Abr. Chron. tom. ii. p. 814.

<sup>b</sup> GUICCIARDINI, lib. viii.

<sup>c</sup> MARIANA, lib. xxix. p. 83.

(L) The treaty or league of *Cambray* consisted of these articles. The pope, emperor, kings of *France* and *Arragon*, shall mutually assist one another in recovering the places and dominions which the *Venetians* had usurped or wrested from them. *Ravenna*, *Cervia*, *Faenza*, *Rimini*, *Imola*, and *Cesena*, shall be restored to the pope. *Roveroda*, *Verona*, *Padua*, *Vicenza*, *Trevisa*, and the *Frioul*, shall return to the emperor. The king of *France* shall retrieve *Brescia*, *Crema*, *Bergamo*, *Cremona*, *Gieradadda*, and all the antient dependencies of the duchy of *Milan*. The king of *Arragon* shall be put in possession of *Trani*, *Brindisi*, *Otranto*, *Gallipoli*, and all the ports which the *Venetians* occupy in the kingdom of *Naples*. Because the emperor is bound by a truce for three years with the *Venetians*, the pope, in order to furnish him with a pretence for breaking that treaty, shall summon him as avoyer of the *Roman* church, to come and assist him in recovering the dominions of the holy see. While the three princes shall attack the republic with temporal arms, his holiness shall press them to restore what they have usurped, on pain of excom-

munication. The kings of *Hungary* and *England*, the dukes of *Savoy* and *Ferrara*, and the marquis of *Mantua*, shall be exhorted to engage in this league. During this war, neither the emperor, nor his grandson the prince of *Spain*, shall in any shape molest the king of *Arragon*, with respect to their pretensions to *Castile*. *Maximilian* shall again bestow upon *Lewis XII*. the investiture of the duchy of *Milan*, in which *Brescia*, *Bergamo*, and all the other dependencies of the *Milanese* shall be included. If the republic shall have recourse to the *Turks* for succours, the confederates shall redouble their efforts, and the association shall thenceforward be regarded as a league against the infidels. None of the confederates shall make peace or truce with the enemy, without the concurrence of the rest: and, in order to prevent the differences subsisting between the emperor and the king of *Arragon*, touching the possession of *Castile*, from obstructing the enterprizes of the league, commissaries shall be appointed on both sides to terminate these disputes in an amicable manner, as soon as the war against the *Venetians* shall be finished (9).

(9) Ser. l'Hist. de la Ligue de Cambray, 2 vol. in 12mo. Paris, 1709. tom. i. lib. i. p. 50.



not only granted them an amnesty of all their revolts, but even confirmed their privileges <sup>a</sup> in the most ample form <sup>d</sup>.

The republic of *Venice* soon retrieved its loss, and became more powerful than ever; for, when their arms failed, they had recourse to their policy, reconciled themselves to the court of *Rome*, and effected a breach between the king of *France* and the pope, who now openly espoused their cause.

The pope makes unsuccessful efforts as mediator between the emperor and the Venetians.

*JULIUS*, in order to weaken *Lewis*, counselled the *Venetians* to accommodate matters with the emperor, and he himself undertook the office of mediator. The conferences were opened in a commanderie, near *Scala*; and the republic, conscious of *Maximilian's* avarice and poverty, offered not only to reimburse him for the expence of the war which he had incurred, but also to pay him a sum of money equivalent to what *France* had expended on <sup>b</sup> the same occasion. But, as they refused to part with *Padua*, *Treviso*, and *Vicenza*, he rejected their proposals, and made a merit of having manifested this disinterested conduct with the diet assembled at *Augsburg*, which approved of his intention to re-establish the authority of the empire in *Italy* (M), and promised to support him in the execution of that design, towards which he borrowed one hundred and fifty thousand crowns of the king of *France*, upon a mortgage of the town of *Wallegio*.

A. D. 1510. The armies of the emperor and of France take the field.

Then he regulated with *Lewis* the operations of the ensuing campaign, and having, without effect, demanded succours of the king of *Arragon* and the pope, as his confederates, he appointed the count *de Hanau* his general in *Italy*, and ordered a body of troops to assemble in the neighbourhood of *Verona*. There being joined by the *French* under the marshal *de Chaumont*, they passed the *Po* and the *Adige*, and took *Vicenza*, which the inhabitants redeemed from pillage. In a word, they reduced a great number of places, and filled the whole country with carnage and consternation; but *Chaumont* refused to assist the *Germans* in the siege of *Padua*, and a misunderstanding happening between *Maximilian* and *Lewis*, it was thought necessary to confirm their league by a new treaty, in consequence of which the armies acted with more vigour and unanimity. <sup>c</sup>

*MAXIMILIAN* was now so well convinced of the *French* king's sincerity and affection, that he submitted his disputes with *Ferdinand* to his arbitration. This prince had, by the intrigues of cardinal *Ximenes*, secured himself in the possession of the whole kingdom, and the emperor had no friends in *Spain* but a few noblemen who were dissatisfied at the administration. Nevertheless, *Ferdinand* agreed that the king of *France* should be umpire of the contest, which he terminated in an amicable manner; pronouncing that the king of *Arragon* should govern *Castile* until the archduke *Charles* should have attained his twentieth year; that this young prince should not assume the title of king till the death of his mother; and that the male children which *Ferdinand* might have by his second marriage should have no pretensions to the kingdom of *Castile*. <sup>d</sup>

The pope declares war against Lewis and the duke of Ferrara.

By this arbitration *Lewis* thought to have attached *Ferdinand* to his interest, or at least to have hindered him from joining the pope against the *French* nation. But he was deceived: the king of *Arragon* had already concluded a secret treaty with *Julius*, who bestowed upon him the investiture of the kingdom of *Naples*, and afterwards declared war against *Lewis*, on pretence of his having refused to cede some towns, to which the holy see had some pretensions; and the duke of *Ferrara*, as the *French* king's ally, was included in this declaration. <sup>e</sup>

*LEWIS*, incensed at his presumption, as well as alarmed at his preparations, and attempts to turn upon him those arms that were intended to check the progress of the *Turks*, allied himself still more strongly to *Maximilian* by a new treaty, concluded at *Blois*, and convoked an assembly of the clergy, to inquire how far he ought to respect the spiritual power of the church, which the pope exercised so unjustly. The assembly declared, that if the pope should unjustly attack any Christian prince in his temporalities, he might in consequence defend them by force of arms; that *Lewis* might, on this occasion, re-establish the pragmatic sanction, and insist upon the common rights of mankind, according to the decrees of the council of *Basil*. <sup>f</sup>

Maximilian forms a design of succeeding Julius in the papacy.

This declaration was equally agreeable to the *French* king and *Maximilian*, who had projected a scheme for calling a general council to try and depose *Julius*, whom he himself meant to succeed in the papacy. In order to accomplish this aim, he resolved to borrow a large sum of money from the *Fuggers*, who were the richest merchants in all *Germany*, to

<sup>a</sup> BRUT. Florentin. Hist. l. i.

(M) It was in this assembly that *Hamburg* was anew declared a free imperial town, independent of the house of *Oldenburg*, the pretensions of which were referred to the decision of the imperial chamber. This event was the more remarkable, as the city of *Hamburg* had, for three hundred years, disputed the sovereignty of its territory with the kings of *Denmark* and the counts of *Schaumbourg* (10).

(10) Dumont. Corp. Dipl. tom. iv. part i.



a buy the votes of the cardinals; and he proposed to pawn his imperial ornaments, and to make over to these traders one third of the revenues of the holy see, until the whole debt should be liquidated.

THIS scheme, however, he kept very secret from every body but a few particular friends; though that he intended to put it in execution appears from some of his own letters (N).

MEAN while the pope proceeded to hostilities against the duke of *Ferrara*, and, being joined by troops from *Naples*, made a very considerable progress, though he ran the risk of having his person seized, first by *Chaumont*, and afterwards by the chevalier *Bayard*.

b THE emperor and the king of *France* sent ambassadors to *Burgos*, to complain of *Ferdinand's* having infringed the league of *Cambray*, and to exhort him to join for the convocation of a council: but that prince, jealous of their power, and dreading their influence in *Italy*, answered very coldly on both these subjects; though he privately employed all his endeavours to detach *Maximilian* from the interests of *Lewis*, which he demonstrated to be incompatible with those of the emperor. These suggestions had great weight with *Maximilian*, who was persuaded to leave his cause to the determination of a general assembly to be held at *Mantua*, and he intreated the king of *France* to send a minister to that congress. Though *Lewis* was very much chagrined to find his ally amused by such an expedient, in the midst of their conquests in *Italy*, he did not think proper to signify his disgust, by which means he might entail the whole burden of the war upon himself, but sent the bishop of *Paris* to *Mantua*, where he found *Matthew Langh*, bishop of *Gurck*, the emperor's plenipotentiary, accompanied by the ambassadors of *Ferdinand*.

The emperor and the French king make remonstrances to Ferdinand king of Arragon.

c *JULIUS*, who was then at *Ravenna*, being desirous of founding the bishop of *Gurck*; and, if possible, of winning him over to his interest, found means, by his emissaries, to induce that prelate to visit him at *Bologna*, where he employed all his artifice to engage him in his interest, and even cajoled him with the promise of a cardinal's hat; but he found *Langh* unshaken and incorruptible: and while he amused him with conferences touching a general pacification, attempted to surprise *Genoa*, whither he sent the bishop of *Ventimiglia* in disguise. This prelate, however, was discovered in driving a troop of oxen, and all his accomplices put to death. The bishop of *Gurck*, incensed at this perfidy, broke up the congress at *Mantua*, while *Lewis* pursued his advantages in *Italy*.

d THIS fruitless effort, however, was succeeded by a council at *Pisa*, convoked at the desire of the *French* king, under the protection of the emperor, though *Maximilian* did not send thither any ambassador, nor did any *German* bishop assist at the assembly. Indeed by this time the emperor was greatly cooled in his friendship for *Lewis*, who, tho' he perceived his indifference, still dreaded the thought of seeing him among the number of his enemies; and therefore not only overlooked his neglect, but cultivated his good graces with the utmost assiduity; for, while *Ferdinand* pulled off the mask, by sending troops to *Naples*, in order to hinder an exclusive accommodation between *France* and the pope, *Lewis* engaged in a new treaty with the emperor, and sent his general *la Palice*, with a body of forces, to join the imperial troops, and implicitly obey the commands of *Maximilian*, who would not head the army in person, but reinforced the *French* general with nine thousand men, and desired him to dislodge the *Venetians* from the strong posts which they occupied. In obedience to these orders, he attacked and routed the enemy, compelled the towns of the *Friuli* to submit, made himself master of the *Graditz*, and reduced *Castel Novo* for the benefit of the emperor, who, notwithstanding these conquests, seemed to be still dissatisfied, because he would not undertake to besiege *Trevisa* with such a small army, but retired into the duchy of *Milan*.

A council at Pisa. A. D. 1511.

A. D. 1512. Lewis sends a body of troops under la Palice to obey the emperor.

f THE kings of *England* and *Arragon*, taking advantage of his discontent, strongly solicited him to join in the league which they had concluded against *France*; and in the mean time negotiated a truce for ten months between him and the republic of *Venice*, and promised to furnish him with troops and money to conquer the *Milanese*, and subdue the duke of *Guelderland*.

The kings of England and Arragon endeavour to detach Maximilian from the interest of Lewis.

\* MARIAN. lib. xxix. n. 83.

(N) In the collection published by Mr. Godefroi, we find a letter of *Maximilian*, writ in these words: "Quod, quando ipse intelligis, ingenti pecuniæ summa quæ impendenda erit, geri atque effici non posse, visum nobis est e re fore nostri propositi, ut cardinalibus & proceribus aliis Romanis quos ad res nostras pertrahere satagimus, polliceamur, ac spondeamur ter centum millia ducatorum a Fuggeris mutuandorum & Romæ

" ab eorundem pannelcha ad constitutum diem præsentandorum. . . . Oppignerabimus autem illi (Jacobus Fuggero seniori) clenodiorum nostrorum pretiosiores quatuor cistas, unâ pariter cum pallio investiturali quæ non ad imperium, sed ad nostram domum Austriacam pertinet, et cujus nos, post adeptum papatum, non amplius erit, ut opus habeamus." &c. (11).

(11) Lettres de Louis XII. p. 326, tom. iii. & pt. i. tom. iv.



Lewis for-  
saken by his  
allies.

A. D. 1512.  
Ferdinand of  
Spain seizes  
the kingdom of  
Navarre.

The pope con-  
fers on the  
Swiss the title  
of Defenders  
of the Holy  
Sec.

A congress  
opened at  
Rome.

The emperor's  
minister sol-  
licits the pope  
to take Maxi-  
milian as his  
coadjutor.

STAGGERED by these insinuations, he industriously sought occasion to break with *France*: he loudly complained that he had reaped no advantage from the league of *Cambray*; that of the three towns to which he had an incontestable right, *Trevisa* and *Padua* were still in the hands of the *Venetians*. while *Verona* was mortgaged to the king of *France*. He demanded that these places should be conquered for him at the expence of *Lewis*; that *Renea*, the second daughter of *France*, should marry the infant *Ferdinand*, younger brother to the archduke *Charles*; and that *Burgundy* should be dismembered from *France*, as her dowry. The meaning of these and other extravagant proposals was plainly discerned by *Lewis*, who thought fit to temporize, and endeavour to amuse *Maximilian* with a subsidy of fifty thousand crowns; notwithstanding which, this prince engaged in the league against *France*<sup>f</sup>; so that *Lewis* was left alone to sustain the burden of the war. Even then he made a strong effort, and set on foot a powerful army, the command of which was given to *Gaston de Foix*, who, upon *Easter-day*, obtained a signal victory over the confederates near *Ravenna*; but it cost him so dear, that the affairs of *France* were in as bad a situation as if he had lost the battle, and, to crown the misfortune, the *English* at that time declared against *Lewis*, who, being obliged to quit all his advantages on this side, in order to defend his own dominions, *Milan*, and all that he had conquered in *Italy*, fell a prey to his enemies.

*FERDINAND*, taking the advantage of this conjuncture, wrested the kingdom of *Navarre* from *John* of the house of *Albret*, its lawful possessor, and afterwards endeavoured to find out a title to defend his usurpation. All his right, however, consisted in a pretended bull, which the pope had unjustly fulminated against *John*, on account of his adherence to the king of *France*, whom *Julius* had also excommunicated; and even this slender pretence was an authority *ex post facto*; for the invasion happened in *June*, and the bull was not published till *July*.

THE condition of *Lewis XII.* was now really deplorable: for though he found means to make peace with the *Venetians*, he was invaded on one side by the *Swiss*, and on the other by the *English*, who had denounced war against him, at the instigation of *Ferdinand*, and who were joined in *Picardy* by the forces of *Maximilian*, where they obtained a victory over the *French*, well known by the name of the battle of the spurs<sup>h</sup>.

THE success of the confederates was in a great measure owing to a reinforcement of *Swiss* that joined the *Venetians*, and were for this service complimented by the pope with the title of *Defenders of the Holy See*: but the emperor gained very little by their good fortune; for the allies became jealous of his power, and resolved, at all events, to exclude him from the possession of the *Milanese*, which he destined as an establishment for his grandson *Ferdinand*.

IN vain did the bishop of *Gurck*, at an assembly held in *Mantua*, display his master's pretensions to that duchy; the pope's deputies and the *Swiss* insisted upon its being restored to the family of the *Sforzas*; and, after much altercation and debate, it was agreed that *Maximilian Sforza* should receive the investiture. But other disputes still remaining between the emperor and the *Venetians*, as well as between the pope and the emperor, touching the possession of those towns which they had severally conquered during the war, a congress was opened at *Rome*, to terminate these conquests. The towns subdued by the pope in the exarchate of *Ravenna* remained in possession of the holy see, qualified by a clause in these words, *without prejudice to the rights of the empire*. But the *Venetians* refusing to do homage to the emperor for *Padua*, *Trevisa*, *Brescia*, *Bergamo*, and *Crema*, and insisting upon his restoring the places he had conquered in their dominions, the pope declared against them, and entered into an association with *Maximilian*, whom he undertook to assist with spiritual as well as temporal arms. This affair being settled, the bishop of *Gurck* imparted to *Julius* his master's design with respect to the papacy, and intreated his holiness to take that prince as his coadjutor; but this proposal the pope absolutely rejected, although the king of *Arragon* had promised to support *Maximilian's* pretensions: nor could a sufficient party be made among the cardinals to ensure his succession<sup>i</sup> (O).

JULIUS

<sup>f</sup> GUICC. l. x. p. 973.  
Chron. tom. ii. p. 827.

<sup>g</sup> GUICC. l. xi. MARIANA, l. xxx. c. 8. POLYD. l. xxvii.  
<sup>i</sup> MARIAN. lib. l. c. 3.

<sup>h</sup> MEZ. abreg.

(O) There is a letter preserved in *Godefroi's* collection, from the emperor to his daughter *Margaret*, in these terms:

“ Tres-chiere, & tres-aimée fille, Je' entendu l'avis que vous m'avez donné par *Guyllam Pengun*, notre garderober vyess, dont nous avons encore mius pensé desus.

“ Et ne trouvons point pour nulle resun bon, que nous

“ nous devons franchement marier, maes avons plus avant mys notre deliberation & volonté de jamés plus hanter faem nue.

“ Et envoyons demain Mons. de *Gurce* evesque a Rome devers le pape, pour trouver fachen que nous puyssins accorder, avec ly de nous prendre pour ung coadjuteur, afin qu'après sa mort pouruns estre assuré de avoer le papat, & devenir prestre & après estre saint,



a JULIUS did not long survive this refusal, and was succeeded by the cardinal *de Medicis*, A. D. 1513: who assumed the name of *Leo X.* the great patron of the liberal arts and sciences.

b MEAN while the war continued in the north of *Germany*, between *John* king of *Denmark* and the hans towns, which supported the *Swedes* in their revolt: he solicited the assistance of the kings of *England* and *Scotland*, while the regency of *Lubec* implored the protection of the emperor, who had laid injunctions upon the princes of *Lower Saxony* to defend the hans towns against the king of *Denmark*; and at the same time forbade *John* to interrupt their commerce. His *Danish* majesty, however, without paying the least regard to the prohibition, equipped a powerful fleet, with which he made prize of their vessels, and they fitted out another, with which they alarmed and ravaged the coasts of his dominions. This piratical war continued near three years, until the regency of *Lubec*, finding themselves impoverished by the interruption of their trade, sued for peace, and the treaty was concluded at *Flensbourg*, in consequence of which the hans towns undertook to assist *John* in asserting his right to the crown of *Sweden*. But that monarch died soon after this pacification, and was succeeded by his son *Christian III* <sup>k</sup>.

War between the king of Denmark and the hans towns.

DURING these commotions in the north, the pope, the emperor, and the kings of *England* and *Aragon*, formed a league against *Lewis*, who makes peace with the *Venetians*, and reinforces their army; and the operations of war recommenced in *Italy*, while *Henry VIII.* of *England* made a descent in *Picardy*, and gained the battle of *Guinegate*, at which *Maximilian* served in his army as a volunteer, for one hundred crowns a day.

c THIS war continued till the death of *Lewis*, when *Francis I.* who succeeded him on the throne, found it his interest to make an accommodation with the emperor; and this he the more easily obtained, as the disturbances which at that time happened among several princes of the empire hindered *Maximilian* from bestowing his attention upon foreign affairs; and he was moreover solicitous about the settlement of his family, being then actually employed in a negotiation for matching the infant *Mary* his grand-daughter, with *Lewis*, eldest son of *Ladislaus* king of *Hungary* <sup>l</sup>. This marriage was accordingly solemnized at *Vienna*, and, as the parties were very young, the consummation was deferred until they should attain a riper age.

Francis I. makes peace with Maximilian. A. D. 1515.

d FRANCIS having established a good understanding with the emperor, he also concluded a treaty of peace with the *English* and the *Venetians*, and, thus secure from these quarters, he made preparations for re-conquering the *Milanese*, of which *Maximilian Sforza*, son of the late duke, had possessed himself, by the assistance of the *Swiss*. Having entered *Italy* with a powerful army, he gained some considerable advantages over the enemy; and meeting the *Swiss* army, which had come to the succour of the duke of *Milan*, gave them battle near *Marignan*. The engagement was very bloody, and so obstinate, that night alone could part the combatants. Next morning both sides returned to the charge, and fought with great fury, until the *Swiss*, hearing that the *Venetian* army was come to the assistance of the king, were so alarmed, that they began to give ground, and, in the confusion which necessarily ensued, were all cut in pieces. Next day after this victory, *Francis* attacked e and carried the city of *Milan*, but he would not make his entrance, until the duke, who had retired into the castle, should have surrendered and submitted to the laws of the conqueror. *Sforza* was accordingly obliged to renounce his duchy and title, in consideration of a sum of money and a pension for life, to be spent in *France*, or wheresoever the king should think fit to fix his residence. This treaty being signed, he evacuated the castle, and all opposition being now removed, *Francis* easily made himself master of that whole state <sup>m</sup>.

He defeats the Swiss at Marignan.

Recovers the Milanese.

By this rapidity of conquest, *Maximilian* was so much alarmed, that he resolved to stop his progress, and, for that purpose, to march into *Italy* with an army of thirty thousand men.

Makes an alliance with the pope

<sup>k</sup> HUITFELD Hist. Dan. tom. vii.

<sup>l</sup> DUBERAV. Rer. Boem. l. xxxii. Sambuc. in opp. ad Bonfin.

<sup>m</sup> GUICC. l. xii. BELCAR. l. xv. ANGEL. ep. 550, 555.

“ saint, & que yl vous sera de necessité que après ma mort vous serez contraint de me adorer, dont je me trouverée bien gloryoes.

“ Je envoie sur ce ung poste devers le roy d’*Aragon*, pour ly prier quy uous vouldre ayder pour à ce parvenir, dont yl est aussi content, moynant que resigne l’empire a notre comun fils *Charl.* de sela aussi je me suis contenté. Le peuple & gentilhomes de *Rom.* ont faet ung alliance contra les *Franchoes* & *Espaignos*, & sont xx. m. combatans, & nous ont mandé que il veolunt estre pour nous, pour nous faire ung papa à ma poste, & du l’empire d’*Almaigne*, & ne vouldut avoer ne *Francos*, *Arragones*, ne mains null *Venecien*.

“ Je commence aussi practiker les cardineaux; dont ij. C. ou iij. C. mylle ducas me ferunt un grand ser-

vice, aveque la partialite qui est déjà entre nos.

“ Le Roi d’*Aragon* a mandé à son ambaxadeur, que yl veult comander aux cardinaulx *Espaignos*, que yl veulent favoriser le papat à nous.

“ Je vous prie tenir cette matere empu secret, offi bien en briefs jours, je creins que yl fault que tout le monde le sache, car bien mal esti possible de practiker ung tel sy grand matere secretement, pour laquell yl fault avoer de tant de gens, & de argent succurs & pratike; & à Diu, faet de la main de votre bon pere *Maximilianus* futur pape, le xviii. jour de *Setembre*.

“ Le papa à encore les vyevers dubls, & ne peult longement fyvre. La suscription, à ma bonne fille l’archeduchesse d’*Ostrie*, douariere de *Savoye*, &c. en ses mains.”

Francis



*Francis*, that he might be the more able to sustain this storm, had recourse to the alliance of pope *Leo X.* with whom he had an interview at *Bologna*, where a treaty of peace was signed, and no sooner ratified, than the king gave the necessary orders for the defence of his *Milanese* conquest, and returned into *France*. The pope engaged in this league partly through fear of *Francis*, who, being victorious and formidable, was not to be refused, and partly because *Ferdinand* king of *Spain* being infirm, and *Charles* his grandson and heir apparent very young and unexperienced, he could not much depend upon them or their allies.

Maximilian  
invests the city  
of Milan.

ALL that the emperor could do when he arrived in *Lombardy*, was to besiege in the city of *Milan* the constable duke of *Bourbon*, whom *Francis I.* had left for the defence of his conquest, and who had abandoned the open fields to the emperor, and retired into the city. *Maximilian*, after having blocked the place for some weeks, began to be in want of provision. He also understood that *Ladislaus* king of *Hungary* was taken very ill, and that the *French* were reinforced by twelve thousand *Swiss*; for which reasons he interrupted his operations, raised the siege, and returned to *Germany* <sup>a</sup> (P). *Ferdinand* king of *Spain* dying about the same time, he found it necessary to send prince *Charles*, who was then in *Flanders*, to take possession of that kingdom, of which he was heir; and that he might have a free passage through *France*, *Maximilian* was advised to make peace with *Francis*, who, by the articles of the treaty, remained in the peaceable possession of his *Italian* conquest. In this treaty, which was concluded at *Noyon* between the king of *France* and prince *Charles*, it was stipulated, that this last should marry *Louisa*, the eldest daughter of *Francis*, or, she failing, the second, provided a second should be born; if this should not happen, he should espouse *Renee*, the queen's sister, whose dowry should be that part of the kingdom of *Naples* to which the king had pretensions, with a reversion in his favour in default of issue; that *Charles* should pay annually 100,000 crowns for the maintenance of the princess, and restore in six months *Navarre* to *Henry d'Albret*, otherwise the king should be at liberty to assist him <sup>c</sup>.

A. D. 1517.  
Accommodates  
matters with  
the king of  
France.

The origin of  
Luther's doc-  
trine.

In this place it will be necessary to mention the circumstance which gave rise to the reformation of *Luther*, which was attended with such considerable events through the whole empire of *Germany*. Pope *Leo X.* intending to finish the church of *St. Peter* at *Rome*, which was begun by his predecessor, and being in want of money for this purpose, as well as for defraying the expence of a war which he had projected against the *Turk*, he imagined that the readiest and surest expedient for raising contributions among the nations of *Christianity*, would be to grant plenary indulgences. He therefore sent his bulls to *Albert*, elector of *Mentz*, with orders to publish them in *Germany*; and that prelate appointed people to distribute the indulgences, and receive the money, while he laid injunctions on *John Chatel*, a *Dominican*, and inquisitor of the faith in *Germany*, and the brothers of his order, to preach up the merits of this contribution. The directors of this collection committed such abuses in distributing those remissions, and the *Dominicans* behaved with such excessive indiscretion in magnifying their power, that the whole empire was scandalized at their proceedings (Q). The *Augustines*, jealous of the honour conferred upon the order of *Dominicans*, who had been preferred to them on this occasion, and desirous of sharing in the profit of the contributions, openly declared themselves against their proceedings, and pretended to refute what they advanced, as the effect of extravagant and misguided zeal. *John Stulpitz*, vicar-general of the *Augustines*, being supported by the elector of *Saxony*, who had a particular regard for him, was the first who openly attacked the sermons of the *Dominicans*, and the abuses which were committed in the distribution of the indulgences. In or- <sup>d</sup>

John Stulpitz  
openly attacks  
the conduct of  
the Domini-  
cans, and  
chooses Luther  
for his col-  
league.

<sup>a</sup> GUICCI. ubi supra.    <sup>c</sup> MEZERAY Abregé Chronolog. tom. ii. p. 140.

(P) It was at this period that *Maximilian*, being in great want of money, began to cajole *Henry VIII.* of *England* with a promise of ceding the imperial throne in his favour, and actually desired the *English* ambassador to let his sovereign know, that *Maximilian* would assemble a diet at *Triers* to regulate this important affair, and that he would afterwards accompany *Henry* to *Rome*, where he should be crowned, and assist him in conquering the *Milanese*. *Henry* guessed the meaning of these advances, and remitted him a sum of money, in hope of one day profiting by his offers: but, when he afterwards proposed an interview with the emperor in the *Low Countries*, where this affair might be transacted, *Maximilian* declined the conference, and, after some evasive excuses, plainly told the *English* ambassadors, that he had resolved to raise his grandson *Charles* to the imperial throne (12).

(Q) This commission ought to have been granted to the *Augustines* of *Germany*, according to the convention which had been made among the four orders of mendicants. Notwithstanding which agreement, *Albert*, archbishop of *Mentz*, whether by his own authority, or by order of the pope, bestowed it upon the *Dominicans*. It was no longer a simple collection. Offices were every where set up, even in the houses of publicans, where the collectors consumed in debauchery a great part of the money produced from this traffick of the sacred treasures of the church. It was, moreover, well known, that the pope applied considerable sums of this money to his own particular occasions, his own finances being almost exhausted by the presents he had made to his relations and courtiers, and the pensions he bestowed on learned men (1).

(12) Lett. de Louis XII. tom. iv. p. 323.

(1) Remarq. sur Heiss, liv. iii. c. 3.



a der to fortify himself against such a strong party, he chose for his colleague *Martin Luther*, whom he looked upon to be the most capable of all the monks and doctors of the new university of *Wittenberg*, to which he belonged. Accordingly this new associate proposed abundance of theses, which he supported with great spirit and strength of argument against indulgences and the pope's authority; so that his doctrines were embraced by great numbers, and the other order immediately took the alarm. Nothing more was required to form two powerful factions. *John Thetzel*, in opposition to *Luther*, advanced other theses at *Frankfort* upon the *Order*, in defence of the pope and his proceedings, and carried things to such extremity, as to condemn, in quality of inquisitor, the writings of *Luther* to the flames. *Martin*, who was of a warm and enterprising temper, far from being intimidated by the conduct of the inquisitor, maintained a literary war against him, while his disciples b burned, in their turn, the writings of the *Dominican* at *Wittenberg*. Thus both parties were heated into the most virulent altercation, though neither, as yet, withdrew themselves from their obedience to the church of *Rome*. True it is, the *Dominicans* reinforced their side of the dispute with underhand negotiation, and strongly solicited the pope to condemn their antagonists. *Leo*, who could not refuse his protection to an order which had laboured so effectually, and with such fervour, in his interests, summoned *Luther* to appear at *Rome* in sixty days, to be tried by judges whom he appointed for the purpose. At the same time the *Dominicans* pressed the emperor to declare against their adversaries; but that prince was too busy in finishing his accommodation with *France*, to intermeddle in a business, which he considered as a petty quarrel among monks. The troubles of *Hungary* seemed c to him a matter of much more consequence, and indeed demanded his whole attention in settling those affairs that concerned the guardianship of king *Lewis*, who was at that time no more than ten years of age. Nevertheless, as soon as the emperor had terminated these two negotiations, he resolved not only to re-establish the tranquillity of the empire, which those religious disputes had begun to shake, but also to regulate the domestic concerns of his own family, as he perceived his strength beginning to decay.

*Pope Leo desires Luther to appear at Rome.*

WITH this double view he convoked a diet at *Augsburg*, where the first step he took, was to recommend his grandson *Charles* in the strongest manner to the electors, whom he cultivated with all sorts of good offices and marks of liberality, in order to engage them to choose that young prince for his successor in the empire. As the *Dominicans* gave him no d respite in the affair of *Luther*, he was obliged; in order to satisfy them, to summon *Martin* to appear at that diet; he even furnished him with a safe-conduct, without waiting for the answer of a letter, which at the beginning of that meeting, he had, with the advice of the states, writ to the pope, beseeching him to pronounce a definitive sentence, which was like to involve the empire in trouble and confusion. The elector of *Saxony*, and the university of *Wittenberg*, had also intreated his holiness to retract the citation which he had formerly sent to *Luther*, and to consent that the business should be transacted by cardinal *Cajetan*, who was at that time his legate in *Germany*, and actually present at the diet. *Luther* being thus excused from going to *Rome*, repaired to *Augsburg*, and presented himself before the cardinal, under favour of the emperor's safe-conduct. Then, instead of retracting, he undertook to defend the doctrines which he had advanced in his writings; but that his intentions might not be mistaken, he, in presence of witnesses, made a voluntary protestation before a notary, importing, that he would submit to the judgment of the church, refer himself to other universities, and retract his errors as soon as they should appear to his own conviction. The legate, however, still continuing to press him to a recantation, and even mixing threats with his remonstrances, *Luther* began to be afraid of being apprehended, and retired in the night, after having, by a writing fixed up in a public place, appealed from the legate to the pope. He at the same time wrote to *Leo*, complaining of the harsh usage he had received from the cardinal, who was justly accused of partiality in favour of the *Dominican* order, f to which he himself belonged.

*Maximilian desires the pope to pronounce sentence upon the affair of Luther.*

IN the mean time *Maximilian* canvassed for the election of his grandson *Charles*; but as there was no precedent for creating a king of the *Romans* before the emperor's coronation at *Rome*, the pope was solicited to send a legate into *Germany* with the crown, and other imperial ornaments, to perform that ceremony in the name of his holiness. Notwithstanding the intrigues of the king of *France* among the princes of the empire, as well as his efforts with the pope, whom he endeavoured to engage in an opposition to this election, by representing how formidable *Charles* must be, should he succeed to the imperial throne; I say, notwithstanding these endeavours, the emperor's proposal was not rejected, but, by a decree, postponed to the next diet of the empire. Some authors allege, that *Maximilian* at g

*The emperor proposes his grandson Charles for his successor.*

<sup>7</sup> Idem, p. 842. SPOND. Contin. BARON. tom. iii. p. 3.

<sup>2</sup> HEISS, Hist. de l'Empire, liv. iii. c. 3.

<sup>8</sup> SPOND. Contin. tom. iii. p. 6.

<sup>9</sup> HEISS, Hist. de l'Empire, liv. iii. c. 3.



first intended the crown for *Ferdinand* his other grandson; but that he was persuaded to prefer *Charles*, as a prince who, by the vast extent of his dominions, would be more able to maintain the splendor of the house of *Austria*, and support the dignity of the empire<sup>c</sup>. a

*Repairs to Innsbruck, and dies at Wells.*  
A. D. 1519.

THE emperor did not long survive the end of this diet: for having repaired to *Innsbruck*, in order to take further measures for the election of *Charles*, he was attacked by a slow fever, which, in order to dissipate by change of air, he embarked upon the *Inn* for *Austria*. On his arrival at the town of *Wells*, the fever augmenting, he endeavoured to expel it by violent exercise; but one day returning from the chace, he eat a great quantity of melons, in order to assuage his thirst, and having afterwards taken a medicine unseasonably, his disorder, which was before intermittent, changed into a continual fever, and a violent dysentery ensuing, he died in the 60th year of his age<sup>d</sup>. He was, in consequence of his own desire, interred at *Newstadt* in *Austria*. He gave directions on his death-bed touching his body, which was neither embalmed nor embowelled, but the cavities were filled up with quick lime. b

*His character, and education.*

HE was a prince of a very agreeable appearance, sober, quiet, and so modest, that he was never seen naked by any of his attendants. He had a passion for letters, a sprightly imagination, and was particularly addicted to poetry. His memory was so tenacious, that he never forgot the name of any man, whom he had once seen or heard mentioned, during the whole course of his life. In his youth he had applied himself to the warlike exercises; he handled his arms with great dexterity, and no person excelled him in horsemanship. He was patient in suffering hunger and fatigue, personally brave, liberal (R), magnificent, affable, and obliging. He reformed the military discipline among his soldiers with large muskets and long pikes, and made several new military laws and regulations. c

*His favourite amusement,*

But his passion for the chace he indulged even to the prejudice of his affairs, which he often neglected for the enjoyment of that favourite exercise: in the course of which, he used to pursue on horseback the wild goats and other game among the rocks of the *Tyrol*, with such temerity, that the inhabitants of those countries were often obliged to lower him down with cords, half dead with hunger, from frightful precipices, among which he had engaged himself. Yet, with all these good qualities, he was inconstant, irresolute, and so

*and weakness.*

profuse, that, by squandering away the money which ought to have been otherwise employed, a great many of his most important affairs miscarried, and his reign makes but an indifferent figure in the annals of the empire<sup>e</sup> (S). d

<sup>c</sup> GUIC. liv. xiii. MEZ. Abr. Chron. tom. ii. p. 843. Chron.  
<sup>e</sup> GUIC. lib. xiii.

<sup>d</sup> SUR. in comm. ex Jovio, lib. xix. LOC. in

(R) His liberality, or rather his profusion, involved him in numberless difficulties and disgraces, because he was often, by want of money, obliged to abandon enterprises of very promising aspect. Yet, notwithstanding all these necessities, he would never encroach upon the gold, silver, and jewels, which had been left by his own father, his father-in-law, and his grandsire. These he preserved as a sacred treasure, very little to the credit of his sagacity (1).

(S) *Maximilian's* first wife was *Mary* of *Burgundy*, who died of a fall from her horse, when she was big with her third child. He afterwards married by proxy the daughter and heiress of *Francis*, duke of *Brittany*; but this marriage was never consummated, for the reasons mentioned above. His third match was with *Blanche Maria Sforza*, daughter of *Galeazzo Maria*, duke of *Milan*, who was a shoe-maker's son. She had no children, and broke her heart because she was despised by the emperor, and was buried in the monastery of *Stams* in *Austria*. Towards the latter part of his life, *Maximilian* was on the point of marrying *Ann* daughter of *Uladislaus*, king of *Bohemia*; but he was dissuaded from this scheme, and the princess was given in marriage to his grandson *Ferdinand*. Of his children by *Mary* of *Burgundy*, *Margaret* alone now survived. She had been first of all betrothed to *Charles VIII.* of *France*; but being refused, and

sent back to her father, she was married to the infant *John*, son of *Ferdinand* and *Isabella*: he dying a few months after the marriage, she was again contracted to *Philibert*, duke of *Savoy*, who died before the nuptials could be consummated. As for her brother *Philip*, the emperor's eldest son, he died twelve years before his father, leaving by *Jane*, daughter of *Ferdinand* and *Isabella*, six children, namely, *Charles*, who succeeded his grandfather *Maximilian* in the empire; *Ferdinand* and four daughters, the eldest of whom, *Eleonora*, married *Emanuel* king of *Portugal*, by whom she had one daughter, and afterwards *Francis I.* of *France*, to whom she bore no children. Her sister *Isabella* was wife to *Christiern*, king of *Denmark*, *Sweden*, and *Norway*, who was expelled from his dominions for his tyranny. *Philip's* third daughter was *Mary*, matched with *Lewis*, king of *Hungary*, by whom she had no children, and after his death she obtained the government of the *Low Countries*. The fourth was a posthumous child called *Catherine*, who was married to *John III.* king of *Portugal*. *Maximilian* had besides a son called *Francis*, born at *Brussels*, who died within a year after his birth. He moreover left eight natural children of both sexes; the sons he promoted to honourable employments, the daughters he matched to persons of the first quality.

(1) *Remarq. sur Heiss*, liv. iii. c. 3.



C H A P. XII.

Containing the religious Disputes between the Emperor and Protestants; to the first Accommodation at Ratisbon.

C H A R L E S V.

- <sup>a</sup> **C**HARLES the fifth, son of *Philip*, king of *Castile*, and *Jane*, daughter and heiress of *Charles V.* *Ferdinand the Catholic*, was born at *Ghent* in *Flanders*; and passed the greatest part of his infancy at *Mecklin*, under the care of his aunt *Margaret*, widow of *Philbert* duke of *Savoy*, and governess of the *Low Countries*, and with *Margaret* of *York*, widow of *Charles* duke of *Burgundy*. *Anthony Vacca*, a *Spaniard*, who was entrusted with the care of his education, being dead, when he was but seven years of age, *Margaret* employed as his preceptor *Adrian Florissen* of *Utrecht*, professor in the university of *Louvain*, who was afterwards elected pope. He began to employ the young prince in the study of the belles lettres; but his governor, *William de Croy*, lord of *Arbot*, turned his whole attention to military exercises. At the age of six, *Charles* lost his father *Philip*, at fifteen his grandfather *Maximilian* declared him of age, and put into his hands the government of the *Low Countries*. <sup>his birth and education.</sup>
- <sup>b</sup> That same year, he recovered from *George* and *Henry*, dukes of *Saxony*, the territory of *West-Friezeland*, which the emperor *Maximilian* had mortgaged to *Albert the Courageous* for two hundred thousand ducats of the *Rhine*. At the death of his maternal grandfather, *Ferdinand the Catholic*, he succeeded to his kingdoms; and next year repaired to *Spain*, where he was solemnly crowned. Though he was a *German* by extraction, born and bred in the *Low Countries*, he chose to make his chief residence in *Spain*; where he was desirous of ending his days, after he renounced the empire, and abdicated all his dominions, as will appear in the sequel. At length, after the death of the emperor *Maximilian*, *Charles* presented himself as a candidate for the imperial throne. <sup>Succeeds to the throne of Spain.</sup>
- <sup>c</sup> of *France*, who had a long time cherished the scheme of adding the empire of *Germany* to his other dominions, and carried on sundry intrigues for that purpose during the life of the late emperor; immediately after whose decease, he had sent a solemn embassy, with four hundred thousand crowns, to confirm the attachment of some of the electors who had espoused his interest. Nor did *Charles* neglect the means of supporting his pretensions on this occasion. He was archduke of *Austria*, and lord of the *Low Countries*, as heir to his father; king of *Spain*, *Sicily*, and *Naples*, in right of his mother; and, as we have already observed, had been proposed to the diet of *Augsburg* by his grandfather *Maximilian*, as his successor in the empire. The electoral college, foreseeing that many inconveniencies would attend the election of either of these competitors, and being, in all probability, influenced by the pope, who, though he seemed to favour *Francis*, was jealous of both on account of their great power, resolved to offer the crown to *Frederic the Wise*, elector of *Saxony*. <sup>Presents himself as a candidate for the empire.</sup>
- <sup>d</sup> The proposal was accordingly made to him, after an interregnum of near six months; but he declining the honour, and declaring for *Charles*, the elector of *Mentz* gave his suffrage for the same prince; and their example was followed by all their colleagues, except the elector of *Triers*, who held out to the last for *Francis*. What chiefly contributed to the miscarriage of the king of *France* upon this occasion, was his being a foreigner by birth and extraction; for the *Germans*, who are naturally jealous and mistrustful, were afraid, that he, having been bred up in an absolute monarchy, would change the constitution of the empire, and humble the electors and princes to a degree beneath the dukes and peers of *France*. <sup>Is opposed by the king of France.</sup>
- <sup>e</sup> *Charles* was therefore elected emperor at *Frankfort*; and as he at that time resided in *Spain*, the elector palatine was sent thither to notify his election; which he no sooner understood, than he began to prepare for his journey to the empire; and, having equipped a fleet, he embarked for *Flanders*, from whence he repaired to *Aix-la-Chapelle*, in order to be crowned; though not before he had crossed the sea, on a visit to *Henry* the eighth, king of *England*, who received him at *Canterbury*, and accompanied him in his return to *Flanders*. <sup>The crown offered to Frederick, elector of Saxony, who declines it in favour of Charles.</sup>
- <sup>f</sup> During this interview, he is said to have detached *Henry* from the interest of *Francis* the first, contrary to the treaty which had been lately concluded between these two monarchs at *Ar-dres*. The ceremony was no sooner performed, than he quitted that city, which was infested by the plague, and went to *Cologne*, where he ordered writs to be expedited, and issued through the empire, for convoking the states at *Worms*, on the sixth of *January* the following year. <sup>Who is elected at Frankfort, and crowned at Aix-la-Chapelle.</sup>

<sup>a</sup> BELLIFOR. l. 5. c. 29. BELC. l. 16. <sup>b</sup> MEZ. Abreg. t. ii. p. 844. <sup>c</sup> FERRON. in Francise. I. <sup>d</sup> REUTER. Chronol. Belgic. l. 6. Angler. Epist. 699.



The Spaniards  
who took arms  
against the  
emperor, are  
reduced by the  
viceroys of  
Castile and  
Arragon.

Misunder-  
standing be-  
tween Francis  
the first, king  
of France,  
and Charles,

which breaks  
out into an  
open rupture.

A. D. 1521.  
The French  
are defeated at  
Bicoque.

MEAN while the *Spaniards*, chagrined at the departure of their king, whose promotion to the empire they could not relish, as they foresaw it would interfere with the administration of his own kingdom, and being, moreover, incensed at the avarice of the *Flemings*, to whom he had committed the management of affairs since the death of cardinal *Ximenes*, several *grandees* of *Spain*, in order to shake off this oppression, in the absence of *Charles*, entered into an association, which they called the *Santa Junta*, which was embraced by *Toledo* and many large cities, and raised forces under the auspices of *John do Padellia*, and *Antonio d'Acugno*, bishop of *Zamora*. Their design was to restore the kingdom of *Arragon* to *Ferdinand*, the son of that *Frederic* king of *Naples*, who died in *France*, on condition that he should marry *Jane* the mother of *Charles* the fifth, whose person they had actually secured; but he rejected their proposal; and the viceroys of *Castile* and *Arragon*, taking arms against the rebels, weakened the faction by degrees, and at length almost entirely extinguished it by a total defeat, in which *Padellia* and the bishop were slain (A).

THE king of *France*, taking the advantage of these intestine broils, sent an army under the command of *Andrew de Foix* into *Navarre*, which he conquered in a very little time; but, not contented with this success, he invaded *Castile*, where he was defeated by the viceroys, who in a few days retook the whole of *Navarre*, and dismantled almost all its towns and castles, by order of the emperor. This invasion did not interfere with the treaty of *Noyon*; because the six months being expired, *Francis* was at liberty to act in favour of the house of *Albret*: but several other circumstances concurred to bring to an open rupture that grudge which the jealousy of two competitors for a throne seldom fails to produce. *Francis* complained that *Charles* did not pay the money which he had promised to furnish yearly for the maintenance of the princess, and consequently had no intention to accomplish the match; that the emperor's agent had spoke disrespectfully of him in the diet, and at the courts of the *German* princes; that he had seduced from his allegiance *Philbert de Chaalons*, prince of *Orange*, and intrigued in *Italy*, with a view to incommode him in the possession of *Milan*. *Charles*, on the contrary, taxed the king of *France* with having taken under his protection *William* duke of *Guelderland*, sworn enemy of the *Austrian* family and the *Low Countries*, pretending that he was lawful heir of the duchy of *Burgundy*. *Henry* king of *England* preserved a neutrality on this occasion, affecting to act as umpire in the dispute; while the pope entered into a treaty with the emperor, for the mutual defence of their territories, for re-establishing *Francis Sforza* in the duchy of *Milan*, and recovering *Ferrara* to the holy see. Things being thus ripe for a quarrel on both sides, *Robert de la Mark*, lord of *Sedan* and duke of *Bouillon*, being disgraced at the court of *France* on account of the ravages committed by his company of gens-d'armes, had retired to that of the emperor; where, while he resided, the council of *Charles* received the appeal of a cause which had been tried and decided by the peers of his duchy of *Bouillon*, between the lords of *Simay* and *Emery*. *Robert* considered the determination of this appeal as an affront upon his honour, reconciled himself to the king of *France*, whither he retired; sent a defiance to the emperor, and his eldest son with three thousand men to besiege *Vireton* in *Luxemburg*. This insult provoked *Charles* to raise a powerful army, the command of which he gave to *Henry* count of *Nassau*, who chastised *Robert*, to whom a truce for forty days was afterwards granted: and hostilities commenced in the *Low-Countries* between the troops of *Charles* and *Francis*, though neither as yet openly avowed these enterprizes. *Henry* of *England*, seeing matters brought almost to extremity, proposed that they should refer their difference to his decision, giving each to understand, at the same time, that he would actually declare against him who should decline the proposal. Alarmed at this intimation, they sent ambassadors to him at *Calais*, with full powers to regulate every thing in a conference, during which, however, the count of *Nassau* passed the *Meuse* and besieged *Mouzon*, which he took upon capitulation, and afterwards committed horrid cruelties wheresoever he marched. *Charles* then assembled his forces, retook *Mouzon*, burned and dismantled *Baupaume*, reduced *Landrecy*, and *Bouchain*, and passed the *Scheld* in quest of the emperor, who had come to *Valenciennes*, from which he now retired by the favour of a thick fog. In the mean time, the arms of *Charles* made great progress in *Italy*; the *Milanese*, *Parma*, and *Placentia*, were reduced, in spite of all the efforts of the marshal *L'Autrec*, whose army was defeated before *Bicoque*, in attempting to force the re-

<sup>c</sup> MEZ. Abreg. Chron. t. iii. p. 846.

<sup>f</sup> SANDOVAL. Hist. de Carlos V. l. 10. p. 500.

(A) About this time, *Ferdinando Magalianus*, a Portuguese, in the service of *Charles* the fifth, found out that passage into the South, called from his name, the straits of *Magellan* (1); and *Hernando Cortez* made a conquest of *Mexico* (2).

(1) *Marian*. l. 26. c. 3.

(2) *Jov. in Eulog. Ferd. Cortez*.



a trenchment of the imperialists : and this battle was so decisive, that the remains of his troops, which he left to the command of his brother *Lescun*, were obliged to keep aloof, and be eye-witnesses of the entire conquest of that state by the forces of *Charles* <sup>e</sup>.

But, before we proceed to give a farther detail of this war, it will be necessary to mention the transactions of the diet at *Worms*, concerning *Luther*, who, in consequence of a safe-conduct granted by *Charles*, appeared at that assembly, and being asked, by order of the emperor, whether or not he would retract the doctrines he had broached, or defend the writings he had published, he insisted upon the truth of what he had advanced, and resisted, with great resolution, all the admonitions and remonstrances of the bishop of *Triers*, who tampered with him in private, in expectation of prevailing upon him to recant and submit to the power and authority of the pope. Some of the members of the diet, provoked at his perseverance, advised the emperor to follow the example of the council of *Constance*, in violating the safe-conduct which he had given to this arch-heretic ; but this advice he rejected with disdain, saying, ‘ That if good faith were banished from among the rest of mankind, it ought to find a sure retreat in the palaces of princes <sup>h</sup>.’ Accordingly *Luther* was dismissed in safety ; though at the same time he was condemned and proscribed, by public edict, as a wicked heretic, who had broached the most damnable doctrines, not only destructive of true religion and good order, but also of the peace and government of his country, so that he seemed to be a real devil in human shape : for which reasons all persons were prohibited, under severe penalties, from affording him countenance or shelter, after the expiration of the time prescribed in his safe-conduct, and commanded to do their utmost endeavours to apprehend and bring him to justice, while his books underwent the same public condemnation. Notwithstanding this severe sentence, his patron *Frederic*, elector of *Saxony*, conveyed him to a safe retreat, where he lived in security, and composed divers performances, which were occasionally published, and greatly augmented the number of his followers <sup>i</sup>. About this time, his writings were formally condemned by the theologists of the university of *Paris* (B) ; and among other adversaries *Henry* the eighth, king of *England*, took up the pen and entered the lists against him, producing a performance for which he was honoured by the pope with the title of *Defender of the faith* <sup>k</sup>. To this production *Luther* replied in such contemptuous and virulent terms, as even gave offence to many of his own friends : and, indeed, it must be owned, that moderation was no part of his character, though in all probability the warmth of his temper gave a rapidity to his success ; because reformations are generally effected by a spirit of enthusiasm, which is much easier kindled by the violence of the reformer’s disposition, than by the force of his arguments, or the rectitude of his cause.

*Proceedings of the diet of Worms concerning Luther.*

THE other affairs of the diet were referred to the next meeting, which was held the following year at *Nuremberg* ; where, in presence of all the members of the empire, the constitution was enacted, by which *Germany* was divided into ten circles. These and several other regulations being made, his presence became absolutely necessary in *Spain*, chiefly on account of the promotion of *Adrian Florissen* to the papacy upon the death of *Leo* the tenth, who was supposed to be poisoned by *Barnabas Malaspina*, gentleman of his bed-chamber. *Adrian*, who was a native of *Holland*, had been preceptor to the emperor, who entrusted him with the administration of his *Spanish* dominion, which office he was now obliged to resign, in order to go and take possession of *St. Peter’s* chair ; so that *Charles* was under the indispensable necessity of repairing to that kingdom, in order to supply the loss of such a minister, and quiet, by his presence, the troubles of *Spain*, which were not yet quite appeased <sup>l</sup>. He therefore set out for *England*, on a visit to his aunt, who was queen of that kingdom, where he entered into an offensive and defensive alliance (C) with *Henry* the eighth against the king of *France* ; and having past the whole month of *June* in festivals and rejoicing, he embarked for *Spain*, and arrived in safety at port *St. Andero*, after an agreeable voyage of ten days <sup>m</sup>. Mean while the archduke *Ferdinand*, the emperor’s brother, who was lately married to the sister of *Lewis* king of *Hungary*, being created

A. D. 1522. The empire divided into ten circles.

Charles sets out for Spain.

The archduke Ferdinand opposes the Lutherans in vain. A. D. 1524.

<sup>e</sup> MEZERAY Abreg. Chronol. t. iii. p. 853. Comment. l. 3. p. 26.

<sup>k</sup> Ibid.

<sup>h</sup> HEISS. Hist. de l’Empire, l. 3. c. 4.

<sup>i</sup> SLEIDAN.

<sup>m</sup> SANDOV. Carlos V. l. 11. p. 559.

(B) In consequence of this sentence, *Philippus Melancthon* a German, whose real name was *Schuarizerd*, a youth of uncommon learning and assurance, took up the pen in defence of *Luther*, for whom he wrote an apology, intituled, *Adversus furiosum Parisiensem theologastorum decretum* ; and managed the dispute with some humour, and abundance of scurrility (1).

(C) By this treaty the emperor obliged himself to espouse his cousin the princess *Mary*, who was then but

seven years old, and to pay the yearly sum of 130,000 ducats to the king of *England*, while *Henry* should continue to make war upon the king of *France*, until *Charles* should consummate his marriage with the princess *Mary*, or *Henry* should have acquired lands in *France* sufficient to yield that revenue. On these conditions, the king of *England* immediately declared war against the king of *France*, and measures were concerted for taking the field (2).

(1) *Spond. Con.* t. ix. p. 19.

(2) *Sleid. Com.* l. 3. p. 27.



Progress of  
the reforma-  
tion.

Francis I.  
sends Bonni-  
vet into Italy,  
who is after-  
wards obliged  
to retreat.

A. D. 1525.  
Francis de-  
feated and  
taken prisoner.

The emperor's  
show of mode-  
ration.

lieutenant-general of the whole empire during the emperor's absence, made pressing in-  
stances with the diet to take measures for the execution of the decree made in the assembly  
at *Worms*, and of the bull which *Leo* the tenth had fulminated against *Luther*; as also to  
employ their utmost care in healing up the schism which religion had suffered: but he  
was baffled in all his designs by the efforts of *Luther* and his followers. Nevertheless, in  
another diet held at *Nuremberg* on the subject of religion, the same proposals were made by  
the legate of *Clement* the seventh, who had succeeded *Adrian* the sixth; but as the *Lu-  
theran* party, which gathered new strength every day, eluded this blow with equal industry  
and art, the legate prevailed upon the Catholic princes to form another assembly at *Ratis-  
bon*, where they entered into a league, by which they obliged themselves to execute the  
decree of *Worms*; to alter nothing in religion; to punish all ecclesiastical apostates; to  
expel the *Lutherans* from their territories; to deprive them of all their benefices; and,  
finally, to assist each other in case they should be attacked. This association, however, could  
not retard the rapid progress of the reformation, which was extended as far as the other  
side of the *Baltic*, by means of the revolution which happened in the North. *Christiern* the se-  
cond, surnamed the Tyrant, king of *Denmark*, *Norway*, and *Sweden*, was deposed by his uncle  
*Frederic*, duke of *Holstein*, who seized upon *Denmark* and *Norway*; while *Gustavus Vasa*  
raised himself to the throne of *Sweden*; and both these princes embraced and introduced  
the foreign religion into their dominions<sup>a</sup>. At the same time it spread itself into *Lower  
Germany*, *Livonia*, and *Prussia*, where it made a convert of *Albert* marquis of *Brandenburg*,  
grand master of the *Teutonic* order (D). During this progress of *Lutheranism*, the constable  
*Charles* of *Bourbon* revolted from the king of *France*, and joined the emperor, in hope of be-  
ing revenged upon his own sovereign<sup>b</sup>; while *Henry* the eighth of *England* landed an ar-  
my in *France*, under the command of the duke of *Norfolk*, which, in the beginning of  
winter, returned again, without having struck any stroke of importance. Although the  
enemies of *France* had thus carried the war into the very bowels of that kingdom, *Francis*  
the first sent a body of troops over the *Alps*, under the command of *Bonniwet*; who, at first  
reconquered all the *Milaneze* as far as *Tecino*, in the very face of *Prosper Colonna*, who was  
general for the emperor, pope, and *Venetians*; and, in all probability, would have taken the  
city of *Milan*, had not he spent his time unnecessarily in the siege of *Pavia*; during which  
his army was greatly diminished by the cold weather and the plague, while that of the con-  
federates every day increased; so that he was fain to quit his enterprize, and take  
post at *Biagras*; from whence being driven by *Charles* of *Bourbon*, he was obliged to re-  
tire towards *Turin*, and return into *France* with the wreck of his army. Notwithstanding  
this disgrace, *Bonniwet* found means to excuse himself so effectually to his king, that he still  
continued in favour, and even persuaded *Francis* to levy a great army, and to march in per-  
son against the confederates. He accordingly took the field, and crossing the *Alps*, found  
the city of *Milan* abandoned by the enemy. There he left *La Tremouille*, with six thou-  
sand men; while he himself marched to *Pavia*, the siege of which he undertook about the  
latter end of *October*. In order to secure this place, *Charles* of *Bourbon* having joined the  
viceroys of *Naples*, and *Pescaro*, general of the imperial army, marched forward to attack  
the besiegers, when that memorable battle ensued, in which *Francis* the first was taken  
by the viceroy, who afterwards conducted him prisoner into *Spain*<sup>c</sup>.

WHATEVER joy the emperor must have felt at this event, he received the news of it  
with great moderation, nor would he suffer any public rejoicings to be made on account  
of his success, observing that all victories gained over fellow Christians, were rather ob-  
jects of mourning than of mirth. When his council was called to deliberate in what  
manner he should treat the captive king, his confessor actually exhorted him to release his  
prisoner without conditions, an act of generosity which would transmit the honour of his name  
to all posterity, and attach to him the heart of *Francis* by the ties of gratitude, which would be  
more binding than any treaty which they could possibly make. The rest of the council how-  
ever, and in particular *Frederic* duke *Alva*, were of different opinion, and proposed certain  
articles of peace, which were immediately sent into *Italy*, and presented to *Francis*, who  
still remained at the castle of *Pisqueton*, and who rejected the conditions with dis-  
dain<sup>d</sup> (E).

By

<sup>a</sup> SLEID. Com. l. 3. p. 34.

<sup>b</sup> THUAN. Hist. l. 1. p. 21.

<sup>c</sup> GUICC. l. 15.

<sup>d</sup> Ibid. l. 16.

(D) In the course of this year, one *Jean le Clerc*, a  
native of *Meaux*, and two *Augustine* monks, were pu-  
nished for having embraced the protestant religion. The  
first was scourged and branded at *Meaux*, for having said  
that the pope was *Anti-Christ*, and afterwards burnt at

*Metz* for demolishing images. The two monks under-  
went the same death at *Brussels* (1).

(E) The council of *Charles* proposed that *Francis*  
should renounce the kingdom of *Naples* and the duchy  
of *Milan*; that he should restore to the emperor the

(1) *Metz. Abr. Chron.* t. 3. p. 862.



- a By this overthrow of *Francis*, his kingdom was left open to the insults of his enemies, and in all probability would have fallen a prey to their superior power, had they continued to act with the same unanimity which they had hitherto preserved; but by this time *Henry* the eighth of *England* began to be detached from the interest of the emperor, by the insinuations of cardinal *Wolsey*, who thought himself neglected by *Charles*, after having courted his friendship and good offices in promoting the last treaty. The king of *England*, therefore, disbanded an army which he had raised, and a fleet which he had equipped for a descent upon *France*, and entered into a treaty with the queen-regent, in order to preserve that kingdom from being dismembered. On the other hand, the pope and the states of *Italy* became jealous of the emperor's power, which had been greatly aggrandized by this victory, and entered into a secret association, in order to expel the *Spaniards*, who at that time besieged *Sforza* in the castle of *Milan*.

His allies growing jealous, form an association to expel the Spaniards from Italy.

- ABOUT this time, great part of the empire was harrassed and desolated by the war of the peasants, which was the effect of oppression and enthusiasm: the murmurs of the labouring people, who groaned under severe burthens, were blown up into sedition by certain fanatics, who, by preaching, inflamed their minds against their magistrates, as well as the clergy; so that they broke out in open insurrection, and *Germany* was filled with tumult. Those of *Suabia* published twelve articles, containing their grievances spiritual and temporal, threatening to redress themselves, in case their proposals should be rejected; and this writing was spread and espoused in different parts of *Germany*. At length, the peasants took the field, appearing in arms, in numerous bodies in *Suabia*, upon the *Danube*, at the lake of *Constance*, in *Lorrain*, *Thuringia*, and other provinces, laying waste the country with fire and sword; and daily exhibiting spectacles of the most horrible barbarity, sparing nothing human or divine. *Luther*, having at first attempted to quiet them by gentle admonitions and intreaties, and perceiving his endeavours ineffectual, now wrote against these seditions with great force and severity, exhorting the princes to take arms in defence of their country. Accordingly, measures were concerted for that purpose; and, in a few months, upwards of one hundred thousand of these peasants were slain in different rencounters. In *Thuringia*, *Thomas Munster*, a fanatic preacher, who was the prime source and ringleader of this disturbance, was taken, together with his associate *Pfeifferus*, who had been a monk; and both were put to death at *Mulhausen*.

- MEAN while *Francis* the first was removed from *Italy* to the castle of *Madrid*, and, notwithstanding the eagerness with which the queen-mother and his subjects endeavoured to effect his deliverance, the negotiation was protracted almost a whole year; at the end of which a treaty was signed at *Madrid*, importing, among other things, that the king should be set at liberty, on condition that his two sons, the dauphin of *France* and the duke of *Orleans*, should remain as hostages until the articles should be fulfilled; and that if the king, in six weeks after his release, should not have given full satisfaction in these particulars, he should return and surrender himself prisoner as before. The princes of the blood were accordingly brought into *Spain*, while the king, being set at liberty, returned into his dominions, where he left no means untried for the deliverance of his children; but he was very much embarrassed in his endeavours, because the fundamental laws of the state would not allow him to alienate *Burgundy* and the other territories, which he had yielded by the treaty; and the emperor insisted upon his performing every article. In this perplexity, he, by the advice of his council and chief noblemen, resolved to protest against the treaty as a compact signed by compulsion, and actually gave the emperor to understand that he disclaimed all he had done, and was ready to renew the operations of war.

A. D. 1526: Francis set at liberty on conditions which he refuses to perform.

- DURING these disputes, the doctrine of *Luther* gained ground in the most considerable cities of *Germany*, and was now openly espoused by *Philip* landgrave of *Hesse*, who introduced it into his dominions, at the solicitation of *John* elector of *Saxony*, who had succeeded his brother *Frederic*, who died without issue. The progress of these new opi-

<sup>r</sup> MEZ. Abr. Chron. t. 3. p. 872.  
SCHARD. in Oper. Hist. t. ii.  
Hist. de l'Empire, l. 3. c. 4.

<sup>s</sup> SLEID. Commen. l. 4. p. 43, 44, 45. PET. GUODAL. extr. apud  
<sup>t</sup> THUAN. Hist. l. 1. p. 23. BOUCHET. AQUIT. p. 4. <sup>u</sup> HEISS.

duchy of *Burgundy*, which had been the patrimony of his ancestors; that he should bestow *Provence*, *Dauphiny*, and the *Lionnois* upon the duke of *Bourbon*, who, by this condition, might possess an independent kingdom; and lastly, that he should satisfy the demands of the *English*. Tho' *Francis* affirmed, he would rather suffer perpetual imprisonment than consent to such conditions, which, he said, were repugnant to the fundamental laws of *France*; yet he offered, in consideration of obtaining his liberty, to espouse the emperor's sister *Eleanora*; to

hold *Burgundy*, by way of dower, and as the inheritance of the children of that marriage; to restore the duke of *Bourbon* to the possession of all his territories, and bestow upon him in marriage his sister *Margaret*, widow of the duke of *Alençon*; to satisfy the *English* with a sum of money; to pay the same ransom that was exacted of king *John*; and to furnish an armament by sea and land for the use of the emperor, as often as he should repair to *Italy*, in order to receive the imperial crown (1).

(1) MEZ. Abr. Chron. t. 3. p. 869.



Luther's doctrine strenuously supported.

Owes its success to the dissension of its enemies.

Charles duke of Bourbon, outwits the pope, attacks Rome, and loses his life in the assault.

Rome taken and sacked.

The pope is besieged in the castle of St. Angelo.

A. D. 1521. The emperor endeavours to reconcile himself with the king of France and the pope.

nions in religion, and the extremity to which the *Turk* had reduced *Lewis* king of *Hungary*, prompted the archduke *Ferdinand* to convoke a diet at *Spire*, in order to concert measures to appease the troubles of the church, and to stop the career of the infidels (A). With regard to the first point, the landgrave of *Hesse*, and the elector of *Saxony*, demanded the free exercise of the new religion within their own territories, with such obstinacy and zeal, that by an express clause they were indulged with liberty of conscience, until the decision of a general council, which the emperor should be petitioned to convene with all convenient dispatch<sup>c</sup>; but the attention of the diet was so much engrossed, and the term so long protracted by the debates which this article of religion produced, that no resolution was taken for the support of *Lewis* king of *Hungary*, who was left to perish by the hands of his enemies<sup>d</sup>.

PERHAPS nothing was of greater service to the reformation than the misunderstanding that happened between the pope and the emperor, on account of the alliance in which his holiness had engaged with the king of *France*, the republics of *Venice* and *Florence*, and the cantons of *Switzerland*, for the expulsion of the *Spaniards* from *Italy*. *Charles*, with a view of being revenged upon the pope, importuned him incessantly to convoke a council, protesting, that otherwise he should be obliged to make use of his imperial authority for that purpose; at the same time, in order to oppose the league, he sent the duke of *Bourbon* into *Italy*, after having bestowed upon him the investiture of the duchy of *Milan*, that he might be the more cordially attached to his service. For the purposes of this expedition the archduke sent thither a powerful reinforcement; and the emperor, by secret intrigues, endeavoured to detach the pope from the interest of his allies. The duke of *Bourbon*, finding himself at the head of forty thousand men, in a very little time traversed all *Italy*, in order to attack the confederates; a rapidity which alarmed the pope to such a degree, that he began to listen to the proposals of the emperor's ministers, and consented to a truce of eight months with the viceroy of *Naples*; in consequence of which he restored the places which he had taken in that kingdom, and disbanded his troops in order to save expence. However, he had soon reason to repent of his parsimony, when he understood that the duke of *Bourbon* continued his march towards *Rome*, without having any regard to the truce, or the approaching treaty. Finding himself thus deceived, he would hear no more of either, reunited himself with his allies, and prepared for the defence of the city, which was attacked by the constable, who lost his life in the assault. His troops, however, without being discouraged by his death, were enraged to such a degree of fury, that they scaled the walls, and took the city by storm, while the pope was obliged to retire with his cardinals into the castle of *St. Angelo*, where they were besieged, until the confederates were in full march to their assistance, when the emperor sent order to his generals to enlarge his holiness without delay. He was accordingly set at liberty on certain conditions, and the remains of the imperial army, which had been greatly reduced by the plague, were fain to retreat towards *Naples* (B).

THE sack of *Rome* alarmed almost all the princes of Christendom, those of *Italy* entered into an alliance with the kings of *France* and *England*, and all together, animated by their common interest, resolved to humble the pride and bridle the power of the emperor. *Charles*, on the other hand, who was still in *Spain*, endeavoured to break the association, by reconciling himself with the king of *France* and the pope, that he might be at liberty to return into *Italy*, and from thence pass into his *German* dominions, where his presence was very much wanted to settle the affairs of religion and the state, particularly to provide some defence for the frontiers of *Austria*, the *Turk* having made such advantage of the wars in Christendom, that he was now in possession of almost all the kingdom of *Hungary*. Mean while the archduke *Ferdinand*, who had succeeded to the crown of *Hungary* by the death of *Lewis* his brother-in-law, though not without a strong opposition from *John de Zapollo*, vaivode of *Transylvania*, who was his competitor; *Ferdinand*, I say, with a view to engage the princes of the empire to support his pretensions, convoked a diet, on pretence of regulating the affairs of religion, which had disunited the whole empire; and in this assembly, which was held at *Spire*, it was decreed, that in those places where the decree of *Worms* was published, no person should be allowed to profess the doctrine of *Luther*; and that in those places, where *Lutheranism* had been already received, it should

<sup>c</sup> SLEIDAN. Commentar. l. 6. p. 59. p. 53.

<sup>f</sup> HEISS. l. 3. c. 5.

<sup>d</sup> Jov. in Elog. Ludov.

<sup>e</sup> GUICC. l. 18. THUAN. l. 1.

(A) *Lewis*, king of *Hungary*, by the advice of *Paul Tamoré*, who, from a soldier was become an archbishop, gave battle to *Solyman* in the plains of *Mohats*, where he lost his whole army, together with his own life (1).

(B) While the pope was a prisoner in the castle of *St. Angelo*, the emperor is said to have appointed public processions in *Spain*, in order to petition heaven for the deliverance of his holiness (2).

(1) Sleid. l. 6. p. 59.

(2) Mex. Abre. Chron. t. 3. p. 820.



a be connived at till the meeting of a council, on condition, nevertheless, that the Catholics should have the free exercise of their religion without the liberty of changing it; and that this accommodation should not include the Sacramentarians (C), or Anabaptists, who should be banished from the empire, on pain of death. But the *Lutheran* princes (D), together with fourteen imperial cities, protested against this decree, and appealed to the council and the emperor, whence they acquired the name of Protestants s. With regard to the succour against the *Turk*, nothing was determined; because the Protestants declared, they would not contribute to that service, unless liberty of conscience and of worship should be allowed throughout the whole empire.

The Lutherans protest against a decree, and thence acquire the name of Protestants. A. D. 1529.

b MEAN while *Solyman*, who was well apprized of the Christian affairs, and of the dissensions that prevailed among them, resolved to profit by the conjuncture; and having nothing to fear from *Hungary*, marched into *Austria*, the capital of which he actually invested: but the place was so gallantly defended by *Philip* count palatine of the *Rhine*, *Nicholas* count of *Salines*, and *William* of *Rogendorf*, that he was obliged to raise the siege, and return to *Constantinople* with the loss of sixty thousand men h.

Solyman besieges Vienna.

c THE empire now was in such a deplorable situation, that the emperor resolved in earnest to make peace with all the princes of the league, that he might have leisure and means to provide for the quiet and security of his *German* dominions. He, therefore, entered into a treaty with the pope, which was concluded at *Barcelona*, towards the end of *June*; and then came to an accommodation with the king of *France*, which was settled at *Cambray* in the month of *August*. The emperor, by means of this double peace, being enabled to execute his design of taking *Italy* in his way to the empire, he set sail for *Barcelona*, with a powerful fleet; and landing at *Genoa*, repaired to *Bologna*, where he conferred with the pope about the measures to be taken for reducing the Protestants; for he deeply resented the contempt with which they had treated his decree of *Worms*, which was the first he had published after his advancement to the imperial throne; and he was incensed against the elector of *Saxony*, for having sheltered *Luther*, whom he had banished and proscribed. The pope taking advantage of this disposition, endeavoured to inflame the emperor to a war against the Protestants, in order to prevent the convocation of a council, where he well knew the *Lutherans* would never allow him to preside as master and sole director. But

The emperor makes peace with the confederates.

d the emperor being apprehensive of the *Turk*, declined this proposal; and the result of the conferences, was a resolution to convoke a diet, in which the emperor should exert himself to the utmost of his power for the reunion of the two religions; and if these means should fail, take care that no fresh innovation should be made upon the catholic religion till the decision of a council, which the pope, in that case, determined to assemble i.

A. D. 1530.

e THESE affairs being thus settled, the emperor was crowned by the pope at *Bologna* on the twenty-fourth of *February*, which was his birth-day k: he re-established *Francis Sforza* in the duchy of *Milan*, erected the marquisate of *Mantua* into a duchy, in favour of *Frederic de Gonzaga*, and assisted the pope in reducing the *Florentines* under the dominion of *Alexander*, bastard of *Laurence de Medicis*, who was created duke of *Florence* l. Then he issued orders for the convocation of the diet, to be held at *Augsburg* on the eighth of *April*, and set out from *Italy* on the twenty-second of *March*; but as he did not arrive at the place till the fifteenth of *June*, the Protestants had leisure to form that confession of faith, which has ever since retained the name of the *Augsburg Confession*. The diet was opened on the twentieth; and as religion was the chief object of their deliberation, cardinal *Campesio*, the pope's legate, took an opportunity, in a *Latin* discourse, to exhort the *Lutherans* to return to the communion of the *Roman* church. His harangue being concluded, the elector of *Saxony*, *George* marquis of *Brandenburg*, the dukes of *Lunenbourg*, *Philip* landgrave of *Hesse*, and *Wolfgang* prince of *Anhalt*, arose from their seats, and advancing to a place opposite to the emperor's throne, addressed themselves to him by the mouth of *George Pontamis*, chancellor of *Saxony*, beseeching his imperial majesty that their confession of faith might be publicly read, that the world might be undeceived with regard to false reports which had been circulated of them and their opinions. *Charles* complied with their request; and next day the confession, with the authorities upon which every article depended, was

Presides at the diet of Augsburg.

f Where the Protestant princes present their confession of faith, which is refuted by the Catholics.

s SLEID. Commen. l. 6. p. 67. CONT. BAR. t. 9. p. 107.

h SCHARD. t. 2. Oper. Hist. Chalchond. Tom. Rer. Turc.

i SPOND.

k THUAN. l. 1. p. 24.

l THUAN. l. 1. p. 25. GUICC. l. 20.

(C) Sacramentarians, a name which the church of *Rome*, in the beginning of the reformation, gave to those who, following the opinions of *Zuinglius* and *Calvin*, denied the real presence in the sacrament of the eucharist (1).

(D) Those were *George*, elector of *Brandenburg*, *Er-*

nest and *Francis*, dukes of *Lunenbourg*, the landgrave of *Hesse*, and the dukes of *Anhalt*. The imperial towns that opposed the decree were *Straßburg*, *Nuremberg*, *Ulm*, *Constance*, *Rottingen*, *Windheim*, *Memmingen*, *Nortlingen*, *Lindau*, *Kempten*, *Hailbron*, *Wisssemburg*, and *St. Gall* (2).

(1) Spoud. Con. t. 9.

(2) Spoud. Con. Bar. t. 9. p. 102.



read in his palace in the *Latin* and *German* languages, and afterwards deposited in his majesty's own hands <sup>m</sup>. Some time after, a refutation of this confession by the Catholics was produced in the diet, where it was publicly read before the emperor, who gave it the sanction of his own approbation, and pressed the *Lutherans* to subscribe to it: but they withstood all his remonstrances with such resolution, that it was not thought proper to come to an absolute decision upon the affair, lest the minds of both parties should be inflamed to an open rupture. The diet was, therefore, adjourned for six months; during which the Protestants were exhorted to reunite themselves with the church of *Rome*, against which they were expressly forbid to publish any writing, to convert any Catholic, or to disturb any person of that communion in the exercise of his religion: but this toleration did not extend to the Anabaptists or Sacramentarians. It was also resolved, that the pope should be intreated to convoke a council in six months, to be opened in one year after the convocation. The Protestants, dissatisfied with this prorogation, withdrew themselves from the assembly, and, by their retreat, gave great offence to the emperor, who being apprehensive of their intentions, and willing to prevent matters from coming to extremity, put an end the diet by another decree, in which he prohibited the exercise of any other religion than that of popery, and forbid all innovation in the doctrine or ceremonies of the church, on pain of corporal punishment and confiscation of goods; ordaining, at the same time, that all things should remain on their ancient footing, until otherwise disposed by the authority of a council. This decree was very afflicting to the *Lutherans*, and induced the landgrave of *Hesse*, who was the first that absented himself from the diet without the knowledge of the emperor, to enter into an association with the cantons of *Zurich* and *Basil*, and the city of *Strasburg*, in case they should be attacked on the score of religion <sup>n</sup>.

Decrees  
against the  
Lutherans.

The landgrave  
of Hesse enters  
into an associ-  
ation.

Charles exerts  
himself in fa-  
vour of his  
brother Ferdi-  
nand, and is  
opposed by the  
elector of Sax-  
ony, &c.  
A. D. 1531.

In the midst of these troubles, *Charles* would let slip no opportunity of strengthening his own interest, by procuring more authority in the empire to his brother *Ferdinand*: for this purpose he resolved to secure the imperial dignity to that prince, and persuaded the elector of *Mentz* to convene a college for electing him king of the *Romans*. The elector immediately sent intimation to his colleagues, and a particular ambassy to the elector of *Saxony*, whom, in his own name and that of the emperor, he invited to the college at *Cologne*, in order to proceed to the election. The elector of *Saxony*, instead of obeying this summons, privately wrote to the landgrave of *Hesse*, and all the other Protestant princes, cities, and states, soliciting them in the most pressing terms to form an assembly at *Smalcalde* on the very day appointed for the election of the king of the *Romans*, in order to concert measures for their mutual safety. Mean while, he pretended in public to conform to the designs of the emperor, and ordered *John Frederic* his son to set out for *Cologne* with some of his most staunch adherents, not with a view to promote the election, but rather to protest against it, in case any step should be taken to the prejudice of the most essential clauses of the bull of *Charles* the fourth, and the rights and liberties of the empire. While the electors, then, were deliberating upon this election at *Cologne*, the princes and deputies of the towns, which had embraced the Protestant religion, arrived at *Smalcalde*, where they entered into a defensive alliance against all those who should attack them either in general or particular. This league was signed and sealed by all the Protestant princes, as well as by *Anhalt* and *Gebhart*, counts of *Mansfeld*; together with the deputies of *Magdeburg*, *Bremen*, *Strasburg*, *Ulm*, *Constance*, *Landau*, *Memmingen*, *Kempten*, *Hailbron*, *Rotlingen*, *Bibrach*, and *Isna*. Letters were writ to obtain the assent of *George* marquis of *Brandenburg*, and the city of *Nuremberg*, because their deputies had power only to hear, without coming to any conclusion upon the subject. A resolution was made to solicit the king of *Denmark*, the dukes of *Pomerania* and *Mecklenburg*, the cities of *Hamburg*, *Embsen*, *Northheim*, *Frankfort*, *Brunswic*, *Gottingen*, *Minden*, *Hanover*, *Hildesheim*, *Lubec*, *Stetin*, and the other maritime towns, to engage in their association. They afterwards expedited letters to the emperor, in which they declared the reasons that obliged them to provide for their mutual defence, and protested against that precipitate form of that pretended election of a king of the *Romans*, which, as they alleged, would not lawfully take place while the emperor himself continued in good health; and was, therefore contrary to the *Caroline* bull, and the rights and privileges of the empire <sup>o</sup>.

who protest  
against the  
election of  
Ferdinand,

who is, not-  
withstanding,  
chosen king of  
the Romans.

NOTWITHSTANDING these remonstrances, and that of the elector of *Saxony*, which *John Frederic* his son had presented to the diet of *Cologne*, both *viva voce* and by writing; the other electors, resolving to gratify the emperor, who was bent upon the election, and authorised besides, by the example of *Frederic* the third, whose son *Maximilian* was chosen king of the *Romans*, seven years before his father's death, they proceeded to the election of *Ferdinand*, and attended him to *Aix-la-Chapelle*, where he was crowned <sup>p</sup>. Intimation of his ad-

<sup>m</sup> SPOND. CONT. t. 9. p. 106.  
1. 3. c. 4.

<sup>p</sup> THUAN. Hist. l. 1. p. 24.

<sup>n</sup> SLEID. Com. l. 7. p. 79.

<sup>o</sup> Ibid. p. 80. & seq. HEISS.



- a vancement was immediately sent to the Catholic princes and states of the empire, to whom the emperor wrote with his own hand, as well as to the Protestants of *Smalcalde*, who were commanded to acknowledge his brother *Ferdinand* as king of the *Romans*. But the elector of *Saxony* and his confederates paid no regard either to the emperor's order, or the intreaties of the other electors and princes, who endeavoured to reconcile them to his imperial majesty. On the contrary, they persevered in their plan; and, in order to provide against troublesome consequences, solicited the kings of *France* and *England* for succour and protection. *Henry* the eighth refused to espouse their cause, that he might not disoblige the court of *Rome*, from which he still expected the dissolution of his marriage with *Catharine* of *Arragon*, the emperor's aunt: while the king of *France*, without mentioning the article of religion, promised to favour them with his assistance, on pretence of maintaining the rights and privileges of the empire (E).

The Protestants apply for succour to the kings of France and England.

- In the beginning of *January*, the emperor set out for *Ratisbon*, and taking *Meniz* in his way, the archbishop earnestly intreated him to keep peace with the Protestants, until a council should be convoked. *Charles* having assured him of his inclination to prevent a rupture, he and the elector palatine sent deputies to the elector of *Saxony* and the landgrave of *Hesse*, inviting them to repair in the month of *April* to *Schwinfort*, where his majesty permitted them to assemble in order to effect an accommodation. At the same time, these mediators gave them to understand that the emperor expected and desired they would make no innovation, or publish any other writing about religion, except that which they had presented at the last diet of *Augsburg*; that things should remain upon the same footing until the meeting of a council; that, in the mean time, they should abstain from all communication with *Zuinglians* and Anabaptists, and avoid all sorts of disputes in matters of religion; that they should neither harbour nor protect the subjects of any prince or state, or give the least disturbance to the clergy in their ceremonies or jurisdictions, but peaceably submit to those decrees, which should be made by the emperor or the king of the *Romans*, for the advantage of the empire and the public good; and lastly, that they should renounce the confederacy of *Smalcalde*. The mediators added, that if the confederates would in these points conform to the intentions of the emperor, they had reason to believe he would forgive and forget all their past offences. Though these conditions could not be very agreeable to the elector of *Saxony*, who was at that time confined by sickness, he, nevertheless, sent his son *John Frederic* to *Schwinfort*, whither the duke of *Lunenbourg* and the prince of *Anhalt* also repaired, together with the deputies of other princes and cities; who, after much altercation, terminated the deliberations by a remonstrance, containing their demands; the principal of which were, that the emperor should command *Ferdinand* to lay aside the title and function of king of the *Romans*, and that rules should be established for regulating that election for the future. The mediating electors, though not a little surprised at this remonstrance, sent it immediately to the emperor at *Ratisbon*; but, in the mean time, perceiving the necessity of terminating these affairs in some shape, considering the progress of the *Turk*, who had made an irruption into *Austria*, they formed a plan of accommodation, importing, that the emperor should order a general peace to be proclaimed through all *Germany*; and that, without any regard to the decrees of *Worms* or *Augsburg*, both parties should be forbid, under severe penalties, to disturb or molest each other on the score of religion, until the states of the empire should have found means to determine that difference; that, for this purpose, a council should be convoked in six months, and orders given to the imperial chamber to suspend all sentences pronounced in religious causes, and to admit no new action against the protestants; while they, on their part, should yield all due obedience to the emperor, and assist him in his enterprizes against the *Turk*. This treaty was approved by seven protestant princes, and four and twenty cities; and the emperor afterwards ratified it in the diet of *Ratisbon* by an authentic act, orders being given to the tribunals of justice to see it executed according to the tenour.

A. D. 1532.

Proposals on both sides.

An accommodation concluded.

\* MEZER. Abreg. Chron. t. 3. p. 891. SLEID. l. 8. p. 88. & seq.

\* SLEID. Com. l. 8.

\* GOLDAST. Conf. Imper. t. i. ii.

(E) According to *Mezeray*, *Henry* promised to supply them with fifty thousand crowns per month, in case they should be attacked; and *Francis* deposited one hundred thousand in the hands of the *Bavarian* princes, in order to levy troops, in case the emperor should attempt to oppress them (1).

(1) Mez. Abr. Chr. t. 3. p. 891.



## C H A P. XIII.

Containing the Particulars of the War between the Emperor and the Protestants,  
till the Abdication of Charles.

Solyman in-  
wades the em-  
pire, and  
Charles takes  
the field.

Both armies  
retreat, with-  
out having  
come to action.

Charles re-  
pairs again to  
Italy.

Confers with  
the pope, re-  
news the  
league with  
the Italian  
princes,

and embarks  
for Spain.  
A. D. 1553.

TWO reasons induced the emperor to consent to this accommodation, namely, that the Protestants should, by these condescensions, be gradually engaged to approve of the election of his brother *Ferdinand*; and that their estates should contribute towards the expence of the war against the *Turk*; for by this time he had received advice, that the *Othomans* were in full march towards *Stiria* in vast numbers; that fifteen thousand horse were already advanced as far as *Lintz*, ravaging and laying waste the country; and that *Solyman*, in person, had crossed the *Danube* at *Belgrade*. But this treaty of accommodation, which was concluded with the Protestants, had produced such unanimity and vigour in the empire, that both sides armed as if through emulation; and *Charles* soon found himself at the head of an army consisting of a hundred and twenty thousand men. With these he advanced against the *Turks*; and the fate of two great empires would, in all probability, have been decided, had either he or *Solyman* dared to risque such an important stake on the issue of a battle. But at the approach of winter, the *Turks* retreated; and the emperor returned with such precipitation, that he did not even stay to expel *John* the pretended king of *Hungary*, who was far from being able to withstand his power. In a word, *Charles* seems to have had a diffused imagination, capable of conceiving vast designs, but he wanted fortitude to put them in execution (F).

AFTER the retreat of the *Turks*, the emperor disbanded a great part of his army, and in the month of *October* set out for *Italy*, from whence he wrote to the states of the empire, informing them of the important reasons which had obliged him to undertake that journey, his chief aim being to concert with the pope the necessary dispositions for convoking the council according to the determination at *Ratisbon*. He likewise observed, that, as he had left the administration of public affairs in the hands of his brother *Ferdinand*, king of the *Romans*, they might assure themselves that no mischief or disorder would happen, provided they would live in peace, and yield that obedience which was due to his brother's rank and station. This letter was dated at *Mantua*, from whence he repaired to *Bologna*, where he had a conference with pope *Clement* the seventh, touching religion and the council. There he likewise renewed for eighteen months the league with his holiness and the other princes of *Italy*, on pretence of consulting the general good, but in reality with a view of hindering the *French* from returning into *Italy*. This treaty was concluded, notwithstanding the intreaties and remonstrances of the ambassadors of *France*, whom the pope appeased by giving them privately to understand, that his sole view in renewing the league was to deliver *Italy* from the *Spanish* troops, which the emperor had sent thither in great numbers; but if they would exert their patience a little longer, they should have no cause to complain of his conduct. The emperor, being secure from this quarter, repaired in the spring to *Genoa*, where he embarked for *Spain*, whither he was called by the pressing affairs of that kingdom.

Soon after his departure, the pope dispatched into *Germany* *Hugh Rangon*, bishop of *Regis*, in quality of nuncio, with orders to join *Lambert Briart*, the emperor's ambassador, and accompany him to *Weimar*, on a visit to *John Frederic*, elector of *Saxony*, who had succeeded his father *Frederic* lately dead. Their errand was to signify to that young prince, the intention of their masters, and their eager desire to reconcile and re-unite, by gentle methods, two parties which were divided in point of religion. These ambassadors having represented to the elector, that the holding of a council would be the surest and the readiest method for effecting the re-union; the nuncio afterwards observed, that he was ordered by his holiness to deliberate with him about the manner, time, and place, in which it should be convoked; that he was directed to communicate to his highness some principal points of his instructions concerning the form and order of that council, and the means of rendering it free, independent, and such, in short, as the holy fathers, who were, doubtless, conducted by the spirit of God, had always judged it ought to be, in order to enforce the

<sup>†</sup> Id. ibid. Jov. Hist. l. 30. MILC. SORT. de Bell. Pan. l. 2. Carlos V. l. 20. p. 109.

<sup>u</sup> GUICC. l. 20. p. 109.

<sup>x</sup> SANDOV.

(F) *Jovius* and *Istibucius*, in his history of *Hungary*, assure us, that *Solyman* made this precipitate retreat by the persuasion of his general *Ibrahim*, bashaw, who had for some time carried on a secret correspondence with the emperor of *Germany*; while *Belcarius*, with more

probability, ascribes it to the intrigues of the *Venetians*; who, being afraid of falling a sacrifice to the conqueror, found means by their emissaries at both courts, to inspire the two emperors with mutual fears of each other's power (1).

(1) *Belcar*. l. 20. sect. 40.



- a observation of its decisions, without which authority all their trouble would be to no purpose. He added, that his holiness, after having long deliberated upon a proper place for holding this assembly, had concluded that none could be more convenient than *Placentia*, *Bologna*, or *Mantua*; that choice might be made of one of these cities, and order taken, that, in case any prince or princes should refuse to go or send thither, his holiness should, nevertheless, continue the conferences; and if any scruple should be made in obeying the decrees of that council, or in acknowledging his holiness for the sovereign pontiff, the church and the holy see should be protected against them by the emperor, and the other kings and princes of *Christendom*. He concluded with an assurance, that the pope would in six months convoke a council on these conditions; and the emperor's ambassador having confirmed all that the other said, intreated the elector to acquiesce in these proposals, in order to promote the peace and union of the empire<sup>y</sup>. The elector, having taken time to consider these proposals, answered, that he was well pleased to hear the emperor and pope had agreed to convoke a council: and that the emperor having promised that it should be such an one as was required for a free discussion of affairs, he did not doubt that he should be able to prevail upon his subjects to submit to its decrees; but as a good many other princes professed the same religion which his father had embraced, he could make no positive answer without their participation. He would, however, take the benefit of their advice in an assembly which would soon be held at *Smalcalde*, in order to deliberate maturely on this affair, and should think himself happy in contributing to the re-establishment of peace and union, not only in *Germany* but also through all *Christendom*: mean while, he hoped his imperial majesty would not be offended at the delay which he demanded. The ambassador assured him that the emperor would willingly grant his request; and, upon this assurance, the elector repaired to *Smalcalde* on the appointed day, where, having deliberated with his associates, the answer was conceived in these terms: they humbly thanked the emperor for his goodness in causing a council to be assembled, and hoped God would favour and conduct his laudable design, that truth might be maintained, false doctrine, abuse, and vicious ceremonies abolished, and the true worship of God, together with the practice of other Christian virtues, happily restored. They said, their sole view in demanding a council was to see the controversies equitably and formally decided, that those unhappy divisions might cease, which had been introduced under the pontificate of pope *Leo*; for that purpose, and that only, they desired a free council, where the authority of the pope should not prevail over that of the emperor, where truth should be distinguished from falsehood by the test of the holy scripture, and not according to tradition, or the induction and disputes of the schools; and where the question should be decided by learned, pious, and unsuspected men, conformable to the decrees of the empire. For the rest, they referred themselves to the emperor, to whom alone they owed respect and obedience, as to the supreme power, whom God had set over them, and begged the ambassador to present this answer to his imperial majesty, a task which he readily undertook<sup>z</sup> (G).
- b
- c
- d

- e WHILE the affairs of religion remained in this situation, the landgrave of *Hesse* repaired to the court of *France*, to negotiate in behalf of *Ulric* duke of *Wirtemberg*, his near relation, who ten years before had been expelled from his dominions by the allied states of *Suabia*, on pretence of his having exercised diverse acts of oppression, and taken from them the imperial city of *Rutlingen*. The emperor, at their solicitation, had stripped the duke of all his territories, the investiture of which he bestowed upon his brother *Ferdinand*, king of the *Romans*, without having any regard to the solicitations that were made by several princes at the diet of *Augsburg*, in favour of the duke of *Wirtemberg*, whose punishment they thought far exceeded his crime. The landgrave, indeed, at that time, purposed to re-establish him by force; but, being disappointed of the assistance he had expected, was obliged to defer the design till another opportunity. He looked upon this juncture as the happy occasion, because the emperor was absent from his *German* dominions, and the term fixed for the duration of the *Suabian* confederacy well nigh expired. For the accomplishment of his design, he, in the name of duke *Ulric*, mortgaged the principality of *Montbelliard* to the king of *France* for a sum of money, on condition that it should be for ever united to the crown of *France*, provided the money should not be refunded in three years<sup>a</sup>. On these terms, *Francis* agreed to advance the supply, and even flattered him with the hope of an addition, the restitution of which he would never demand. In consequence of this agreement, the
- f

The landgrave of Hesse negotiates with the king of France in favour of Ulric duke of Wirtemberg.

<sup>y</sup> SPOND. CONT. BAR. t. 3. p. 124. P. 93.

<sup>z</sup> SLEID. Com. l. 8. p. 92. HEISS, l. 3. c. 4.

<sup>a</sup> SLEID. Com. l. 9.

(G) During this interval, the pope acquired such interest with the king of *France*, as to carry on a negotiation, in consequence of which, his holiness had a conference with him at *Marseilles*, where they concluded the marriage of *Henry* duke of *Orleans*, the king's son, with *Katharine* of *Medicis*, the pope's niece (1).

(1) Spoud. Con. t. 9. p. 123.



The imperialists defeated.  
A. D. 1534.

Ulric is restored to his dominions, and an accommodation made with the Protestants.

The landgrave of Hesse and duke of Wirtemberg are reconciled to Ferdinand king of the Romans.

Articles of the pacification.

The pope murmurs at the accommodation with the Protestants.

king of *Frante* and the landgrave levied considerable bodies of troops, which were in condition to march in the spring, and having joined their forces on the other side of the *Rhine*, they advanced into the country of *Wirtemberg*; and, in the neighbourhood of *Lauffen*, attacked twelve hundred imperialists, the greatest part of whom they took prisoners, together with the palatine *Philip* their general; so that all the cities and fortresses of the country of *Wirtemberg* immediately returned to the dominion of their former lord. Duke *Ulric* being thus restored, the elector of *Mentz*, and *George* duke of *Saxony*, who was the landgrave's father-in-law, renewed their endeavours to negotiate an accommodation between *Ferdinand* and the elector of *Saxony*; and a treaty was actually concluded, importing, that no violence should be committed, nor any proceedings at law carried on against any person whatever on account of religion; that the peace, which the emperor had published, should be carefully observed; that *Ferdinand*, in the emperor's name, should supersede all the suits that were instituted against the Protestants, among whom, however, the Anabaptists, Sacramentarians, and other sects, should not be reckoned; that the elector of *Saxony* and his allies should acknowledge *Ferdinand* as king of the *Romans*; that before all future elections, which should be made during the life of the emperor, the electors should assemble in order to examine the justice and expediency of the election; that if they found the motives fair and reasonable, they should proceed according to the law and forms prescribed in the golden bull; but if the motives should appear otherwise, all the steps taken towards the election should be declared null and void; that *Ferdinand* should prevail upon the emperor and other electors to agree to this treaty, which should be ratified in ten months by a decree or imperial constitution, otherwise the elector of *Saxony* and his allies should not be obliged to adhere to this accommodation; that, moreover, the emperor should confirm the elector of *Saxony* in all his ancient rights and patrimony, and approve of his contract of marriage with the daughter of the prince of *Cleves*. This pacification was followed by another, which determined the difference between *Ferdinand* on one side, and the landgrave of *Hesse*, with *Ulric* duke of *Wirtemberg*, on the other. In this affair, the elector of *Saxony* acted as mediator and plenipotentiary for his two friends; and after a long series of debates it was agreed, that *Ulric* should be confirmed in the possession of all his territories, on condition that he and his successor should hold the country of *Wirtemberg* in fief of the princes of *Austria*, to whom, failing heirs male, it should return, and then be held of the empire; that the duke should acknowledge *Ferdinand* as king of the *Romans*, against whom he should never enter into any compact or confederacy; that he and the landgrave should restore to the right owners all the effects they had seized during the war; that they should compel no person to change his religion, but leave the clergy to the free enjoyment of their possessions; that those, who had abandoned their habitations through fear or shame, should have leave to return or retire elsewhere, without let or molestation of their persons or effects; that *Ferdinand* should retain the cannon which belonged to the fortress of *Asberg*, and pay the debts which he had contracted in his own name; that *Philip* prince palatine, and the other prisoners of war, should be released without ransom; that the landgrave and duke *Ulric* should either go in person or send their ambassadors to ask pardon of *Ferdinand*, who, as prince of *Austria*, should put the duke in full possession of his duchy, and intercede with the emperor for his and the landgrave's pardon; that neither side should make any demand for the expences of the war; but that *Ulric* should supply *Ferdinand* with five hundred horse and three thousand fantassins, for the siege of *Munster*; that *Ulric's* duchess should enjoy the estate allotted for her jointure; and that this treaty should be ratified by the states, nobility, and people of the country <sup>b</sup> (H).

*PETER PAUL VERGER*, the pope's nuncio, had orders to signify to *Ferdinand*, the displeasure of his holiness at the accommodation he had made with the *Lutheran* princes, which he looked upon as very disadvantageous to the church: but the king of the *Romans* replied, that the conjuncture was such as obliged him to make that agreement, in order to avoid more dangerous commotions. At the same time, the landgrave sent an express into *Spain*, with a letter to the emperor, in which he asked pardon in his own and duke *Ulric's* name; and promised, that, for the future, they should always be obedient and faithful to him and the king of the *Romans*. To this message *Charles* replied, that he had already writ on that subject to his brother *Ferdinand*, and would again signify his sentiments, by the mouth of his ambassador, of whom they would learn his great clemency and passionate

<sup>b</sup> SLEID. Com. l. 9. p. 96.

(H) *Ulric*, duke of *Wirtemberg*, being thus restored to the possession of his dominions, discharged the debt which he had contracted on the principality of *Montbelliard*, which he recovered; and his most Christian

majesty was so generous as to grant him a discharge for a considerable sum, which he had also lent him upon personal security (2).

(2) *Hist.* l. 3. c. 4.



- a desire for peace. Mean while, he exhorted them to justify their professions, by their conduct, and abstain, for the future, from all violent councils<sup>c</sup>.

IMMEDIATELY after this reconciliation, pope *Clement* the eighth dying, was succeeded in the papacy by *Paul* the third, of the house of *Farnese*, who adopting the politics of his predecessor, resolved with all his power to elude the convocation of a council. Nevertheless, he affected to be very zealous in this affair; and, in order to save appearances, sent *Peter Paul Verger*, his nuncio, to visit the princes, and flatter them with hopes of seeing their desire accomplished. He had likewise orders to propose to them the city of *Mantua* as a proper place for that assembly, and to found their sentiments on the subject, that by knowing their intention, he might afterwards prescribe such rules as he was sure they would not

- b embrace. His nuncio was, moreover, directed to animate all the princes of *Germany* against the king of *England*, who had renounced the supremacy of the pope; and to try if there was any hope of converting *Luther* and *Melancthon*. The nuncio, in order to acquit himself in this expedition, made a tour round almost all the princes, and in the way had a personal conference with *Luther*, upon whom he employed all his art and influence in vain (I). Finding all his endeavours ineffectual, he advised his master to assail that arch-heretic by writing; and the pope, in conformity with his advice, pitched upon certain cardinals and bishops, to the number of nine, to compose a formulary, or project for reforming the church<sup>d</sup>.

- c THE Protestants being, by this measure, made acquainted with the intentions of the pope, made use of that pretext for assembling at *Smalcalde*, though in reality their view was to renew their association, the term of which was well nigh expired. Accordingly a new alliance was made for ten years, comprehending not only those of the former association, but also all those who espoused the confession of *Augsburg*, and were willing to engage in the league (K).

*The Protestants re-assemble at Smalcalde, and renew their association.*

- d To this assembly the kings of *France* and *England* sent ambassadors. *William de Langey*, lord of *Bellay*, the *French* envoy, went thither to acquit his master of the imputation thrown upon him by the Protestants, who charged him with having burnt some *Lutherans* at *Paris*. The ambassador, in his king's justification, represented that the sect of *Sacramentarians*, having spread itself even into *France*, his majesty had taken all imaginable precautions to check the progress of that heresy; which six of his subjects having, in contempt of his prohibition, publicly professed, and in order to gain converts, publicly affixed placades that were equally injurious to religion and government, so as to endanger an insurrection in the kingdom, they had been convicted of heresy and sedition, and legally condemned to the flames, which they had publicly suffered at *Paris*, during a general procession, and public prayers for the extirpation of such a damnable sect: but far from having inflicted that chastisement with a view to drive the *Germans* from his dominions, he assured them that his kingdom should always be an asylum, in which they would be as perfectly secure as the *French* themselves. He likewise gave them to understand, that the Grand Seignior had sent an ambassador to the king his master, in order to conclude a treaty of alliance, in which his most Christian majesty would not engage, until he should know the sentiments of the electors and other *German* princes on that subject; that the sultan had proposed very advantageous conditions, provided he would not intermeddle in the war of *Hungary*; but he had hitherto declined them, that the other kings and princes might have time and opportunity to be comprehended in the same peace, for he did not at all doubt that the *Turk* would turn his arms against more remote nations, provided he had proper assurances of remaining unmolested on the side of Christendom. The assembly was far from being satisfied with this apology for having burnt the *Lutherans*, and paid very little regard to his proposal touching an alliance with the *Turk*<sup>e</sup>.

A. D. 1535. The kings of France and England send ambassadors to this assembly.

*The apology of Francis to the princes of the league.*

- f THE *English* ambassador spoke another language, which they better understood. A year had now elapsed since *Henry* the eighth had, at the same time, divorced himself from his wife and the church of *Rome*: he, therefore, proposed that the princes should firmly unite against the authority of the pope, and promised to correspond with them in all the measures they should take for that purpose. They embraced this proposal with joy; but, in order to preserve appearances, they agreed upon the form of an answer to the pope's nuncio, touching the convocation of a council, though it contained nothing but what they had of-

*The proposals of Henry VIII. of England.*

<sup>c</sup> Id. ibid.

<sup>d</sup> SPOND. Con. t. 9. p. 142.

<sup>e</sup> FREHER. t. 3. p. 354. & seq. SLEID. Com. l. 9. p. 98.

(I) In this conference *Luther* assured *Verger*, that he was so well convinced of the truth of his own doctrine, that the nuncio and the pope himself would embrace his faith before he would abandon it; and indeed the nuncio afterwards separated himself from the *Roman* church (3).

(K) At this assembly were present, the elector of *Saxony*, the elector count palatine, *Robert* duke of *Deux-ponts*, *Ulric* duke of *Wirtemberg*, the princes of *Pomerania*, *William* count *Nassau*, together with the deputies from *Frankfort*, *Augsburg*, *Kempten*, *Hanover*, and some other cities (4).

[3] *Remarg. sur Heiss.*

(4) *Sleidan* l. 9. p. 72.



ten repeated before. This union of the confederates, and the sanction which their success gave to all innovations in religion, produced abundance of disorder in the principal towns of Germany. Among others, *Munster* suffered almost to desolation, from the madness and fanaticism of the Anabaptists, who, under the conduct of one *Bernard Rotman*, excited a civil war among the citizens, expelled the magistrates and clergy, formed a new plan of government, in which polygamy was held lawful, and at length proceeded to such a degree of phrenzy and extravagance, as to choose for their king a Dutch taylor, whose name was *John of Leyden*; but this impostor, who pretended to have personal communication with God, did not long enjoy his dignity, which was supported by actions equally barbarous and absurd; for the city, after having been some time besieged by the bishop, who was authorised and reinforced by the states of the empire, was betrayed by one of the companions of this pretender, who facilitated the entrance of the besiegers; so that the place was taken by assault, after a very obstinate defence, during which the Anabaptists had suffered infinite fatigue and famine. Their mock king, together with his principal ministers, were carried about the country for some time, as spectacles to the rest of the people, and afterwards tortured to death at *Munster*, and hung in chains <sup>f</sup>.

SOME time before this event, *Solyman* had made some overtures of peace to pope *Clement* the eighth, the emperor, and his brother *Ferdinand*; but finding his advances treated with more coolness than he expected, he resolved to render himself more respectable by force of arms. With this view he deposed *Himeral*, who had commanded his fleet, and created *Barbarossa* his admiral in chief. This was a native of *Mitylene*, in the island of *Lesbos*, and the most formidable pirate who had ever appeared in those seas. His first expeditions against the *Morea* were successful; he spread the terror of his name over all the coast of *Italy*, and sailing towards *Afric*, took upon him the office of mediator between *Muley Hassen* and his brother *Araxid*, who contended for the kingdom of *Tunis*. But under this pretext he made himself master of the city, and all its dependencies, which he subjected to the dominion of the grand Turk <sup>g</sup>.

THE emperor *Charles*, dreading the storm that seemed ready to burst upon him from *France*, *England*, and the Protestant princes of the empire, who were far from being satisfied with his concessions, saw the necessity of arming for his defence; and that he might have a specious pretext for making a powerful armament, he undertook an expedition into *Barbary*, with a view to restore *Muley Hassen*, who had implored his protection, as well as to chastise the insolence of *Barbarossa*, who continually infested the coasts of his *Sicilian* dominions. He accordingly set sail from *Spain* in the month of *April*, with a powerful fleet, and his design was so well conducted, that in a little time he gained possession of the city and port of *Tunis*, together with the fortress of *Goleta*, set at liberty a great number of Christian slaves, defeated *Barbarossa* by sea and land, and restored *Muley Hassen* to his dominions, leaving, however, a strong garrison in the fortress, in order to keep that prince his dependant and tributary. Pope *Paul* had assisted him with several gallies, well equipped for this expedition, and had granted him a tenth of the effects of the clergy, in order to defray the expence of the war <sup>h</sup>.

FROM the prosecution of this war he was soon diverted by the conduct of the king of *France*, who, with an army of sixty thousand men, had entered *Piedmont*, to revenge himself upon the duke of *Savoy*, who had disobliged him, and afterwards to attempt the recovery of the duchy of *Milan*. *Charles* no sooner received this intimation, than he dispatched orders into *Germany*, and all his other dominions, for sending troops to oppose the French in *Italy*; while he himself repaired to *Rome*, where, in presence of the pope, the cardinals, and ambassadors from foreign princes, he made a very passionate harangue against the king of *France*, complaining, that notwithstanding the treaty of alliance, he had, from envy and inveterate rancour, interrupted the progress of his success against the common enemy, taking the advantage of his absence to invade his dominions; and concluded with saying, that, in order to avoid the effusion of Christian blood, he was content to decide the difference by single combat with the king of *France*, whom he accordingly defied, and who was wise enough to decline the proposal <sup>i</sup>.

HE likewise renewed his solicitations with his holiness for the convocation of a council; and the pope, who was perfectly well informed by his nuncio, that the Protestants would insist on its being held in some city of the empire, pretended he was extremely well disposed to gratify his desire; but pitched upon *Mantua* as the most convenient place for all parties concerned, and fixed the month of *June* of the ensuing year for the time of its meeting. These resolutions were perfectly agreeable to the views of *Charles*, who had two aims to accomplish in this council: one was to detain the pope in *Italy*, in case he should be dis-

Barbarossa subjects the kingdom of Tunis to the Grand Seignior.

The emperor makes a descent upon Barbary, and defeats Barbarossa by sea and land.

He is obliged to turn his arms against the king of France in Italy. A. D. 1536.

Charles challenges Francis to single combat.

<sup>f</sup> MESHOV. l. 6, 7. PONTAN. l. 3. SLEID. l. 10. p. 112. <sup>g</sup> JOV. l. 34. Sur. in Com. <sup>h</sup> SCHARD. Oper. Hist. t. ii. <sup>i</sup> SANDOV. Carlos V. l. 23. p. 304. ZEN. in. vit. Car. V.



- a posed to favour *France*; and the other, to make himself absolute through all *Germany*. Having thus, as he imagined, put the affair of religion on a right footing, he employed his whole attention on the war against *France*; and, contrary to the advice of his best officers, resolved to invade *Provence* in person. He accordingly traversed all *Italy*, and passed the *Var* with an army of fifty thousand men, commanded by *Antonio de Leyva*, his lieutenant-general; being followed by a fleet, commanded by *Andrew Doria*, which furnished him with provision and ammunition. These preparations, however, did not avail: for, instead of being received with open arms by the disaffected subjects of *France*, as he had expected, he found all the advantageous posts already occupied by the enemy, who did not think proper to risk a battle; so that the progress of his army being retarded, his design proved abortive, his forces were daily diminished by death, and he was obliged to send the remains of them into quarters; while he himself retired to *Genoa*, after having pillaged *Aix*, and made an unsuccessful attempt upon the city of *Marseilles*<sup>k</sup> (L).

- b WHILE he sojourned in that place, he was visited by *Joachim de Pappenheim*, *Lewis de Bambach*, and *Claude Peuthinger*, who, in quality of ambassadors from the Protestant princes, contradicted the false reports which had been raised, touching their alliance with the kings of *France* and *England*; and entreated him to leave in quiet those princes and states who had entered into their league since the last pacification at *Nuremberg*; as also to forbid the imperial chamber to proceed in any cause, or pass sentence against them. The ambassadors were favourably received by *Charles*; who assured them, that before his departure for *Spain*, which he was called by pressing affairs, he would send his answer to their principals by *Hilde*, his vice-chancellor, who should follow them with all convenient dispatch. In effect, that minister, having taken in his way *Vienna*, where he joined the pope's nuncio, who was then with king *Ferdinand*, executed his orders with such diligence, that both arrived at *Smalcalde*, while the Protestant princes were assembled together with *Luther* and the rest of the principal preachers. There they presented the pope's bull concerning the convocation of a council; which, being canvassed by the *Lutheran* divines, produced abundance of dispute both in public and private. At length they declared, that they would assent to no other than a free Christian council, at which every person should enjoy liberty of sentiment and speech; for which reason the pope should neither convoke nor preside at it, these being the prerogatives of the emperor and kings: nor should it assemble at *Mantua*, while there were towns in *Germany* altogether as commodious for that purpose. The nuncio and the vice-chancellor exerted all their endeavours in persuading the Protestants to comply with the directions contained in the bull; but finding all their eloquence ineffectual, had recourse to another expedient, addressing themselves to the Catholic princes, who, as a counter-balance to the confederacy of *Smalcalde*, entered into an association for eleven years, in order to defend themselves and their religion from all enemies, declaring the emperor and his brother *Ferdinand* chiefs of the league (M).

The emperor is visited by the ambassadors of the Protestant princes.

A. D. 1537.

- c MEAN while, the pope considering the opposition at *Smalcalde*, deferred the opening of the council for some months, on pretence that the duke of *Mantua* wanted time to levy troops, and fortify his town for the public security. While the eyes of all Christendom were turned upon this council, the jealousy that prevailed between the emperor and the king of *France*, induced this last to mortify the other in a very sensible manner. *Francis* could never forgive the emperor for having compelled him, in the treaties of *Madrid* and *Cambray*, to renounce the sovereignty of *Flanders* and *Artois*: he now, therefore, ordered his parliament to carry on a process against *Charles* as his vassal, who, for his conduct on that occasion, was accused of felony, and summoned by heralds on the frontiers, to appear at a certain time and take his trial. The emperor, who was at that time in *Spain*, no sooner heard of this insult, and the march of the *French* towards those provinces, than he sent orders to his generals to assemble troops with all imaginable expedition, and repel force by force. Both armies had already taken the field, and the Imperialists began to have some advantage over the enemy; when *Eleonora* queen of *France*, and *Mary* queen of *Hungary*, interposed in order to mediate an accommodation, and procured a suspension of arms for six months, for the *Low Countries* only, the war still continuing in *Piedmont*, where the Imperialists took by assault the town of *Cherasco*, and put the garrison and citizens to the sword. But some time after, the inhabitants of *Turin*, being well nigh reduced to famine,

The king of France mortifies the emperor; between whom a suspension of arms is mediated for the Low Countries.

<sup>k</sup> BELLAI. l. 7, 8. JOV. l. 36. THUAN. l. 1. p. 25; &c.

(L) At the same time the emperor invaded *France* on the side of *Picardy*, which count *Nassau* entered with thirty thousand men, and took the town and castle of *Guise*; *Peronne* was also invested; but the place was so gallantly defended by the marechal de *Florenge*s, and the count de *Dammartin*, that the Imperialists were obliged

to abandon the siege and retire (1).

(M) The chief of those who entered into this association were the archbishops of *Mentz* and *Salzburg*, *William* and *Lewis* duke of *Bavaria*, *George* duke of *Saxony*, and *Eric* and *Henry* dukes of *Brunswick* (2).

(1) *Mex. Abr. Chron.* t. iii. p. 907.

(2) *Heiff.* l. 3. c. 4.



A truce also  
negotiated for  
Italy.

and all the avenues of the city blocked up by the troops of the emperor, the king of *France* sent thither a powerful army with his son *Henry*, now become dauphin by the death of his elder brother (N) *Francis*, accompanied by *Anne de Montmorency*, marechal and afterwards constable of *France*, who opened the communication and relieved the place. Nevertheless, by the intercession of the pope and the *Venetians*, he agreed to a truce of three months for the countries on the other side the *Alps*, and that for the *Low Countries* was lengthened out to the same period<sup>1</sup>.

THE hands of *Charles* being tied up by this suspension of arms, he resolved to disturb *France* by all sorts of secret intrigues. *Charles Egmont* had put himself under the protection of his most Christian majesty, that he might be maintained in the possession of the duchy of *Guelderland*, which the emperor pretended was part of the succession of his father *Philip*. While the duke thought himself secure in the friendship of *France*, *Charles*, by his secret emissaries, spread such reports among his people, as made them believe their duke intended to subject them to the jurisdiction of *France*; and this notion produced a revolt, in consequence of which duke *Charles* was expelled from his dominions, and could scarce find a place of retreat, because the insurrection was powerfully patronized by the emperor<sup>m</sup>.

Christian king  
of Denmark  
enters into the  
Protestant  
league.  
A. D. 1538.

IN the mean time, the pope finding himself entangled in such affairs as did not at all favour the meeting of the council at the time prescribed in his bulls, he again deferred the convocation of that assembly; so that the Protestants had leisure to continue their negotiations, and to concert proper measures for preventing the ill effects of that council. With this view, the chiefs of their party assembled the following year at *Brunswic*, where they received into their alliance *Christian* king of *Denmark*, son of *Frederic* the second, and *John* marquis of *Brandenburg*; and, in order to give more weight to that assembly, these new allies personally appeared at their meeting. The pope, being very sensible that it would be impossible to procure a solid peace to the church of *Rome*, while the two greatest powers of Christendom were at variance, employed all his art and influence in laying the foundation of an agreement between the emperor and the king of *France*. He solicited each of these princes with all his might to consent to a personal interview in his presence; and having obtained his request by dint of unwearied importunity, *Nice*, which is a sea-port town on the *Mediterranean*, was the place fixed for the meeting of those two princes. Thither the pope repaired, being followed by the emperor, who came by sea with a powerful fleet, and the king of *France*, who came by land with a numerous army; but in spite of all the efforts of the pope, repeated in the course of a long negociation, he could not effect a peace, tho' they consented to a truce for ten years<sup>n</sup> (O).

The emperor  
and the king  
of France, together  
with the pope, arrive  
at Nice, and  
a truce is concluded  
for ten  
years.

AMONG other subjects of deliberation that occurred at this meeting, the progress of the *Turks* in *Hungary* was not forgotten. *Ferdinand*, king of the *Romans*, had been very unsuccessful against the infidels, who had forced his lines at *Belgrade*, and defeated one army, while another, destined to oppose their efforts in *Dalmatia*, met with the same fate<sup>o</sup>. How to stop their progress was now the question; and, after mature consideration, they saw nothing practicable until they should have first healed up the divisions in religion, so as that all the princes in Christendom might unite their forces against the common enemy. *Charles* promised to write to the princes of the empire on this subject, and actually sent circular letters, exhorting them to enter into the same sentiments, and unanimously concur for the general good; adding, that in order to accomplish this grand aim with the greater ease, he had invested the archbishop of *Lunden*, and *Matthias Hilde*, with full power to negotiate and accommodate with them all matters in dispute, according to the advice of his brother and council. Though *Germany* was now divided into two parties of Catholics and Protestants, this difference had not mutually inspired them with hatred and aversion to each other: on the contrary, both sides expressed the utmost eagerness and zeal for a re-union. With this view a general assembly was held at *Franckfort*, where after long debates it decreed, that the emperor should grant a truce for fifteen months to all the Protestants with-

A. D. 1539.

The result of  
the assembly  
at Franckfort  
favourable to  
the Protestants.

<sup>1</sup> THUAN. Hist. l. 1. p. 27. MEZ. Abr. Chron. t. 3. p. 913. Onupt. in Paul III. <sup>o</sup> ISTHUANFF. l. 13. BEL. l. 22.

<sup>m</sup> SLEID. Com. l. 11. in fin.

<sup>n</sup> JOV. l. 37.

(N) *Francis*, dauphin of *France*, died in the nineteenth year of his age, not without suspicion of poison; which he is said to have received from the hands of count *Sebastian Montecuculi*, a native of *Ferrara*, who, being put to the torture, confessed the crime, which, he said, he had been engaged to commit by the ministers of the emperor. But the *Germans* pretend, that it was administered at the instigation of *Katharine of Medicis*, who could have no chance of seeing herself queen of

*France*, while the elder brother of her husband was alive (3).

(O) These two princes never once saw one another while they tarried at *Nice*; a piece of policy or precaution which was owing to the management of the pope, who had private designs of his own to execute upon both, which might have miscarried, had they ever come to personal communication (4).

(3) Bellai. l. 6. in fin. Ferron. in Fran. I.

(4) Mez. Abr. Chron. t. 3. p. 914.



- a out exception, that they might have time to inform themselves, by means of conferences, touching the contested points of religion; that the pacification of *Nuremberg*, and the emperor's edict at *Ratisbon* should be ratified; that although the differences in religion were not settled during this truce, the peace should not be violated until the next diet; that, in the mean time, the emperor should suspend all processses and proscriptions issued against the Protestants on account of religion, by the imperial chamber, and all actions whatever on that score should be annulled; that justice should be impartially administered without respect of persons, or distinction of religion; that during the truce the Protestants should admit no other power into their confederacy, but allow the clergy to receive the rents of the lands which were absolutely in their possession; that, under the permission and auspices of
- b the emperor, a day should be fixed for a conference at *Nuremberg*, between Catholics and Protestants, and learned persons chosen, of a mild and pacific disposition, for managing the dispute; that the emperor and king *Ferdinand* should be at liberty to send ambassadors to these conferences; that every decision should be reported to the absent states, which, if they approved, the emperor's ambassador should be obliged to subscribe, and the emperor to ratify it at the ensuing diet; that both parties should abstain from preparations of war, or at least declare the subject of such preparations, as this truce was not supposed to interdict any person from defending himself, according to his privilege in the empire; that this treaty should not comprehend the Anabaptists and other sectaries, who professed a doctrine contrary to the confession of *Augsburg*; finally, that the Protestants should hold in readiness their succours against the *Turk*, and send their ambassadors and deputies to *Worms*, at a certain day appointed by the emperor, to concert with the electors, and other princes and states, proper measures for supporting the war against the common enemy <sup>p</sup>.
- c

ABOUT this time, the emperor, who, since the conference at *Nice*, had still resided in *Spain*, was informed by the king of *France*, that the inhabitants of *Ghent* had revolted, on pretence of defending their liberties, and proposed to put themselves under his protection: an instance of integrity never enough to be commended in *Francis*, who chose to forfeit the extraordinary advantages which he might have gained on this occasion, rather than fully his honour by a breach of the truce which he had concluded with *Charles*. The emperor, alarmed at this intimation, resolved to set out immediately for *Flanders*; and, that he might take the shortest and easiest way, ventured to pass through *France*, relying on the assurance of *Francis*, who engaged his word for his security <sup>q</sup>. He accordingly took the road, accompanied by a slender retinue, and was met on the frontiers by the constable *Montmorency*, *Henry* the dauphin, and *Charles* duke of *Orleans*, the king's sons, who offered to go and remain in *Spain* as hostages for his safety. This generous proffer he refused with due acknowledgement; and they attended him through all the fairest cities of the kingdom, where he was treated with equal cordiality and splendor. At *Loches* in *Berry*, he was received by the king in person, who accompanied him through *Orleans* to *Paris*, which he entered on the first day of the new year, walking between the two sons of *France*, and preceded by the constable with the naked sword in his hand. Cardinal *Farnese*, the pope's legate, and the archbishop of *Paris* waited for him in the great church; and nothing was omitted which could contribute to honour, divert, and entertain him, during the seven days which he spent in that capital. At his departure from *Paris*, he was again convoyed by the king to *St. Quintin*; but the two princes his sons proceeded with him as far as *Valenciennes*, the first town of the *Low-Countries*. Charmed with the polite treatment he had received, and the honours which had been paid to him in *France*, *Charles*, by way of gratitude, promised to bestow upon the king or the dauphin, the investiture of the duchy of *Milan*, and *Francis* actually expected this mark of his friendship, though he would not execute his promise until his arrival in his own dominions, and at last eluded it in such a manner as did very little credit to his generosity <sup>r</sup>. The people murmured loudly at this evasion of the emperor, and did not scruple to say, the king had been a dupe to his dissimulation, observing that *Francis* ought to have retorted the usage he had received from *Charles* at *Madrid*, and made his own terms while he had his rival in his power (P).

d

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The emperor is informed of an insurrection at Ghent.

A. D. 1540. He passes through France to the Low Countries.

<sup>p</sup> SLEIDAN. Com. l. 12. p. 134. p. 916.

<sup>q</sup> THUAN. Hist. l. 1. p. 28.

<sup>r</sup> MEZER. Abr. Chron. t. iii.

(P) When *Charles* at first demanded a passage through *France*, the king was actually advised to take this advantage of him; but he was dissuaded by the constable *Montmorency*, whose disgrace (which followed soon after) seemed to declare that he was suspected of holding intelligence with the emperor (i).

(1) Thuan. l. 1. p. 28.



Confirms the  
result of  
Frankfort in  
favour of the  
Protestants.

A. D. 1541.  
Refers the dis-  
putes in reli-  
gion to a con-  
ference.

The Protec-  
tants are pri-  
vately indulg-  
ed with liber-  
ty of con-  
science by the  
emperor.

burghers were executed as chiefs of the sedition, a much greater number banished, all the public edifices confiscated, the town deprived of its artillery, arms, and privileges, and sentenced to pay a fine of one million two hundred thousand crowns; and, as a check upon the mutinous disposition of the people, he ordered a citadel to be built, and manned with a very strong garrison. While he tarried in *Flanders*, he was visited by the envoys of the Protestant princes, who, together with king *Ferdinand* his brother, went thither to solicit him on the subject of the assembly at *Frankfort*, which the Protestants complained had been in sundry ways infringed or unperformed, to their detriment and disadvantage: they, therefore, besought him to shut his ears against the calumnies of their foes, who had represented them as restless and disaffected; to interpose his authority for putting a stop to the processes which had been instituted against them, contrary to the articles of the truce; and to give directions for a conference, in which the difference in point of religion might be amicably discussed. The emperor was not a little embarrassed on this occasion; because the pope had not approved of the proceedings at *Frankfort*, and now opposed the ratification which they demanded. Nevertheless, preferring his own interest and the public repose to every other consideration, he, after some delay, complied with their request, in confirming the result; being resolved, as far as in him lay, to maintain union among the members of the empire, and to facilitate the means of bringing all religious disputes to some happy determination. For this purpose, he appointed an assembly at *Haguenau*; but finding it impracticable to determine the contest touching the restitution of the effects of the clergy which were possessed by Protestants, and reclaimed by the Catholics, it was referred to a diet, which was to be held at *Worms* in the month of *October* ensuing. Here, likewise, the affair was argued, without being brought to any conclusion; so that the emperor was fain to convoke another, which was opened at *Ratisbon* in the month of *April*; and in which were present the emperor, and cardinal *Gaspar Contarini* in behalf of the pope. *Charles*, after having made a proposal tending to a general pacification, and in particular to quiet that discord which had sprung from a religious source, agreed with the Protestants to refer the whole affair to a conference, which should be managed by three doctors on each side, under the authority of two presidents, namely, *Frederic* count palatine of the *Rhine*, and *Nicholas Granvel*, the emperor's prime minister (Q).

ACCORDINGLY, this conference began towards the end of *April*; but in five or six articles only could they agree, the rest the emperor thought proper to remit to the decision of a general or national council, or rather to the judgment of another diet. The legate *Contarini* opposed this resolution; and demanded with great warmth, that the whole affair should be submitted to the pope or general council, alleging, that neither a national council, nor a diet, could judge decisively on articles of faith. No respect, however, was had to this remonstrance, though the people were prohibited, under severe penalties, to ruin or seize the effects of the church, to make any innovation, or seduce any person from the antient religion; while, at the same time, the clergy were strictly enjoined to reform their manners, and live, for the future, with more regularity and discipline. But these decrees were no other than an outward pretext; for at bottom the emperor's design was to conciliate the affections of the Protestants, lest they should throw themselves under the protection of *Francis*, which, he knew, they had already solicited. He therefore, in private, granted them letters patent, by which they were indulged with liberty of conscience: the decree of the diet was softened in their favour; he permitted them to receive those who desired to be of their communion; he suspended the last edict of *Augsburg*, and all the preceding decrees which had been issued against them; and lastly, ordered the imperial chamber at *Spire* to administer justice to them, without making any difference on the score of religion; so that by these means the Protestants were entirely detached from the interest of *France*.

*CHARLES* took the same opportunity to put the duke of *Cleves* to the ban of the empire, because he had retired to the king of *France*, whose protection he craved, that he might be maintained in the possession of the duchy of *Guelderland*, devolved to him by the death of *William* of *Cleves*, to whom it had been ceded by *Charles Egmont* the last duke, without the concurrence of the emperor, and to the prejudice of his claim derived from his grand-mother *Mary* of *Burgundy*. He likewise gave orders for re-establishing the duke of *Savoy* in his dominions, prohibited all *Germans* from engaging in the service of *France*, and dismissed the assembly, after having exhorted all the states to contribute to the necessary measures for opposing the *Turk*. Affairs were dispatched in this manner, because

<sup>s</sup> SAND. Carlos V. l. 24. p. 385.

<sup>u</sup> SLEID. Comment. l. 14 p. 152.

<sup>t</sup> SLEID. Com. l. 13. 146. COCHLÆ in acta Luth. BELCAR. l. 22.

<sup>x</sup> SUR. in Comment.

(Q) The Catholic doctors were *John Eckius*, *John Melancthon*, *Martin Bucer*, and *John Pistorius*, assisted by *Gropperus*, and *Julius Pflugius*. The Protestant, *Philip* several persons of quality.

(1) Heiff. l. 3. c. 4.



a he would not lose the season for passing into *Italy*, where he proposed to embark on board the fleet he had prepared, for the execution of his design against *Algiers*. He accordingly set sail for the coast of *Barbary*, where he landed and began the siege of that place; but he was obliged to abandon the enterprize, on account of the tempestuous weather, by which he lost one hundred ships and fifteen galleys, so that he was fain to raise the siege, and return to *Spain* with the wreck of his army, which from four and twenty was reduced to ten thousand men <sup>y</sup> (R).

The emperor undertakes another expedition to Barbary, which proves unfortunate.

NOR was king *Ferdinand* more fortunate in his attempts upon *Hungary*. After the death of *John*, he had marched to besiege the city of *Buda*, hoping to profit by the minority of the young king *Stephen*, who was there shut up under the tuition of his mother. But Sultan *Solyman*, whose assistance was implored by that princess and the other tutors of her son, ordered a considerable body of troops to march to their relief, and following in person at the head of another formidable army, a battle ensued, in which *Ferdinand* was totally defeated, and in consequence of which the city of *Buda*, together with the young king, and his mother the queen dowager, fell into the hands of *Solyman*, who had come thither under pretence of protecting them <sup>z</sup>.

King Ferdinand is defeated by the Turks.

FROM this misfortune, the emperor took occasion to convoke a diet at *Spire*, where king *Ferdinand*, who presided, obtained of the states a supply of men and money, proportioned to that which the hereditary provinces had granted, on condition that it should be employed against the common enemy, of Christendom. The pope's nuncio being present at the diet, offered a reinforcement of the same kind in the name of his holiness; and as all the princes who composed that assembly generously expressed an unanimous resolution to embark in the general cause, notwithstanding the intrigues of the *French* ambassador, who endeavoured to disunite them, the nuncio, in order to confirm the good intentions of the Protestants, gave them to understand that the pope, in consideration of that spirit which they expressed against the infidels, would comply with the request which they had so often made to have a council in some city of the empire; and that he had chosen *Trent* as the most commodious place for them and all the other nations concerned in the convocation. In conformity with this promise, he actually summoned a council to meet in the city of *Trent*, on the first of *November*, and sent an intimation of his design to the emperor and king d of *France*, whom he invited to assist in person at the assembly, or at least to send thither their ambassadors, archbishops, bishops, abbots, and other ecclesiastics <sup>a</sup>.

DURING these transactions, *Francis* the first, who could not digest the affront which he pretended to have received from the emperor, whose *Spanish* subjects had assassinated *Anthony de Rinçon*, and *Cesar Fregosa*, his ambassadors to *Venice* and *Constantinople*, resolved to be revenged on *Charles*, who had refused satisfaction on that head; and, taking the advantage of his operations in concert with the pope and the princes of the empire against the Turk, attacked his dominions in five different parts, namely, *Brabant*, *Luxemburg*, *Artois*, *Piedmont*, and *Roussillon*; but the emperor had taken such precautions for the defence of these places, that the king of *France* acquired no advantage from the war <sup>b</sup>, which, on the contrary, prejudiced him in the opinions of the *German* princes, who now firmly believed that his enterprize was solely undertaken with a view to make a diversion in favour of the infidels; and they were more exasperated against him, by the certain accounts they received, importing, that the *Turks* were employed in making extraordinary preparations for extending their conquests in *Hungary* and *Moravia*.

A. D. 1542. The king of France declares war against the emperor, and attacks his dominions in five different places.

IN consequence of this information, *Ferdinand*, in the beginning of the year, assembled the princes at *Nuremberg*, where he found no difficulty in prevailing upon them to comply with his measures; when among other things it was determined, that they should fortify themselves as well as they could on the side of the *Turks*, and that the emperor should be intreated to return to *Germany*, in order to oppose the *French* and the duke of *Cleves*, who had brought them thither (S). The emperor was no sooner apprised of this resolution, than he began to prepare for his departure from *Spain*; and foreseeing the length of his voyage, and his absence, he nominated his son *Philip* king of *Spain*, and put the admi-

A. D. 1543.

<sup>y</sup> NIC. VILL. ap. SCHARD. Oper. Hist. t. ii. Hist. Hospit. iii. l. 10. <sup>z</sup> BELCAR. l. 23. ISTHUAFF. l. 14. ap. LEUCEL. l. 18. <sup>a</sup> SLEID. Com. l. 14. p. 157. <sup>b</sup> MÉZ. Abr. Chron. t. iii. p. 920.

(R) *Charles* is said to have undertaken this expedition against a petty pirate in *Barbary*, through fear of being involved in the affairs of *Hungary*, which *Solyman* had invaded with a vast army; and the great fleet he equipped on this occasion, gave rise to a severe remark, importing, that no prince in the world fled from his enemy with

more apparatus (1).

(S) In answer to the manifestoes which *Charles V.* published against *Francis* for having entered into an alliance with the *Turks*, that prince observed, that when he was attacked by wolves, it was excusable to call the dogs to his assistance (2).

(1) *Jov.* l. 40.

(2) *Heiff.* l. 3. c. 4.



nistration of affairs into his hands, after he had seen him married to the infanta *Mary*, a daughter of *John* king of *Portugal*. In a few days after these nuptials, he embarked on board a powerful fleet, in which he arrived at *Genoa*, from whence he wrote letters to the elector of *Saxony*, the landgrave of *Hesse*, and the other confederates, exhorting them to contribute their assistance towards the war against the *Turk*, and at the same time issued orders for assembling a diet at *Spire*. Then he had an interview with the pope, whom he pressed to declare war against the king of *France*; but his holiness eluded these intreaties, and in his turn solicited him to restore *Parma* and *Placentia* to the holy see, and to invest his grandson *Ottavio Farnese* with the duchy of *Milan*, seeing the *Italian* powers would never consent that he should retain it for himself<sup>d</sup>. To this proposal, however, *Charles* lent a deaf ear; and setting out for *Germany* arrived at *Spire*, from whence he repaired to *Bonn*, in order b to oppose the progress of the duke of *Cleves*. There, having assembled his army, he marched directly to *Duren*, in the county of *Juliers*, and on the twenty-third day of *August*, summoned the town to surrender, threatening to declare war against them should they refuse to comply with his demand. The garrison having returned a contemptuous answer and defiance, he invested the town with the *Spanish* troops, and he carried on the attacks with such vigour, that the place was taken by assault, a great number of men being killed on both sides. This success spread such a terror in the neighbourhood, that the towns of *Juliers*, *Ruremonde*, and *Venlo* surrendered without resistance. The duke of *Cleves*, finding himself so hotly pursued, repaired to this last place, accompanied by *Henry* duke of *Brunswick*, and the ambassadors of the elector of *Cologne*, by whose intercession his affairs were c so happily negotiated, that the emperor pardoned him on these conditions: that he should adhere to the *Roman* Catholic church; and in case any change should happen in his country, reduce every thing to its pristine state: that he should swear fealty to the emperor, king *Ferdinand*, and the empire; renounce the alliance of *France* and *Denmark*; engage in no league that should not comprehend the emperor, king *Ferdinand*, and their heirs; and that he should yield up *Guelderland*, and assist the emperor in reducing the towns of that duchy, which should refuse to submit. In consideration of these concessions, *Charles* restored to him the duchy of *Juliers*, except the cities of *Heinsberg* and *Sittard*, which he proposed to keep for some time as pledges of the duke's fidelity<sup>e</sup>.

The emperor marches to *Duren*, which is taken by assault.

Francis, reduces *Luxemburg*.

A. D. 1544. *Charles* presides at the diet, and is favourable to the Protestants.

THIS treaty was concluded without the participation of *Francis* the first, who was actually on his march with a strong body of forces to support the duke; but hearing by the way of this accommodation, he discharged his resentment upon the city of *Luxemburg*, which, for the second time, he reduced to his obedience. Mean while, the Imperialists having received a reinforcement of troops from *Henry* king of *England*, with whom the emperor had concluded a new alliance, they attacked *Landrecy* in the *Low Countries*; and as soon as the emperor understood it was invested, he marched thither with the rest of his army, after having settled the affairs of *Guelderland*. At the same time, the king of *France* took the same rout with all his forces, and a general battle was expected; but *Francis*, having supplied the town with succours and all sorts of warlike ammunition, retired without fighting; and the emperor, being hindered by the winter from continuing the siege, or undertaking any other enterprize, returned to *Germany*, in order to preside at the diet which he had convoked<sup>f</sup>. At this assembly, which was held at *Spire*, the subjects of deliberation were the complaints of the Protestants, and the war against *France* and the infidels. The states having duly considered these points, unanimously agreed to accommodate the emperor with double subsidies; and, concluding that the war against the *Turks* would be carried on with greater advantage and security, provided they could compel *France* to sue for peace, they resolved to make a strong effort for that purpose, and consented to furnish six *Roman* months for defraying the expence of levying four thousand cavalry, and four and twenty thousand infantry; as well as to enable king *Ferdinand* to provide for the places on the frontiers of *Turkey*. With regard to future wars which should be carried on against the *Ottomans*, it was decreed, that every person, without exception, should contribute according to his ability. Severe penalties were likewise ordained against those who should engage in the service of foreign princes, particularly of the king of *France*; and orders were given to the magistrates to proceed against such delinquents with all the rigour of the law. As for the affair of religion, a decree was made, suspending the execution of the edict of *Augsburg*, and securing all persons from being molested on account of their persuasion, every dispute on that subject being referred to the decision of the ensuing diet, until a free, general, or national council could be held in *Germany*. It was also agreed, that each party should enjoy their present possessions; and that on the re-election of the judges of the imperial chamber, a like number should be chosen of each religion. This decree

<sup>c</sup> SAND. Carlos V. l. 35. p. 423.  
<sup>f</sup> MEZ. Abr. Chron. t. iii. p. 294.

<sup>d</sup> SLEID. Comment. l. 15. p. 169.

<sup>e</sup> SLEID. Com. l. 15. p. 170.



- a was very agreeable to the Protestants, and had such an influence upon the elector of *Saxony* in particular, that he entered into a particular treaty with the emperor; by which, for the first time, he acknowledged *Ferdinand* as king of the *Romans*; and *Charles*, on his part, approved and ratified the mutual hereditary compact between the families of *Saxony* and *Cleves*; specifying, that if the duke of *Cleves* should die without heirs male, the elector of *Saxony* and his heirs male should succeed to his dominions. In order to strengthen this new tie between the houses of *Austria* and *Saxony*, king *Ferdinand*, with the emperor's consent, promised to bestow in marriage his daughter *Eleonora* upon the elector's eldest son, provided the reconciliation in point of religion should take place, before the princess should have attained to an age requisite for the consummation of the nuptials. This last article
- b was communicated to very few; and kept so secret on both sides, as to escape the knowledge of the landgrave and all his allies<sup>e</sup>.

THIS decree concerning religion was not more agreeable to the Protestants than mortifying to the *Roman Catholics*; who, with difficulty, were prevailed upon to give their assent, in consequence of the intreaties of *Charles*, who assured them, that what he had done was from an apprehension of being obliged to make a more disagreeable compliance, by the majority of suffrages on the Protestant side; and that as the affair was referred to the decision of another diet, future measures might be taken in favour of the Catholics.

- THESE regulations being made, the emperor set out from *Spire*, in order to execute the design which they had formed against *France*, in concert with the king of *England*.
- c These two princes had laid the scheme of attacking that kingdom at the same time, and of appearing before *Paris* at an appointed day, in order to join their forces, sack the city, and ravage the country as far as the river *Loire*. As all the necessary preparations had been made for an expedition of this sort, it would, in all probability, have succeeded, had not the *English* amused themselves in the siege of *Boulogne*, which they resolved to take before they proceeded farther. The emperor, taking this opportunity of retrieving what he had lost in *Luxemburg*, and of revenging the affront he had received in the defeat of the marquis of *Guaſte*, at the battle of *Cerifolles* (T), advanced towards *Metz*, where, having assembled his army, he undertook the siege of the city of *Luxemburg*, which surrendered to him about the end of *May*. He likewise made himself master of *Ligny* in the province of *Barre*,
- d and *St. Dizier*, from whence he advanced, by the way of *Chalons*, as far as *Chateau-Thierry*. This rapidity produced such consternation in *Paris*, that all those who had means to retire, even the very students, deserted the place, and *Francis*, finding himself so suddenly saddled with two such powerful enemies, was advised to send proposals of peace to the emperor. He accordingly dispatched ambassadors on that errand, who finding *Charles* disgusted at the *English*, who, instead of joining him according to their promise, had spent the time in taking places on the frontiers of *Picardy*; they managed his chagrin with such dexterity, that he at length condescended to treat with the king of *France* without any regard to his ally; and upon the seventeenth of *September* a peace was concluded at *Crepy* on these conditions: All that has been taken on either side, since the truce, shall be restored;
- e the duke of *Lorraine* shall keep possession of the town of *Stenay*, under the protection of the province of *Luxemburg*; the emperor and the king shall employ their joint endeavours and strength in re-establishing the ancient religion and concord in the church; the king shall furnish six thousand cuirassiers, and ten thousand foot for the war against the *Turk*; he shall renounce all his pretensions to *Arragon*, *Flanders*, and the kingdom of *Naples*, *Artois*, and *Guelderland*; the emperor on his part shall quit his claim to the *Boulonnois*, *Peronne*, and the other towns situated upon the *Somme*, as well as to *Lower Burgundy* and the *Maconnois*; he shall give his eldest daughter *Mary*, or his niece, the daughter of his brother *Ferdinand*, in marriage to *Charles* duke of *Orleans*, the king's son, and in four months declare which of the two he will bestow; if his daughter, he shall settle upon her, by way
- f of dowry, the country of *Brabant*, *Guelderland*, *Luxemburg* and *Limburg*, *Flanders*, *Holland*, *Friezeland*, *Hainault*, *Artois*, *Namur*, *Utrecht*, and all the other countries on that side, as well as *Upper Burgundy*, called *Franche Comté*, to be enjoyed by her after his death. In consideration of which settlement, the king shall, on his side, for himself and his children renounce all right to the *Milanese*; and if the emperor's daughter shall die without children, the duke of *Orleans* shall restore all these countries, reserving his right upon the *Milanese*, in like manner as the emperor shall retain his claim to *Burgundy*: if the daughter of

*Charles* concert a scheme against *France* with *Henry* king of *England*.

Concludes a peace with *Francis* at *Crepy*.

<sup>e</sup> BELCAR. l. 23.

(T) This battle was fought between *Francis* count *Enguien*, third son of *Charles* I. duke of *Vendome*, and the marquis of *Guaſte*, general of the imperial army, who was totally defeated, with the loss of ten thousand men, all his artillery and baggage. By this victory the *French* became masters of the town of *Carignan*, and all *Montferrat* (1).

(2) Bell. l. 10. Monl. l. 2.



*Ferdinand* be pitched upon, she shall have in dower the principality of *Milan*; and the marriage with one or the other of these princesses shall be consummated within the year; the king shall reinstate the duke of *Savoy* in all his dominions, and keep possession of *Hesdin*, until it shall be otherwise determined; and lastly, the emperor shall interpose his good offices for promoting a peace between *France* and *England*<sup>b</sup>.

THIS treaty being signed and ratified on both sides, contrary to the opinion of almost all the world, *Charles* returned from *Soissons* to *Brabant*, and sent his *Spanish* troops into winter-quarters in *Lorraine* and the neighbouring countries. But thinking the peace he had concluded not firmly cemented, while *France* was at war with the king of *England*, his ally, he prevailed upon the two kings to send their ambassadors to *Bruges*, where, with his own, and the deputies of the Protestant princes of *Germany*, conferences were begun in order to effect an accommodation between *England* and *France*; but, at that time, all their endeavours proved abortive<sup>i</sup>.

Another diet  
convoked at  
Worms.  
A. D. 1555.

The Protestants  
refuse to  
refer them-  
selves to the  
council of  
Trent.

THE pope, who waited for nothing but the accommodation of the emperor, and the king of *France*, in order to promote the holding of the council, which hitherto had been hindered by the wars, now issued bulls for a convocation in the month of *March* in the following year, while the emperor issued orders for assembling a diet at *Worms*, on the fourth of the same month, though he could not reach that place till the month of *May*, so much was he incommoded by the gout. The design of this meeting was to concert measures for quieting the troubles of religion, to re-establish justice and peace through the empire, and provide for the support of the war against the infidels. But the Protestants, having declared that they could not refer themselves to the council of *Trent*, and insisting upon that point's being discussed before they proceeded to any other, the emperor broke up the diet, and referred the affair to another meeting at *Ratisbon*, where he invited all the states and princes to appear in the month of *January*.

WHILE every circumstance seemed to promote discord, a war was actually begun by the ravages of *Henry* of *Brunswick*, a man of a turbulent disposition and infamous life, who had obtained a great sum of money from the king of *France*, on pretence of raising soldiers in *Germany* against the *English*; for whom *Frederic Reiffenberg* was actually employed in levying troops in *Saxony*. But *Henry* having received the money, and privately assembled a good body of forces, instead of performing his promise to *Francis*, he turned his arms against the Protestants. Though he was commanded by the emperor to desist, and submit to the laws of his country, he made an assault upon the city of *Rottenburg*; from whence being repulsed he laid waste all the *Lower Saxony*, and threatened destruction to the maritime towns, unless they would renounce the confederacy of *Smalcalde*. From this circumstance the Protestants began to suspect that the emperor connived at his proceedings, that he might take the advantage of his success against them; and in order to check his progress, they assembled an army, the command of which was given to *Philip* landgrave of *Hesse*, who, after some successful skirmishes, and fruitless negotiations of peace, compelled him to surrender at discretion. The emperor, who was then at *Bruges*, being informed of this event, wrote a letter to the landgrave, wherein he endeavoured to extenuate the guilt of *Henry*, whom he desired him to release, according to the generous custom of their ancestors. He likewise ordered him to dismiss his troops, as the danger was now over; and if he had cause of complaint against any person for having assisted *Henry* in his excesses, he should have recourse to the determination of the law. This mildness in favour of a public disturber of their peace did not serve to extinguish the suspicion of the Protestants, which was soon after confirmed by his behaviour on another occasion; for instead of carrying on the war against the infidels, with the supplies that had been granted for that purpose, he sent *Gerard Feldwig* to *Constantinople*, who, in the name of *Ferdinand*, concluded a truce with the *Turk*<sup>k</sup>.

A. D. 1456.

They prolong  
their confederacy,  
and prepare for war.

THE prorogation of the diet gave great umbrage to the Protestants, who expected that the emperor, in treating the article of religion, would have put a stop to the processes, which the imperial chamber had renewed against them, on account of the church-lands they possessed; and they began to credit the advices they had received from different quarters, informing them that the emperor and king *Ferdinand* wanted to amuse them with false hopes, until they should have preparations for attacking and oppressing them by open war<sup>l</sup>. They resolved, therefore, to assemble at *Frankfort*, in order to deliberate upon the means of defending themselves from the executions of the imperial chamber, and the other misfortunes with which they were threatened. After having weighed these matters with due attention, they determined to prolong their confederacy, and prepare for war; and understanding that *Frederic* the second, successor to his brother *Lewis*, elector palatine, had invited Protestant ministers to preach in his capital city of *Heidelberg*, they sent a mes-

<sup>b</sup> BELLEFOR. l. 6, c. 62. SLEID. Com. l. 15. in fin. FERRON. in Franc. l. 1.  
<sup>k</sup> Ibid. l. 2. p. 58. <sup>l</sup> SLEID. Com. l. 16. p. 151.

<sup>i</sup> THUAN. l. 1. p. 29.



- <sup>a</sup> senger to him with congratulations upon his conversion <sup>m</sup>: but the joy of this happy event was in a few days moderated, by an account they received of *Luther's* death. During the council of *Trent*, which was opened at the time appointed by the pope's last bull for that purpose, *Luther* had been invited by the counts of *Mansfeldt* to determine a difference, which had happened among them, touching the limits of their territories. Though he had never been used to meddle in such affairs, his whole time having been dedicated to his studies, yet as he was born at *Eisleben*, a town depending upon the counts of *Mansfeldt*, he could not refuse that service to his native country, and accordingly, with the consent of the elector of *Saxony*, went thither, and was met by *Justus Jonas* and *Melancthon*, who were chosen as the other two arbiters of the dispute. But his endeavours were at that time unsuccessful in determining the difference, in which new difficulties daily occurred: however, at the earnest request of the counts, he returned a second time to the same place, accompanied by *Justus Jonas*, bishop of *Hall*, and met with a very splendid reception from the counts. His health had been for some time impaired by the vexation and chagrin, which he suffered from his difference with *Zuinglius* (U), and the decisions of *Melancthon* on these disputes. Nevertheless, he used his endeavours for settling the affair in dispute, and sometimes preached in the church, where he likewise administered the sacrament. At length he was seized with an oppression of the breast, of which he died without any marks of pain or anxiety, at the age of sixty-two. The counts of *Mansfeldt* earnestly desired that he might be buried in their territories, where he had first seen the light, and where it was his fortune to give up the ghost; but, by order of the elector of *Saxony*, his body was conveyed to *Wurtemberg*, and there interred with great funeral pomp <sup>n</sup>.

The death of Luther.

- MEAN while the infirmities of the emperor, which daily increased, having hindered him from being present at the diet of *Ratisbon* on the appointed day, it was not opened till six months after, when, perceiving that the greatest part of the Protestant princes had neglected to appear in person, and even to send deputies, and that his hopes of terminating the differences in religion were baffled, as the confederates of *Smalcalde* had paid no regard to the council, which had for some time been opened at *Trent*, the emperor in full diet bitterly reproached them for their insolence and obstinacy, and did not scruple to declare, that for the future he would make use of his power and authority for bringing them to reason. Having foreseen that things would come to this extremity, he had sent the cardinal of *Trent* to *Rome*, in order to conclude a league with the pope, which was accordingly signed on the twenty-sixth of the same month. By this treaty it was agreed, that the pope should furnish the emperor with twelve thousand *Italian* foot soldiers, five hundred horse, and two hundred thousand golden crowns to be deposited at *Venice*: that *Charles* should for one year, levy in the pope's name one-half of the church revenues through all *Spain*, and even be at liberty to mortgage the income of monasteries in that kingdom, to the amount of five hundred thousand golden crowns, for the expence of the war, on condition that he should give security for repayment out of his own estates, because the expedient was without example; that they should, with all their force, oppose every person who should pretend to thwart their enterprize, and reciprocally assist each other during the continuance of the war, and even for six months after it should be at an end; and lastly, that every prince and state should be admitted into the league, upon condition of participating of the gain and expence of the undertaking. This confederacy between the emperor and the pope acted as a caution upon other princes to be upon their guard, and produced a peace between *France* and *England*, which was concluded at the same time <sup>o</sup>.

The emperor concludes a treaty with the pope against the Protestants.

- Now that a rupture was inevitable, the emperor published a manifesto, in which he declared, that he did not take up arms on the score of religion; but was obliged to proceed to that extremity by the rebellion of certain people, who contemned the decrees of the diets, assembled without order, excited foreign powers against him, pillaged the princes of the empire, and, by a constant exercise of violence and oppression, endeavoured to destroy the freedom and security of the public. This manifesto was answered by the Protestants, whose chiefs were *John Frederic* elector of *Saxony*, and *Philip* landgrave of *Hesse*, who affirmed, that notwithstanding the emperor's declaration, he had undertaken the war with a view to tyrannize over the consciences of men; and to convince him, that they would not be tamely oppressed, they, in a little time, assembled an army, consisting of eighty thousand foot and ten thousand horse, with an hundred and thirty pieces of cannon.

<sup>m</sup> HEISS. 1. 3. c. 4.

<sup>n</sup> THUAN. Hist. 1. 2. p. 61.

<sup>o</sup> SLEID. Comm. 1. 17. p. 203.

(U) *Zuinglius* differed from *Luther* by denying the real presence in the sacrament, and affirming that salvation did not depend intirely upon grace, but upon the exercise of free-will and the practice of morality (1).

(1) *Melch. Adam. in vita Theo. Germ.*



The landgrave of Hesse takes the field; and is, together with John Frederic elector of Saxony, put to the ban of the empire.

THE emperor had used his endeavours to assemble his troops privately, in order to attack the allies of *Smalcalde* before they should be in a posture of defence; but he was disappointed by the vigilance of the landgrave, who had taken the field with his army, after having sent prince *William*, his eldest son, who was then in the sixteenth year of his age, into the city of *Strasburg*, which was well fortified for his security. Mean while, *Charles* put *John Frederic* elector of *Saxony*, and *Philip* landgrave of *Hesse*, to the ban of the empire, declaring them perturbators of the public peace, violators of the faith, transgressors of the law, and usurpers of church-lands, and whole provinces, taxing them, at the same time, with having made use of the specious names of religion, peace, and liberty, in order to seduce their fellow-subjects from their duty to their country, and their allegiance to their emperor. He sent this declaration to *Maurice* duke of *Saxony*, and his brother *Augustus*, the elector's cousins, together with the reasons that obliged him to proscribe their kinsman; and, in order to engage these noblemen in his interest, and to persuade the world that it was not a religious war, he promised the electorate to *Maurice*, although he was a *Lutheran*. At the same time he ordered his troops to march into the territories of the elector, though they were not yet equal to those of the confederates either in number or munitions of war; and after having placed a strong garrison in *Ratisbon*, he took the field, and occupied an advantageous post, upon the river *Izer*, between *Landshut* and the camp of the landgrave. There he was joined by the troops of the pope, amounting to ten thousand foot and five hundred horse; and soon after, he received another reinforcement of six thousand veteran *Spaniards* from *Naples* and *Milan*; so that his army being augmented to five and forty thousand choice men, he was in a condition to quit his camp, and act against the confederates. While he kept this post, which was in the dominions of the elector of *Bavaria*, a difference arose between the landgrave of *Hesse* and the elector of *Saxony*; this last having proposed to attack the emperor, before he should be reinforced, and the former objecting to that expedient, as an insult and injury offered to the elector of *Bavaria*, whom they looked upon as a well-wisher to their cause. At length, however, they wrote a letter to that prince, explaining their grievances, and intreating him to compel *Charles* to evacuate *Ingolstadt* and *Rain*. In answer to this request, he gave them to understand, that as he was not strong enough to oppose the Imperialists, he must be excused from attempting an enterprize that would be productive of his own ruin; and that he hoped, he should not on this account be considered as an enemy by the confederates.

The Protestant army marches towards Ratisbon.

Charles takes the route to Ingolstadt.

IN consequence of this ambiguous answer, they resolved to undertake the siege of *Ratisbon*, in which there was an imperial garrison, and to occupy an advantageous place, where they might fight the emperor in case he should come to the relief of the city. *Charles* having by this time assembled all his forces, except those that were expected from *Lower Germany*, under the command of the count *de Buren*, put his army in motion; and the Protestants suspecting that his design was to invade *Misnia* and *Saxony*, immediately built bridges and crossed the *Danube*; but afterwards understanding that he took the route to *Ingolstadt*, they regained that river by another road, in order to prevent him from taking possession of *Newburg* and *Donawert*, and opening a passage into the country of *Wirtemberg*. Finding the emperor encamped at *Ingolstadt*, they drew up their army in order of battle, and had they attacked his camp, in all probability, that day would have put an end to the war; but after some inconsiderable skirmishes they withdrew their forces, and next day he was too well fortified to dread their attempts. After having trifled away some days, during which the emperor kept himself intrenched, they decamped with a view to hinder his junction with the count *de Buren*, who being, by a special messenger from *Charles*, informed of their design, eluded them by changing his route, and safely arrived in the imperial camp. Thus reinforced, the emperor marched to *Newburg*, which was surrendered to him without opposition: then he moved to *Marxheim*, from whence he set out for *Donawert*; but for the convenience of the situation, turned to the right, and encamped at *Mobeim*. In this march the two armies skirmished with each other, and *Albert*, son of *Philip* duke of *Brunswick*, was mortally wounded in one of these rencounters. Here the confederates had resolved to attack *Charles* in his camp; but he having received notice of their intention, thought fit to remove to *Donawert*, which had a few days before been taken by a detachment of his army. Without specifying the particulars of this campaign, which produced no general action, it will be sufficient to observe, that the affairs of the Protestants were ruined by the dissensions between the elector of *Saxony* and the landgrave of *Hesse*, who being invested with an equal command often opposed each other with great animosity, to the detriment, and, indeed, the destruction of the common cause. Many fair opportunities were lost by this contention: want of vigour and unanimity appeared in all their operations, while the strength and vigilance of *Charles* every day encreased; so that, towards the



- a latter end of the year, the chiefs were fain to solicit an accommodation ; but he proposed such hard conditions, that they resolved to continue the war rather than submit to a shameful peace : though by this time the elector of *Saxony* was stript of his dominions by count *Maurice* and his brother, who taking advantage of their uncle's absence, and being joined by the forces of *Ferdinand* king of the *Romans*, possessed themselves of almost all the electorate <sup>a</sup>.

*ULRIC* duke of *Wirtemberg*, seeing the declining situation of their affairs, withdrew himself from the confederacy, and submitted to the emperor, in which conduct he was imitated by the cities of *Ulm*, *Frankfort*, *Memmingen*, *Bibrach*, *Ravenspurg*, *Kempten*, *Augsburg*, and *Strasburg*.

A. D. 1547.  
The duke of  
Wirtemberg  
and divers  
cities with-  
draw them-  
selves from  
the confede-  
racy, and  
make peace  
with the em-  
peror.

- b THE Protestant party being very much weakened by this separation; the elector of *Saxony* endeavoured to repair their loss by converting to their advantage the correspondence which he had maintained in *Bohemia*, with those that professed the reformed religion. For this purpose he approached the confines of that kingdom, but was disappointed by the foresight and care of *Ferdinand*, and constrained to make a shameful retreat towards his own dominions. This misfortune touched him the nearer, as he at the same time found the hopes extinguished which he had conceived from *England* and *France*, the kings of which two nations were now dead; at a juncture when he had reason to expect powerful assistance from both. The emperor would not let slip so fair an opportunity of terminating the war; and, therefore, having received advice that the elector of *Saxony*, since his return
- c to his own country, had surprised *Frieberg* and *Meissen*, two places belonging to duke *Maurice*, he resolved to pursue him with all expedition, in order to stop the progress of his success, and early in the spring set out from *Egra* with his whole army, accompanied with king *Ferdinand*, who commanded six hundred cuirassiers, a thousand hussars, and ten companies of foot; and *Maurice* and *Augustus*, dukes of *Saxony*, at the head of a like number of troops. Thus attended, *Charles* marched with such dispatch, that he had well nigh taken the elector by surprise; for he had detached his *Hungarian* and *Spanish* horse with orders to secure the roads, and apprehend every person they should meet, that his march might be kept secret. This precaution succeeded so well, that he had already entered *Misnia*, and was very near the troops of the elector, before they had the least intimation of his approach.
- d When he was within a day's march of them, the two armies being separated by the river *Elbe*, and understood from his scouts that the elector was encamped near *Mulberg* with nine thousand men, he advanced in order to attack him: and several officers, perceiving the *Hungarian* and *Spanish* troops on the other side of the river, advised the elector to retire to *Wirtemberg*. But that prince, who could not believe that the emperor was so near him, mistook those troops for the forces of duke *Maurice*, which he despised, and would not at any rate decamp till after service, because it happened to be the Lord's day. Before the emperor arrived on the banks of the river, duke *Maurice* sent some officers to inform the elector of his imperial majesty's approach, and to advise him to send deputies to *Charles* to sue for peace. He at the same time promised to use all his influence in his behalf,
- e and gave him to understand that the emperor was very well disposed to listen to terms of accommodation. The elector answered, he was not yet reduced to the necessity of suing for peace, as he was possessed of three great advantages, which hindered him from dreading the attempts of his enemy; that he was secured by a deep river, a vast forest, and the town of *Wirtemberg*, in the neighbourhood of which he would not fail to profit, according to the emergency of his affairs. He, therefore, rejected the advice of duke *Maurice*, and made proper dispositions of his forces and artillery on the banks of the river, in order to hinder the imperial troops from fording or throwing a bridge over it, as well as to defend a bridge of boats which he himself had made. But seeing the emperor arrive, and his guards attacked by about a thou-
- f sand *Spaniards*, who had courage enough to wade the river, and even use their bows in the middle of the stream, he set fire to his bridge of boats, one part of which was consumed, while the other, being separated from the bank, was carried down by the course of the river. Upon this occasion, some of the *Spanish* soldiers swam across with their swords in their mouths, and notwithstanding a shower of arrows that was discharged upon them, seized the boats and carried them to the other side, where, together with those the emperor had brought thither upon waggons, they were formed into a bridge sufficient for the passage of his army and baggage. The elector, who during this transaction was at church hearing sermon, being informed of their success, ordered his army to decamp and march towards *Wirtemberg*; but the emperor, who knew the fate of that day depended upon his expedition,
- g commanded his hussars and light horse to pass the river without delay, and pursue the *Saxons*, while he himself followed with the rest of his army. Accordingly, he overtook the

<sup>a</sup> JOAC. CAM. ubi sup. SIM. STEN. vit. Mau. Sax. Elec. ex Fich. t. iii. p. 525, & seq. THUAN. Hist. 1. 2. p. 76. & seq. SLEID. Com. 1. 18. p. 218, 219, 221.



elector in the forest, about three miles on the other side of the *Elbe*; and, after having exhorted his people to do their duty, began the attack, his cavalry being divided into two bodies; in the first of which were the duke of *Alba*, *Lanoy*, *Antonio de Toledo*, *Baptista Spinella*, and duke *Maurice*, while the second was conducted by the emperor in person, accompanied by king *Ferdinand*, with his two sons, and the prince of *Savoy*. The elector would have been in a condition to stand his ground, had all his troops been assembled in one body; but he had left part of them at *Wirtemberg*, while *William Thumstrein* commanded another detachment in *Bohemia*, which the activity of the emperor did not give him time to call in; so that, after an obstinate engagement, which lasted till night, he was overwhelmed by the number of his enemies, and compelled to surrender prisoner of war<sup>r</sup> (X).

The elector is defeated and taken prisoner.

The elector of Brandenburg intercedes in his behalf.

Conditions of his pardon.

As soon as the elector of *Brandenburg* understood the event of this battle, he waited upon the emperor, who had gone to besiege *Wirtemberg*; and though *John Frederic*, elector of *Saxony*, was already condemned as a rebel to be beheaded, with a confiscation of his electoral dignity and dominions, which were conferred upon duke *Maurice*; the elector of *Brandenburg* solicited so pressing and so effectually in his behalf, that his life was saved upon conditions which he himself was glad to ratify. In consideration of this pardon, he renounced the electoral dignity for himself and his children, leaving to the emperor the power to dispose of it according to his good pleasure: he promised to restore to *Charles* the towns of *Wirtemberg* and *Gotha*, with their artillery and one-third of their provision, the other two-thirds, with all the moveables and utensils, being appropriated to the use of the duke. It was likewise stipulated, that the garrisons should march out without colours; that the elector should set at liberty *Albert* marquis of *Brandenburg*, and restore all he had taken from him, while the emperor should behave in the same manner to *Ernestus* duke of *Brunswic* and his son; that the prisoner should yield up all he had taken during the war from the counts of *Mansfeldt* and *Solmes*, as well as from the master of the order of St. *John* of *Prussia*: that he should renounce his right to *Magdeburg*, *Halberstadt*, and *Hall*, obey the imperial chamber, contribute towards the maintenance of its officers, and procure the release of *Henry* duke of *Brunswic* and his son, who were kept prisoners by the landgrave of *Hesse*; that he should abandon every alliance he had engaged in against the emperor and *Ferdinand*, and enter into none for the future without comprehending them, their provinces, and allies; that he should have an allowance of fifty thousand crowns a year for the maintenance of himself and his family, to be deducted from the electorate and the other lands conferred upon duke *Maurice*; that, with the permission of the said duke, and under the good pleasure of the emperor, he should retain the town of *Gotha*, after having demolished the castle and fortifications; on these conditions, all other punishment should be remitted, except that of his remaining in custody under a guard of the emperor or the prince of *Spain* his son. By virtue of this treaty, the city of *Wirtemberg* was immediately put into the hands of the emperor, after the princess *Sybilla* of *Cleves*, the prisoner's wife, her son, and brother-in-law, had retired from it with the garrison<sup>s</sup>. This great affair being thus determined, the elector of *Brandenburg* and *Maurice* duke of *Saxony* resolved, if possible, to effect an accommodation between the emperor and the landgrave of *Hesse*; for whom they interceded so powerfully, that *Charles* agreed to the project of a treaty, importing, that the landgrave should come in person and ask pardon on his knees of the emperor; that he should, for the future, behave himself with that respect and obedience which he owed to his imperial majesty; observe the decrees made for the good of the commonwealth; submit to the judgment of the chamber, and contribute to its support, as well as to that of the war against the *Turks*; renounce all sorts of confederacies, and in particular that of *Smalcalde*, and deliver all the writings of that league to the emperor; that he should make no alliance in which the emperor and king *Ferdinand* should not be included; that he should defend the frontiers of his country against all the emperor's enemies; that he should not undertake the defence of any person whom the emperor wanted to chastise; but, on the contrary, punish all those of his subjects who should presume to carry arms against his im-

The elector of Brandenburg and the duke of Saxony propose articles of accommodation between the emperor and the landgrave of Hesse.

<sup>r</sup> SLEID. l. 19. p. 227. HORTLEDER, t. ii. l. 2. c. 68, 69. THUAN. l. 4. p. 141. SAGITT. Hist. Jo. Fred.  
<sup>s</sup> SLEID. Com. l. 19. p. 227.

(X) This battle was fought in a wood called *der Schwainhart*, where the elector was wounded in the cheek while he fought with great intrepidity. At length, being surrounded by the enemy, so that he could not possibly escape, he surrendered to one *Thilon Trotte*, a gentleman of *Misnia*, who conducted him to the duke of *Alba*, by whom being presented to the emperor, "I surrender myself (said he) prisoner to your Imperial majesty, and all the favour I ask is a prison suitable

"to my rank." *Charles* answered with an air of disdain, "You own me then at length your emperor---" "well, I will treat you as you deserve." So saying, he turned his back upon him, and went away, while king *Ferdinand* reproached him in much harsher terms. *Ernestus* duke of *Brunswic* was also taken prisoner in this battle; but the electoral prince, though wounded, found means to escape to *Wirtemberg*, with about four hundred men (1).

(1) Heiff. l. 3. c. 4.



- a perial majesty, to whom, in case of necessity, he should grant a free passage through his territories; that he should recal all his vassals and subjects in the service of any power at war against the emperor; and if they would not obey the summons in fifteen days, confiscate their estates for his imperial majesty's use; that towards the expence of the war he should, in four months, furnish an hundred and fifty thousand crowns, demolish all his fortresses and castles, except *Ziggenheim* and *Cassel*, and oblige the garrisons to enter into the service of the emperor, without whose permission no place in his dominions should, for the future, be fortified; that he should deliver up all his artillery and munitions of war, of which his majesty would occasionally supply him with what should be barely necessary for the defence of those places that remained; that he should set at liberty *Henry* duke of *Brunswic* and his son, restore their country, and repair the damage they had sustained at his hands; that he should part with all he had usurped either from the order of *St. John* of *Jerusalem*, or the *Teutonic* order; engage in no enterprize against the king of *Denmark*, or any other of those who had favoured or assisted the emperor; but, on the contrary, release all the prisoners of war without ransom; that he should appear at trial, in order to satisfy all those who should have any demands upon him at law; that these articles should be ratified by his children, and the nobility and commonalty of his country, who should oblige themselves to deliver him up to the emperor, in case he should infringe any part of his promise; and that the elector of *Brandenburg*, duke *Maurice*, and *Wolfgang* count palatine, should become guarantees of the treaty, and employ their forces against him, in case he should violate his engagements. These conditions being thus concerted, were communicated to the landgrave, who, by the advice of the states of his country, accepted them, with the proviso, that he should not be obliged to submit to any future clause<sup>1</sup>.

- THE emperor, seeing this affair in such forwardness, put duke *Maurice* in possession of the city of *Wirtemberg*, and advanced towards *Hesse*, with a view to invade it, in case the landgrave should alter his resolution; but that prince repaired to *Hall*, in order to wait upon him, and signed a treaty, though he at first hesitated upon an additional clause, importing, that the emperor reserved to himself a right of explaining all doubts that might arise upon any of the articles. The treaty being thus executed, he was conducted by the elector of *Brandenburg* and *Maurice* duke of *Saxony* to the emperor, seated upon his throne, before which he kneeled, while his chancellor read a paper, signifying that the landgrave asked pardon for the offence he had committed against his imperial majesty, and humbly begged to be re-admitted into his favour, which he should endeavour to deserve by his future fidelity, respect, and obedience. The emperor answered by the mouth of *George Hilde*, that though the landgrave had deserved a very severe chastisement, as he himself owned, yet out of regard to the intercession of some princes, who interested themselves in his behalf, he was neither condemned to death, proscription, nor the loss of his estate, the emperor contenting himself with the execution of the articles specified in the treaty, and being pleased to pardon his vassals and subjects, provided they would faithfully adhere to the letter of this accommodation, and acknowledge, as became them, the favour they had received.
- c The landgrave believing the emperor was sincere, returned thanks for his clemency; and, as he had remained a long time on his knees, rose up on his own accord. In the evening he was invited to supper, together with the elector of *Brandenburg* and duke *Maurice*, at the lodgings of the duke of *Alba*, where he found himself arrested by order of the emperor. His two friends, the elector and duke *Maurice*, were extremely concerned at this unjustifiable act of oppression; and, in order to console the prisoner, staid with him all the night, assuring him they would use their whole influence in procuring his release. Accordingly they, next day, waited upon the emperor, to whom they complained of this outrage, humbly beseeching him to set the landgrave at liberty, according to the convention which they guaranteed, in consequence of his majesty's promise. The emperor answered, that he had never promised the prisoner should not be detained, but that he should be exempted from perpetual imprisonment; and to support this assertion, produced the treaty, in which his ministers, in order to elude the true meaning of the accommodation, had perfidiously foisted in one word for another (Y), which, instead of securing the landgrave's liberty, subjected him to imprisonment<sup>2</sup>. The two intercessors protested against this alteration; and, after long debates, the emperor sent notice to the landgrave, that he might go about his business; but, at the same time, refused to favour him with a safe-conduct, notwithstanding the earnest solicitations of the princes in his behalf; and two days after he was ordered to

Charles receives the submission of the landgrave,

who is arrested, contrary to the articles of the treaty.

The electors of Saxony and Brandenburg protest against this breach of faith.

<sup>1</sup> Id. *ibid*.

<sup>2</sup> SAND. Hist. del imperad. Carl. V. l. 29.

(Y) The original expression was *ohne cinige gefangnis*, which, in the German language, signifies, without being confined in any prison; but in lieu of *cinige*, signify-

ing any, the ministers of Charles had writ *cinige*, that is perpetual (1).

(1) *Spond. Com. t. ix. p. 241.*



The emperor  
explains him-  
self to the diet.

follow the emperor, a command which he obeyed with the greater resignation, as the elec-  
tor and duke *Maurice* had assured him they would not leave the emperor until he should be  
set at liberty. Accordingly they attended his Imperial majesty to *Naumburg*, renewing  
their importunities without ceasing, until they were forbid to proceed farther, otherwise the  
landgrave should be sent into *Spain*. Thus restricted, they were fain to desist, after having  
communicated their reasons to the prisoner, whom they advised to pay the hundred and fifty  
thousand crowns without delay, and give security for the execution of the other articles of  
the treaty : circumstances which, in all probability, would induce the emperor to give him  
his freedom ; and they assured him, they would not fail to be at the diet appointed to meet  
on the first of *September* next at *Augsburg*, where they would exert their whole power for  
his interest. According to their advice, the landgrave, who bore his captivity with ex-  
treme impatience, ordered the money to be raised, and the fortresses to be demolished, with  
a view to facilitate his enlargement ; but after the sum was paid, the forts demolished, and  
the cannon delivered up, he found himself still a prisoner as much as ever. This perfidious  
behaviour of the emperor with regard to the landgrave incensed not only the princes who  
had negotiated the accommodation, but likewise almost all the states of *Germany*, before  
whom they resolved to lay their public complaints at the ensuing diet. In effect, some-  
time after the opening of that assembly, the ambassadors of *Saxony* and *Brandenburg* did not  
fail to join the princess of *Hesse* and her sons in soliciting the liberty of the landgrave, and in  
remonstrating that the prisoner had already fulfilled all the conditions of his treaty with the  
emperor \*. But *Charles* eluded their solicitations, by giving the diet to understand, that of  
three points on which they were chiefly to deliberate, the discussion of that which concerned  
the interest of particulars ought to be delayed until they should have come to some resolu-  
tion on the other two, which regarded the general good of the empire : for he declared his  
principal aim was to re-establish the peace of *Germany*, by a re-union of those who had been  
divided on the score of religion, and by a free and impartial administration of justice under  
the authority of the laws, which had been trampled upon, to the disgrace of the *Germanic*  
nation †.

Where the  
Formula ad  
interim is re-  
ceived.

THE first article created long and obstinate disputes ; for the pope had transferred the  
council of *Trent* to *Bologna*, where he resolved to continue the sitting, notwithstanding the  
pressing instances of the emperor and the princes of the empire, who besought him to re-  
mit the council to *Trent*, and protested against all the proceedings at *Bologna*. This in-  
flexibility of the pope obliged *Charles* to find out some medium, by which he might please  
both parties, and the best expedient he could pitch upon, was to employ learned men in  
composing a regulation upon all the controverted points of religion, until the council should  
have published a final decree, by which the orthodox faith would be established. As he  
thought it would still be his interest to keep measures with the pope, he sent this project of  
regulation to his holiness, who objected to two articles contained in it, namely, the mar-  
riage of priests, and the administration of the communion in both kinds to the laity. Not-  
withstanding this opposition of the pope, it was presented to the diet, where it was received  
as a kind of decree, for which the elector of *Mentz* thanked the emperor, in the name  
of the states, although they had vested him with no such commission. The Catholics  
murmured at this formula, which was called *ad interim*, as if they had thought the emperor  
intended to change the essence of religion ; but he told them, that what he had done related  
only to the *Lutherans*, whose affections he wanted to conciliate by this indulgence ; but  
that as for the Catholics, they were at liberty to adhere to their ancient customs ; and,  
indeed, in his constitution they are expressly enjoined to stand firm in their faith, for the ad-  
vantage and union of the church ‡.

The emperor  
confirms the  
electoral dig-  
nity to Mau-  
rice duke of  
Saxony.

HAVING taken this measure, which was agreeable to neither party, and only received  
by compulsion, he proceeded to the deliberations of the administration of justice, and the  
authority of the laws, when he insinuated to the states, that if they would leave these mat-  
ters to his care, he would employ his whole attention in redressing that grievance ; and, in  
the mean time, as the Imperial chamber was in a manner overwhelmed with business, he  
proposed to add ten to the number of assessors, that the causes might be decided with more  
dispatch. The states subscribed to his advice without hesitation, and referred the whole af-  
fair to his management, promising to contribute to any additional expence he should think  
necessary. As for the last point, concerning the particular interest of some princes and  
states of the empire, *Charles* declared that he himself would take cognizance of these com-  
plaints ; and, in order to appease *Maurice* duke of *Saxony*, who still insisted upon the land-  
grave's being set at liberty, he in full diet confirmed to him the territories of *John Frederic*,  
duke of *Saxony*, and the electoral dignity, not only for himself and his heirs male, but these  
failing, for his brother duke *Augustus* and his sons ; still, however, deducting those lands

\* THUAN. Hist. l. 4. p. 149. CHYTRÆ. l. 17. p. 437.  
P. 255.

† HEISS. l. 3. c. 4.

‡ SPOND. CONT. t. ix.



- a which were reserved for the maintenance of *John Frederic* and his successors. *Charles*, having disembarassed himself of this troublesome business, had no other point to gain at this diet except that of persuading the states to grant him a considerable supply for the necessities of the empire; and he succeeded so well in his endeavours, that they were prevailed upon not only to comply with his request, but also to grant a hundred thousand crowns a year to king *Ferdinand*, till the expiration of his truce with the *Turk*. They moreover agreed, that all the provinces which the emperor possessed in *High* and *Low Germany*, should be put under the protection of the empire, on condition of their contributing their quota of subsidies in proportion with the other states, in all public emergencies, without, however, suffering any innovation upon their own laws and jurisdictions; and lastly, that the general peace of the empire might be the better secured, it was resolved that the constitution of public peace, enacted for his grandfather the emperor *Maximilian*, should be renewed and augmented; and this was actually corroborated with another new constitution, having the full force of a law through the whole empire<sup>a</sup>.

BEFORE the diet was dismissed, he ordered letters patent to be expedited, inviting and requiring the states, particularly those of the confession of *Augsburg*, to assist at the council as soon as it should be re-established at *Trent*, promising that all points should be examined and discussed, according to the scripture and doctrine of the holy fathers: and that the prelates and theologicians of the Protestant faith, should be as favourably received as those of the other persuasion (Z).

A. D. 1549.

- c THE deputies were no sooner departed, than the emperor set out for the *Low Countries*, having ordered his son *Philip* to meet him at *Brussels*: that young prince being in *Spain* could not arrive in *Flanders* till the beginning of the following year, when he was acknowledged as the presumptive heir of *Charles*, in the *Low Countries*, the states of which did homage to him in that quality<sup>b</sup>.

Charles sets out for the Low Countries. A. D. 1549.

- d SOME time after this transaction, the emperor, as a testimony of his zeal for the church, issued an edict against all who should profess any other than the Catholic orthodox religion, and even established divers tribunals of inquisition, to proceed against those who should transgress the edict, and condemn them to the penalties therein expressed. This decree was the torch that lighted up a flame which could never be extinguished; for the governors of those provinces, with a view to signalize their own conformity with the zeal of their master's, successively extended their power to such acts of tyranny and oppression, that the subjects, thinking themselves authorised by that necessity which can stoop to no law, shook off the yoke, had recourse to arms, and put themselves in a posture of defence. In a word, this revolt prospered to such a degree, that the oppressors, far from being able to reduce the rebels to obedience, were obliged in the sequel to receive them as friends, and own them for sovereigns; and had the mortification to see not only *Lutheranism*, but also all sorts of religions introduced and tolerated in the country; so true it is that violence and restraint in matters of religion are very dangerous and impolitic remedies.

Where he establishes tribunals of inquisition.

- e THIS unlucky edict filled all the *Low Countries* with consternation and despair; but particularly affected the *German* merchants who traded at *Antwerp*; and it gave such umbrage to the *Lutheran* princes and states, who had resumed their courage on seeing part of the emperor's troops disbanded, that they ventured to protest openly against the *Formula ad interim*, which even those rejected by whom it had been formerly received<sup>c</sup>. At the ensuing diet, which was held at *Augsburg*, *Charles* loudly complained of this protest, with a view to prevent all troublesome consequences; and, in order to please the Protestants, abolished the inquisition in the *Low Countries*, so far as it regarded foreign merchants. He, moreover, in confirming the decree of *Interim*, assured the states, that the differences in religion would soon be determined by the council, which pope *Julius* the third had, by this time, re-established at *Trent*; where Christians of all denominations, even those who had changed their religion, should have liberty to propose their sentiments, under his protection and safe-conduct. Thinking by these expedients, which met with no opposition, that the Protestant princes were satisfied, he dismissed the assembly; and his son *Philip*, who had been there in prison, soon after set out for *Italy*, on his return to *Spain*, with his brother-in-law *Maximilian*, son of *Ferdinand*, who accompanied him thither, in order to

The Protestants protest openly against the Formula ad interim,

A. D. 1550.

<sup>a</sup> THUAN. HECTOR. l. 5. p. 178. SPOND. CONT. t. ix. p. 273.

<sup>b</sup> SLEIDAN. l. 21. p. 261.

<sup>c</sup> HEISS, Hist. de L'Empire, l. 3. c. 4.

(Z) About this time, *Vergerius*, whom we have had occasion to mention as the pope's ambassador to the princes of *Germany*, renounced the *Roman* Catholic religion, and embraced the doctrine of *Luther*. Hearing that he had been represented to the pope as a favourer of the Protestants, he, in order to refute the aspersions,

undertook a work against the apostates of *Germany*; but in examining the arguments on both sides, he was so struck with the force of truth, that he became a zealous defender of the doctrine he intended to impugn; and afterwards made a convert of his brother *John Baptista*, bishop of *Pola*, in *Istria* (2).



carry back with him into *Germany* his wife *Mary*, who, by this time, was delivered of two children. a

Charles is solicited to set the landgrave at liberty.  
A. D. 1551.

From *Augsburg* the emperor removed to *Inspruck*, where he resolved to pass some months, that he might be near the council of *Trent*, and at hand to make the necessary provision for the war of *Parma*, against *Henry* the second, king of *France*, who supported the interest of *Ottavio Farnese*, lord of *Parma*, which the pope wanted to possess in exchange for some other territory <sup>d</sup>. Hither *Charles* was followed by the ambassadors of *Saxony* and *Brandenburg*, who pressinglly solicited him to set the landgrave at liberty: he was likewise importuned, on the same subject, by the king of *Denmark* and several other princes, who endeavoured to prevent the evil consequences which the long and severe captivity of that prince might entail upon *Germany*. The emperor continued to amuse these intercessors with vain promises, and declared that he would actually accommodate the affair with *Maurice* elector of *Saxony*, whom he ordered to attend him for that purpose <sup>e</sup>. *Maurice*, who from this answer, which had been so often repeated, foresaw that nothing was to be expected from the justice or good-will of *Charles*, resolved to put an end to the negotiation, and take another method which would be more effectual. He likewise wanted an opportunity of effacing (if possible) the bad impression of his character, which his conduct had made among those of his own religion, who believed he had sacrificed to his ambition *John Frederic*, duke of *Saxony*, his own kinsman and benefactor, who they suspected was still detained in prison by means of his secret intelligence with the emperor. With a view, therefore, to regain their esteem and affection, which he knew he should never retrieve but by attacking *Charles*, whom they considered as the tyrant of their consciences and liberty, he endeavoured by all possible means to put himself in a condition to support a war against the emperor; and, indeed, he conducted himself with such secrecy and address, that the world was surprised to find he had, by the intervention of *Albert* marquis of *Brandenburg*, entered into a league with the king of *France*, and retained in his service not only the *German* troops which had been employed in the siege of *Magdeburg*, but also those who had evacuated the city in consequence of the accommodation (A). He had likewise secured the assistance of *Joachim* elector of *Brandenburg*, *Frederic* count palatine, the dukes of *Wirtemberg*, *Deux-ponts*, and *Mecklenburg*, and *Ernestus* marquis of *Baden*; but he determined to declare himself at this time, because he looked upon it as the most favourable conjuncture that ever could occur; <sup>d</sup> for the emperor was on one hand occupied in the war of *Parma* against the *French*; and on the other, *Ferdinand* was embroiled with the *Turk*, who had marched into *Hungary*, on pretence that he and the emperor had broke the truce; the last in besieging and taking the town of *Afric* in *Barbary*, and the other in seizing certain places in *Hungary*, which had been possessed by the *Turks*: besides, *Charles* had scarce any other troops than those he had withdrawn from *Saxony*, to assist at the siege of *Magdeburg*, during which *Maurice*, who commanded in chief, had gained a great number of the officers over to his interest. Thus prepared, he took the field with his army, at the same time publishing a manifesto, that contained his reasons for having recourse to that extremity: he at once made himself master of the towns that were in his route; and advancing into *Suabia*, invested the city of *Augsburg*, which he reduced in a few days; from thence he marched towards the *Alps*, in order to secure the passages against the *Spanish* and *Italian* troops; and his approach immediately dissipated the council of *Trent*: the bishops who composed that assembly having fled to different places of greater safety, after they had prorogued the council for two years, or longer, provided an accommodation among the princes could not be effected before that period. Mean while, the emperor himself was struck with such consternation at this unforeseen progress of *Maurice*, that he forthwith dispatched king *Ferdinand* to treat with him about conditions of peace. <sup>e</sup>

A. D. 1532.  
*Maurice* makes preparations for war,

and takes the field.

*Charles* being struck with consternation, sends his brother *Ferdinand* to the elector with proposals of peace.

THESE two princes had an interview at *Lintz*, where the elector, who designed to surprise the emperor at *Inspruck*, endeavoured to amuse *Ferdinand* with pacific professions, and a mutual agreement, importing, that an assembly should be held at *Passau*, on a certain day, to deliberate upon the means of concluding an accommodation, and that a truce for fifteen days should commence on the first day of meeting. This stratagem in some measure succeeded; for while *Ferdinand* returned to the emperor, to give an account of his negotiation, *Maurice*, resolving to make the best use of the intermediate time, advanced with great expedition, and forcing, with equal gallantry and success, the passes of the

<sup>d</sup> BELLEFOR. l. 6. c. 71.

<sup>e</sup> THUAN. l. 8. p. 281.

<sup>f</sup> Bos. Hist. Jerosol. p. 3. l. 15.

(A) The city of *Magdeburg* had been proscribed by the emperor, because the inhabitants would not obey the decrees of the diet, and turned the clergy out of their benefices. The town was besieged by *Maurice* duke of *Saxony*, at the desire of the states, and, after a very obstinate defence, surrendered upon capitulation (3).

(3) Sleidan. l. 23. p. 284.



- a vallies that lead to *Inspruck*, took the castle of *Eremberg*, and would certainly have seized the emperor's person had not *Charles* fled in the night, being conveyed in a litter on account of the gout, by which he was tormented, and having no other attendants than his brother *Ferdinand* and *John Frederic* of *Saxony*, to whom he granted his liberty on this occasion. These three, without any other equipage, which, indeed, the hurry of their flight would not permit them to prepare, retired with great fear and precipitation to *Villach* on the *Drave*; and *Maurice* advanced with such expedition, that next day he entered *Inspruck*, where all that belonged to the emperor's court was abandoned to pillage, though the equipage of *Ferdinand* was spared, and the citizens carefully protected from violence and plunder, he being desirous to convince them that he had not taken up arms to enrich himself, but solely to redress the grievances of those who were oppressed <sup>2</sup>.

WHILE the elector pursued *Charles* with such activity, the king of *France*, in consequence of the treaty which he had subscribed, marched to the frontiers with a powerful army, and possessed himself of *Verdun*, *Toul*, and *Metz*, together with *Nanci* and the whole country of *Lorraine*, from whence he advanced to *Haguenau*, in order to make a diversion in favour of his allies <sup>3</sup>.

The king of France makes himself master of Verdun, Toul, Metz, and Nanci.

THE emperor, having posted himself in a place where he could no longer apprehend any insult from the elector of *Saxony*, his whole care was employed in assembling as great a number of troops as he could bring together at the foot of the *Alps*, that he might be in a condition not only to oppose the progress of the enemy, but also to support the *Roman Catholic* party during the continuance of the assembly at *Passau*, where the princes actually met upon an appointed day, in order to concert measures for an accommodation. Before the deliberations began, the Protestants received a message from *Charles*, importing, that he would send the landgrave's head to *Maurice*, provided he should refuse to accept the terms of peace proposed. This menace had its weight with the elector and the chiefs of his party: and both sides exerted their endeavours towards an agreement so heartily, that in a few months they concluded the famous treaty known by the name of the *Pacification of Passau* <sup>1</sup>.

The pacification of Passau.

- d IN consequence of this peace, the landgrave was set at liberty; but afterwards arrested at *Maestricht*, by order of queen *Mary*, governess of the *Low Countries*, who said she could not enlarge him, until she should know the emperor's pleasure more particularly on that subject. Her pretence for apprehending him was, that *Reiffenberg*, who was in the service of the landgrave's son, had, with his troops, joined *Albert* marquis of *Brandenburg*, one of the princes engaged in the Protestant alliance with *France*. This conduct she considered as a violation of the peace. But he was soon discharged, by the command of the emperor, and in six days after arrived in his own territories.

- e CHARLES the fifth, whose chief aim in granting these indulgences to the Protestants was to procure their assistance against *Henry* the second of *France*, found means to engage their whole force in his interest; and seeing himself at the head of fourscore thousand men, resolved to be revenged upon his rival without delay. For which purpose he immediately began his march to *Strasburg*, where he was very well received by the magistrates of the city; and, while his army passed the *Rhine*, he chose his head-quarters in a village near *Haguenau*. Six whole days were consumed in transporting his troops, cannon, and baggage, when advancing to *Landau*, he remained inactive sixteen days longer, and did not begin the siege of *Metz* until the twenty-second of *October*. By these delays the duke of *Guise* had time to take all the necessary precautions, and accordingly he supplied the cities of *Metz* and *Nanci* with all sorts of munitions of war; and a good number of gentlemen volunteers went into those places, in order to signalize themselves in their defence. *Albert* marquis of *Brandenburg* had hitherto continued firmly attached to his engagements with *France*, and at that time occupied a post near *Pont a Mousson*, with fifty companies of foot and a good number of cavalry: but having changed his sentiments at the approach of the emperor, he carried on a secret negotiation with that prince, and, on the fourth of *November*, actually joined him in his camp before *Metz*, after having routed and made prisoner the duke d'*Aumale*, who, being informed of his intention, had come to secure his person, and hinder his junction with *Charles*. To convey a just idea of the valour, resolution, and obstinacy of the besieged, let it suffice to observe, that the place was attacked by an army of a hundred thousand foot and twelve thousand horse, and battered by a hundred and fourteen pieces of cannon, under the eye of the emperor himself; yet his efforts were vain, and, towards the end of *December*, he was fain to raise the siege, after having lost one-third of his army by the coldness of the weather and contagious distempers, as well as by the uncom-

The emperor marches against the king of France.

Is joined by the marquis of Brandenburg, and besieges Metz, from whence he is obliged to retire.

<sup>2</sup> BEUTHER. Com. l. 7. p. 86. p. 365.

<sup>3</sup> MEZ. Abr. Chron. t. ii. p. 952.

<sup>1</sup> THUAN. Hist. l. 102.



A. D. 1553.

*He destroys  
Tercuane,  
and effects a  
match between  
his son Philip  
and Mary  
queen of  
England.*

mon valour of the enemy. One part of his troops he put into winter-quarters in the country of *Triers*, and with the rest retired to the *Low-Countries*, as much mortified as the king of *France* was rejoiced at his disappointment<sup>k</sup>. He was not, however, discouraged by this disgrace; on the contrary, he took the field in the beginning of the spring, to revenge the injury he had received; and marching to *Tercuane*, the place was taken by assault, and razed to the ground; but whether his bodily infirmities, or the decline of his faculties, which no longer retained their former vigour, hindered him from acting with his usual spirit, or that he had other designs in his head, certain it is, he proceeded no farther on that side; but leaving his army under the command of *Emanuel Philbert*, son of *Charles* duke of *Savoy*, he converted his attention to other objects, endeavouring to prevent the troublesome consequences of an intestine war, which was kindled in *Germany* by *Albert* marquis of *Brandenburg* (C), since his retreat from *Metz*, as well as to effect a match between his son *Philip* and *Mary*, daughter and heiress of *Henry* king of *England*, which was soon after actually consummated<sup>l</sup>.

A. D. 1554.

THIS interesting affair being settled to his wish, he resolved to put an end to the practices of *Albert*, who in a severe battle fought near the river *Weser*, had been defeated by *Maurice* elector of *Saxony*, though the victory cost this prince his life, he having received a wound, of which he died in two days. *Albert* escaped into *Franconia*, where he found means to re-assemble some troops; but being again routed by the forces of *Ferdinand*, and the neighbouring princes, he was compelled to seek refuge in *France*; and the emperor having determined to proceed against him as a perturbator of the public peace, as well as to remedy the disorders which had been produced by his rebellion, he convoked several diets successively, which proved abortive through the intrigues of *Albert's* friends, and the absence of the emperor, who was disabled by his infirmities from attending in person. At length the marquis, whom the king of *France* had favoured with his protection, was, on the part of that prince, comprehended in the treaty of truce, which was concluded in the abbey of *Vaucelles* near *Cambray*, by the ambassadors of the emperor, and his son *Philip*, king of *England*, on the one part, and those of *Henry* the second, king of *France*, on the other; a truce to be observed by sea and land, in the *Low-Countries*, *Italy*, and elsewhere, for the term of five years, on condition that both parties should keep the towns and territories which they had at present in possession<sup>m</sup>.

*Resolution of  
the diet of  
Augsburg.*

THAT very day on which the treaty was signed, *Ferdinand* opened the diet at *Augsburg*, in the name of the emperor, in order to execute the treaty of *Passau*; but the debates concerning the regulations on the subject of religion, were carried on with such heat and obstinacy of altercation, that after a very long session they could hardly be brought to agree to an occasional resolution, by which it was decreed, that no Catholic or Protestant should be injured or insulted on account of his religion, but all differences be determined according to the laws and customs of the empire; that if any archbishop, bishop, prelate, or other ecclesiastic, should renounce the old religion, his dignity and benefice should be forfeited, without any prejudice to his character, and his place be filled up by the chapter or college possessed of the power of election; that as some ecclesiastical revenues had been seized upon by certain states of the empire and their predecessors, and converted to other religious purposes, such as the maintenance of schools and ministers, these alienations should not be disputed at law; that the ancient ecclesiastical jurisdiction should not extend to the religion, faith, ceremonies, and ministerial functions of those who adopted the confession of *Augsburg*, but remain suspended, and without effect, until the determination of all the differences of religion, though it should continue in force in all other matters; that the clergy should for the future enjoy their estates, rights, and privileges, without, however, encroaching upon the temporalities which the laity possessed before this division in religion; that the necessary expence for the service of the church, the maintenance of schools, charities, and hospitals, should be equally levied on the professors of both religions, and,

<sup>k</sup> CAMMERAR. Ann. Rer. præc. an. 1552. CHYTRÆ. l. 17. p. 462. SCHARD. t. ii. p. 543. <sup>l</sup> BEL-  
LEFOR. l. 6. c. 78. ULLOA. vit. Car. V. l. 5. <sup>m</sup> MEZ. Abr. Chron. p. 970.

(C) *Albert* marquis of *Brandenburg*, after the pacification of *Passau*, to which he refused to subscribe, continued the war against the *Roman Catholics*, and, among other violences, extorted the promise of severe contributions from the bishops of *Wurtzburg* and *Bamberg*, who complained to the emperor, and were absolved from those compulsive bargains, which, however, were confirmed again to *Albert* when he joined *Charles* at the siege of *Metz*. The bishops adhered to the first sen-

tence; and when *Albert* had recourse to military execution, they appealed to the imperial chamber, who made a decree in their favour. At the same time, the emperor exhorted him to desist, and submit to the determination of the law: but far from giving ear to this admonition, *Albert* laid waste the country with fire and sword, and committed terrible ravages, which gave rise to a civil war (1).

(1) *Beuth. l. 7. p. 87. & seq.*



- a in case of any dispute, arbiters be chosen to decide the difference within the term of six months <sup>a</sup>.

WHILE *Ferdinand* thus regulated the affairs of *Germany*, the emperor, feeling his health daily decline, and the vigour of his mind decay, resolved to deposit the burden of government, and repose himself in the shade of private life. Perhaps, alarmed at the power and prosperity of *Henry* the second of *France*, whom he considered as his rival, he was afraid of seeing those laurels withered, which he had gathered in the course of a long reign; and, in order to prevent that disgrace, thought proper to oppose the youthful spirit of his son *Philip* to the enterprising genius of the *French* king. Be that as it will, he had for some time cherished the thoughts of abdicating the throne, and actually recalled his son, on whom at his marriage he had bestowed the kingdoms of *Naples* and *Sicily*, together with the duchy of *Milan*. Having assembled the states of the *Low-Countries* at *Brussels*, he created *Philip* chief of the order of the Golden Fleece, and then resigned to him the sovereignty of all those provinces. In consequence of which resignation, he received the oath and homage of the states, in quality of their new sovereign, as soon as his father quitted the assembly. *Charles*, soon after this transaction, divested himself of all his royalties and signories in *Europe*, as well as in *America*, conferring them all upon *Philip*, and reserving to himself no more than a pension of two hundred thousand ducats, to be deducted from the revenue of *Spain*; and now nothing remained but to quit the empire in favour of his brother *Ferdinand*: however, this abdication he postponed for a year, during which he hoped that prince would accept the imperial crown, on condition that *Philip* should be elected king of the *Romans*, and declared his successor; but here he was disappointed in his expectation by the address of *Ferdinand*, who found means to secure the empire to his own son, and to elude his brother's solicitations in behalf of *Philip*.

*Charles resolves to abdicate the throne.*

*Divests himself of all his royalties and signories in behalf of his son Philip.*

- THE emperor finding his brother inflexible on this subject, and resolving to set out for *Spain* without delay, signed a formal resignation of the empire, which was put into the hands of *William de Nassau*, prince of *Orange*, *Gregory Sigismund Hilde*, vice-chancellor of the empire, and *Haller* his secretary, whom he sent as his ambassadors to the next diet, to signify his abdication to the electoral princes, and to deliver the scepter, crown, and other regalia, to *Ferdinand* king of the *Romans*. *Charles* having thus intirely dispossessed himself of all his dominions, and made the necessary preparations for his passage into *Spain*, where he had chosen his retreat, he departed from *Brussels*, accompanied by five crowned heads; namely, his son *Philip* king of *Spain*, *England*, and *Naples*; his son-in-law *Maximilian* king of *Bohemia*; the king of *Tunis*; his two sisters, *Eleonora* queen-dowager of *France*, and *Mary* queen-dowager of *Hungary* and *Bohemia*; together with the dukes and duchesses of *Savoy*, *Lorraine*, and *Parma*, and a great many other persons of distinction. At *Ghent*, he dismissed the ambassadors of foreign princes, after he had desired them to recommend his son to their respective masters; then, continuing his journey, embarked at *Flessingen* with his two sisters, and in a few days arrived in *Spain*. When he landed at *Laredo*, he is said to have prostrated himself upon the ground, and kissing the earth to have exclaimed, 'O my beloved country, may heaven shower down its blessings upon you: naked I came from my mother's womb, and naked I return to thee, which I regard as a second parent. In return for all I owe thee, I now consecrate to thee my flesh and bones, the sole offering which I have now to bestow.' Then casting his eyes upon a crucifix, which he had used by way of standard in all his battles, he gave thanks to *Jesus Christ*, by whose goodness he was permitted to revisit, in his latter days, that province which he had always cherished with particular veneration and esteem. At his landing he was met by the nobility and clergy of the kingdom, whom he received very graciously, and then repaired in a litter to *Valladolid*, where he saw his grandchild *Don Carlos*, whom he enriched with many pious advices. From thence he removed into the province of *Estramadura*, and shut himself up in the cloister of *St. Justus*, of the order of *St. Jerom*, where he lived two years as a simple friar, conforming to all the strictest rules of the convent; and here he died of a gouty fever, in the fifty-eighth year of his age, after having received the eucharist in both species; a circumstance which hath induced some people to believe that he favoured the Protestant religion (D). His body was deposited at *Granada*, near those of his

*And makes a formal resignation of the empire to his brother Ferdinand, A. D. 1556.*

*Embarks at Flessingen, arrives in Spain,*

*and shuts himself up in the cloister of St. Justus, where he dies.*

<sup>a</sup> CAMER. Annot. ex Fich. t. iii. p. 562. SLEID. Com. l. 26. p. 337. ° THUAN. l. 16. p. 570.  
CAMMERAR. ex Fich. t. iii. p. 564. P GODELIV. ex Schard. Oper. Hist. t. ii. p. 189.

(D) He married *Isabella*, daughter of *Emanuel* king of *Portugal* by *Mary* of *Castile*, though he had before been betrothed to five different princesses, namely *Claudia*, daughter to *Lewis* XII. king of *France*; *Mary*, daughter of *Henry* VII. king of *England*; *René*, another daughter of *Lewis* XII. *Louisa*, daughter to *Francis* I. while she was yet an infant; and *Mary*, daughter of *Henry* VIII. king of *England*. By *Isabella* of *Portugal* he had *Ferdinand*, who died in his infancy; *Philip* II. king of *Spain*; *Mary*, matched with the emperor *Maximilian*



A sketch of his  
portrait and  
character.

his mother, grand-father, and grand-mother ; but it was afterwards translated to the Escu-  
rial, by the order of *Philip* the fourth. He was survived but three weeks by his sister *Mary*,  
widow of *Lewis* king of *Hungary* and *Bohemia*, who had been governess of the *Low-Countries*  
for the space of five and twenty years, his other sister *Eleonora* having died in the month of  
*March* in the same year. Such was the end of *Charles* the fifth, who was certainly the most  
powerful prince that ever sat upon the imperial throne. His person was agreeable, though  
inclining to corpulence : he was of a middling stature, with blue eyes, an aquiline nose,  
and pointed chin ; and his hair, which was sandy, he always wore so short, that one  
half of his ears were uncovered. Though he had made no progress in learning, he was  
perfectly well acquainted with the *Flemish*, *German*, *Spanish*, *French*, and *Italian* languages, and  
understood a little of the *Latin*. He ordered the *Courtier* of count *Balthazar de Chatillon*,  
*Machiavel's* prince, and *Polybius*, to be translated for his own private use. He delighted in  
reading the history of *Philip de Commines*, which he very much esteemed, and the commen-  
taries of *Sleidan*, whom by way of raillery he used to call his *Liar*. He often amused him-  
self with drawing, was passionately fond of the exercise of arms, and perfectly well skilled  
in horsemanship, plain in his apparel, and familiar with his domestics ; at the same time,  
circumspect in his actions and pleasing in his discourse ; but often artful and ambiguous  
in his expressions : he was patient in giving audience, judicious in his answers, firm in sup-  
porting his ambassadors and officers, and grateful towards those who had served him with  
fidelity : yet he was rather narrow than liberal, for no prince ever expended less upon his  
pleasures, or took more pains in regulating his œconomy ; he was naturally amorous, but  
he carefully concealed this weakness, that irregularity might not be authorised by his ex-  
ample : he was so moderate in eating and drinking, that when attacked by the gout, he,  
without repining, allowed the physicians to regulate his diet by weight and measure ; and  
drunkenness was an excess which he could never forgive. In the beginning of his reign, he  
manifested more discretion than courage ; but in the sequel gave many extraordinary proofs  
of personal valour : yet he is accused of having erred against sound policy, in letting *Luther*  
escape ; in setting *Francis* the first at liberty ; in restoring *Tunis*, and in neglecting the de-  
fence of the *Goletta* ; in conferring the electorate of *Saxony* on duke *Maurice* ; in elevating the  
house of *Medicis* ; in creating *Ferdinand* king of the *Romans* ; in making war upon the pope ;  
in abdicating the empire ; in marrying his son *Philip* to the queen of *England*, upon dis-  
honourable conditions ; and in being too much attached to strangers, particularly the inha-  
bitants of the *Low-Countries*, whom he employed as his principal ministers, in preference to  
the *Germans* and *Spaniards*, who took umbrage at his partiality <sup>a</sup>.

<sup>a</sup> HEISS, l. 3. c. 4.

*milian* II. *Jane*, married to prince *John* of *Portugal*, to  
whom she bore a posthumous son, who ascended the  
throne after the death of his grand-father. Among the  
natural children of *Charles V.* are reckoned, *John* of  
*Austria*, who was governor of the *Low Countries*, and

*Margaret*, married first to *Alexander* of *Medicis* duke  
of *Urbino*, and afterwards to *Octavius Farnese*, duke of  
*Parma*, upon whose death she was created governess of  
the *Low Countries*, and died in 1586 (1).

(1) Heiff. l. 3. c. 4.



C H A P. XIV.

Containing an Account of the Evangelic Union; and the War in Hungary.

F E R D I N A N D.

- a **C**HARLES the fifth was succeeded in the empire by his brother *Ferdinand*, who was born at *Alcala de Henares* in *Spain*, and by his grand-father provided with a preceptor and governor, who not only trained him up in the usual exercise of princes, but likewise inspired him with the love of the belles lettres to which he applied himself with extraordinary attachment. *Francis Ximenes*, cardinal of *Toledo*, who had the care of his brother's education, persuaded *Charles* that he ought to remove *Ferdinand* into *Germany*, because he perceived that the *Spaniards* expressed more affection for that young prince, who was born and bred among them; than for his elder brother, who was a native of the *Low-Countries*. He was accordingly sent into *Flanders*, where *Erasmus* was engaged to superintend the rest of his education. When *Ferdinand* married *Anne* of *Hungary*, *Charles* made over to him as his patrimony, *High and Low Austria*, with all the domains appertaining to that house, in *Germany*, *Suabia*, along the lake of *Constance*, in the *Hercynian* forest, the *Brisgaw*, and on both sides of the river *Ill*. His brother-in-law, *Lewis the Young*, being slain in the battle of *Mohais*, he, by virtue of his wife's title, was crowned king of *Bohemia* at *Prague*; and after having defeated *John de Zapolles*, count of *Scepus*, vaivode of *Transylvania*, who was his competitor for *Hungary*, he entered into quiet possession of that kingdom, and was crowned at *Belgrade*, in consequence of the ancient treaties subsisting between the kings of *Hungary* and the princes of the house of *Austria*. He was afterwards invested with the duchy of *Wurtemberg* by his brother *Charles*, at the diet of *Augsburg*; then being elected king of the *Romans* at *Cologne*, he received the crown at *Aix-la-Chapelle*, as we have already observed, notwithstanding the protestations of the electors of *Saxony* and *Brandenburg*, who, nevertheless, acknowledged his election a few years after in the city of *Cadan* in *Bohemia*. In the mean time, as one part of the *Hungarian* nobles was still in the interest of the count de *Scepus*, *Ferdinand* concluded a treaty with him, by which it was stipulated, that each should keep possession of what he at present occupied; and that upon *Zapolles*' death, the whole kingdom should devolve to *Ferdinand*. Accordingly, upon the death of that prince, the king of the *Romans* claimed the performance of this contract; but *Solyman*, upon pretence of protecting the widow and son of *Zapolles*, made himself master of a great part of *Hungary*, from whence he could never be intirely expelled. Since the last diet at *Augsburg*, where the affairs of religion were regulated with the Protestants, he had been continually employed on the side of *Hungary*, in opposing the *Turks*, who had made repeated efforts to extend their conquests in that kingdom; and, after having fortified the principal places with good garrisons, and all the other munitions of war, he returned to *Germany*, whither he was called to assist at the diet of *Frankfort*, where the ambassadors of *Charles* the fifth arrived with the act of renunciation in favour of *Ferdinand*, which, after due deliberation, was unanimously approved by the electors. In consequence of this approbation, they proceeded to the election of *Ferdinand*, to whom they swore allegiance, after having transferred upon him the imperial dignity with all the accustomed ceremonies: but pope *Paul* the fourth would not admit of the validity of the renunciation of *Charles*, or the election of his brother, because in neither case the consent of the holy see had been obtained. He even refused audience to *Don Martin de Gusman*, whom *Ferdinand* had sent to take the usual oath in his name; and that his refusal might appear to be founded upon substantial reasons, he appointed certain cardinals to examine into the merits of the affair. These commissaries were of opinion, that the pope could not admit the ambassador to any audience or public action, until he should have demonstrated in what manner the empire became vacant, and by what right *Ferdinand* pretended to succeed his brother, as all the proceedings at the diet of *Frankfort* were null and void, because carried on by heretic electors, without the consent of the pope. It would therefore be necessary to examine the motives which had induced *Charles* to resign the empire, and if they should be found to be just and reasonable, *Ferdinand* should renounce all that had been done at *Frankfort*, and submit to a new election. The emperor looked upon these reasons as vain and frivolous; and, without paying the least regard to the remonstrances of the pope, ordered his ambassador to make the necessary protest, and take his leave, if, in three days after this intimation, he should not be favoured with an audience; for he considered that antient custom of pro-

*Ferdinand succeeds to the empire. A. D. 1558.*

*The pope refuses to admit the validity of the election.*

<sup>r</sup> THUAN. Hist. l. 21. p. 707.



A. D. 1559. curing the confirmation of the pope, and going to receive the imperial crown at *Rome*, as a superfluous ceremony, after having obtained the consent of the electors; an opinion which hath been adopted by all his successors in the empire. The ambassador punctually executed the orders of his master; and though almost all the princes of Christendom condemned this conduct of the pope, yet he persisted in his refusal, even after the death of *Charles*; but he himself dying soon after, *Pius* the fourth, who succeeded him, confirmed the imperial dignity to *Ferdinand* <sup>a</sup>.

But is confirmed in the imperial dignity by Pius IV.

THIS prince, upon his promotion, being desirous of settling the affairs of the empire, issued orders for convoking a diet at *Augsburg*, where he invited the princes and states to appear in person, he himself resolving to be present among them. There he earnestly exhorted them to submit to an œcumenical council, as the only means capable of re-establishing the union of *Germany*; and he promised to manage matters in such a manner, that they should be more favourably heard in that assembly than they had been in the council of *Trent*; but finding it impracticable to prevail upon them to consent to this proposal, he still indulged them with the free exercise of their religion within their own dominions, that the public peace of the empire might not be infringed, though, at the same time, he vehemently solicited the pope to call a new council, and endeavoured to engage the kings of *France* and *Spain* to second his solicitations. But all their joint endeavours would have been vain, had not *Francis* the second resolved to convoke a national council, in order to concert measures for stopping the progress of *Calvinism*. Pope *Pius* the fourth, being alarmed at this resolution, determined to oblige the princes of *Christendom* with a general council, which they had so long demanded; and, after having hesitated some months in his opinion, sometimes inclining to a continuation of the council of *Trent*, which had been suspended by *Julius* the third, and at other times disposed to call a new one, he at length adhered to the former suggestion, and published a bull for renewing the council of *Trent*, whither all princes, prelates, and ambassadors, were invited to repair <sup>b</sup>.

A. D. 1560.

Who re-opens the council of Trent.

The Protestants assemble at Naumburg, and refuse to submit to the council.

ON the publication of this bull, the Protestants obtained permission of the emperor to assemble at *Naumburg* in *Saxony*, where they were visited by two nuncios, whom the pope had sent into *Germany* to invite them to the council. Their arrival and business was no sooner notified, than the assembly sent an escort to attend them. They were immediately introduced, and politely received by the princes, who heard their harangue with great attention; and having received the bulls and briefs of the pope, to which they promised an answer should be given, they ordered them to be reconducted to their lodging with the same ceremony: but they were no sooner returned, than the pope's briefs were sent back by the hands of three gentlemen, who told them, in the name of the assembly, that the princes observing that the pope had in the inscription distinguished them by the appellation of his *Sons*, they could not receive his brief on these terms, as they could not acknowledge him for their father. The nuncios replied, that this was no more than a form which his holiness observed in writing to all Christian princes; but the messengers, without taking notice of this reply, left the briefs upon a table, and retired. This was the prelude of the resolution, which a few days after, the princes sent to the nuncios by ten of the counsellors, specifying, that they would receive no invitation from the pope to repair to a council, which he had no power to convoke; this being the prerogative of the emperor, to whom alone, as their sovereign, they were bound to explain themselves on the subject <sup>c</sup>. At the same time, the assembly expressed their esteem for the persons of the nuncios, who would have met with a better reception, had not they been invested with that odious title. After they had been dismissed with this declaration, the princes put an end to their sitting with a remonstrance, importing, that they would adhere to the confession of *Augsburg*, whatever should be determined in the council of *Trent* <sup>d</sup>.

A. D. 1562.

Maximilian, the emperor's son, is elected king of the Romans.

MEAN while, the emperor resolving to establish the imperial crown in his own family, issued orders for convoking a diet at *Frankfort*, where he managed his interest with such address, that his son *Maximilian* was elected king of the *Romans*, with the unanimous consent of all the princes and states, that prince having been already promoted to the crown of *Bohemia*. *Ferdinand* likewise took this opportunity of once more attempting to persuade the Protestants to submit to the council; but they continued unshaken in their resolution, demanding a free council, in which the pope should not be both judge and party, where they might deliberate with freedom upon the morals and ecclesiastical conduct of *Rome*, the depravity of which was the subject of universal complaint. The emperor, finding them inflexible in this point, resolved to take another method, in order to re-unite them to the church; and for this effect, in concert with *Charles* the ninth, king of *France*, con-

A. D. 1563.

<sup>a</sup> GODELIV. ex Schard. Oper. Hist. t. ii. p. 111. THUAN. l. 28. p. 131. HEISS. Hist. de L'Empire, l. 3. c. 5. <sup>b</sup> SPOND. CONT. t. ix. p. 364. <sup>c</sup> BEUTHER. append. <sup>d</sup> ONUPH. in Pio IV. SCHARD. Epit. Rer. sub. Ferd.



a certified a remonstrance to the fathers of the council, exhorting them to undertake a reformation of manners among the ecclesiastics, in order to remove that stumbling-block, of which the Protestants and Calvinists so justly complained. An ample memorial of these abuses, together with the means of reforming them, was actually drawn up by order of the emperor, and sent to the council, whither also the king of *France* dispatched the cardinal of *Lorraine*, with instructions upon the same subject: but the pope affirming, that such a reformation was the province of him alone, would not allow the council to take cognizance of the affair. The emperor had the mortification not only to find his purpose thus baffled, but likewise to see himself disappointed in a demand which he had made in favour of the Protestants of *Germany*, among whom he requested that the communion in both species, and the marriage of priests, should be allowed; but his holiness would consent to neither, although the greatest part of the Catholic doctors judged such a condescension necessary, in order to facilitate the re-union of the Protestants with the *Roman* church<sup>y</sup>. This was the last public transaction in which *Ferdinand* was concerned; for in the month of *February* of that same year, he was attacked by a fever, which terminated in a dropsy, that put a period to his life. He died at *Vienna* on the twenty-sixth of *July*, and the sixtieth and first year of his age. His obsequies were performed in the same city, on the month of *August* of the year following; after which ceremony his body was carried to *Prague*, where it was interred by that of queen *Anne* his wife, with whom he had lived in the utmost harmony of conjugal affection. Ferdinand dies at Vienna. A. D. 1564.

c *FERDINAND* governed the empire as well as his own kingdoms with uncommon equity, clemency, and moderation. He was remarkable for his prudence, justice, liberality, and unwearied application to business; and though he was zealously attached to the *Roman* Catholic religion, he did not manifest his zeal by fire and sword, although often solicited to make use of these expedients; but endeavoured to reconcile the differences in religion by force of argument and truth, in pacific conferences and councils. Above all things, he was scrupulously observant of his word; inasmuch that having once promised a gratification to an old officer, who afterwards rendered himself unworthy of his favour, he performed his promise, saying, that he ought to have more regard to his own word and reputation, than to the demerits of the delinquents<sup>z</sup> (E). His character.

d M A X I M I L I A N II.

*F*ERDINAND was succeeded by his son *Maximilian*, who was born at *Vienna*, and educated in *Spain* with his uncle *Charles* the fifth, in whose army he made the first campaign, during the war with *France*. He likewise signalized his courage in that which was carried on with some of the princes of the empire; and afterwards opened the diet at *Augsburg* by a discourse, which he pronounced in presence of the emperor, and the princes of the empire. When this assembly broke up, he repaired to *Spain*, where he espoused *Mary*, daughter to *Charles* the fifth, and governed that kingdom three years in the name of his father-in-law. At his return into *Germany*, he greatly contributed to the pacification at *Passau*; after which he continued in *Austria*, till the day of his father's death. Maximilian succeeds him on the imperial throne.

e We have already observed, that he received the crown of *Bohemia*, and was afterwards unanimously elected king of the *Romans* at *Frankfort*; yet his election had well-nigh proved abortive by the death of *John Jekhard*, elector of *Cologne*, who happened to die at that very juncture. However, the chapter of *Cologne* being desired to nominate a new archbishop, *Frederic* count de *Weid* was chosen without delay, and immediately repaired to *Frankfort*, where he assisted at the election<sup>a</sup>.

f *MAXIMILIAN* had attained to the age of thirty-seven when he ascended the imperial throne, succeeding his father *Ferdinand*, not only in his dominions, but also in his good qualities, and particularly his humanity, prudence, and moderation. By his acquaintance with the *Latin*, *German*, *French*, *Italian*, *Spanish*, and *Sclavonian* languages, he acquired a surprizing facility in governing the different nations that were under his sway, and in sup-

<sup>y</sup> Ap. GOLDAST. Const. Imp. t. ii. Refc. de Sect. Evan. verb. Calixt. App. p. 111.

<sup>z</sup> HEISS. l. 3. c. 5.

<sup>a</sup> BEUTH.

(E) He married *Elizabeth Anne*, only daughter of *Uladiſlaus* king of *Hungary* and *Bohemia*, by whom he had four sons, namely, *Maximilian II.* *Ferdinand II.* surnamed *the Prudent*; *John*, who died young, *Charles II.* archduke; and eleven daughters, viz. *Elizabeth*, who married *Sigismund Augustus* king of *Poland*; *Anne*, married to *Albert* duke of *Bavaria*; *Magdalen*, who died a nun at *Vienna*; *Katharine*, first matched with

*Frederic* duke of *Mantua*, and afterwards with *Sigismund II.* king of *Poland*; *Margaret*, *Magdalen*, and *Helen*, who died without issue; *Barbara* married to *Alphonſus II.* duke of *Ferrara*; *Jane*, who married *Francis* of *Medicis* duke of *Florence*; *Eleonora*, married first to *William* duke of *Mantua*, and afterwards to *Sigismund Augustus* king of *Poland*; and lastly, *Mary*, married to *William* duke of *Juliers* (1).

(1) Spond. Con. t. 9. p. 463.



The duke of  
Mecklenburg  
besieges Ros-  
tock.  
A. D. 1565.

porting a correspondence, which he carefully maintained with all his friends and neighbours. In all disputes, especially those of religion, he preferred pacific expedients to violent measures, often observing, that spiritual things ought not to be decided by the temporal sword; and affirming, that those who espoused the contrary opinion, were enemies to union and tranquility. In consequence of this humane disposition, the whole empire breathed nothing but peace, if we except the disturbance occasioned by *John Albert*, duke of *Mecklenburg*, who all of a sudden interrupted the repose of *Germany*, by undertaking the siege of *Rostock*, against which he was incensed, because, since it was restored to that house by *John* king of *Denmark*, the populace had been guilty of divers insurrections, and the city being now exhausted by the plague, and otherwise in a very defenceless condition, the duke would not lose such a favourable opportunity of reducing them to subjection: and, indeed, he made such advantage of the conjuncture, that they were fain to submit, in order to avoid their total destruction. It was accordingly agreed, that the duke should take possession of the city with his troops; that the inhabitants should be maintained in their privileges, and all other differences referred to the decision of the emperor. The duke, however, finding himself master of the town, disarmed the citizens, and condemned them to pay a fine of sixty thousand rixdollars, and beheaded two of their number, who had been ringleaders of the last revolt. After he had taken all the necessary precautions to secure himself in the possession of the city, his brother duke *Ulric* set up a claim to one half of the acquisition, and the other refusing his demand, threatened to support his right by force of arms; but the affair was accommodated by the authority of the emperor, who prevailed upon them to agree that they should possess the town in common, and that the inhabitants should pay the same homage to both <sup>b</sup>.

The emperor  
acts against  
John Sigis-  
mund prince  
of Transylva-  
nia.

WHATEVER inclination *Maximilian* had to cultivate peace on all sides, he was obliged to arm against *John Sigismund*, prince of *Transylvania*, who had assumed the title of king of *Hungary*, and against whom he sent an army under the conduct of *Lazarus Schuendi*. This general acted with such vigour and success against *Sigismund*, that after having taken *Tokay*, and some other places, he would have driven him intirely out of his own country, had not the progress of his arms been stopt by an accommodation of the emperor, by the intercession of *Solyman* the second, who protected *Sigismund* as his vassal <sup>c</sup>.

A. D. 1566.  
The diet at  
Augsburg.

THIS war being happily determined, *Maximilian* repaired to the diet he had convoked at *Augsburg*, which was opened by a speech of *Albert* duke of *Bavaria*, who, in the emperor's name, offered divers proposals to the states for strengthening the peace with the Protestants, and extirpating certain sects not comprehended in that peace; for executing the preceding regulations of the empire, and abridging the tedious proceedings at law; and, above all things, he pressed them to resolve upon granting such succours as should be sufficient to withstand the invasions of the *Turk*. Much time was consumed in deliberations upon these subjects, in the course of which some of the states took occasion to accuse *Frederic* elector palatine, of professing a religion contrary to the statutes of the empire; a charge, in consequence of which, that prince in open diet declared, that he professed no other religion than that which was conformable to the doctrine of the prophets and apostles, as contained in the confession of *Augsburg*, and the apology for that confession, which had been approved of in the last assembly of the Protestants at *Naumburg*. Nay, so much was he affected by this accusation, that by the hands of duke *John Casimir*, his son, he presented the bible and confession of *Augsburg* to the Protestant states, desiring he might be convicted of his error from those two books; a proposal by which he shut the mouths of these envious persons, who had thus impeached his character. This enmity against the elector was fomented by the practices of cardinal *Commendori*, who was sent thither by pope *Pius* the fifth, with orders to protest publicly against the discussion of any religious point; and in case the diet should proceed, notwithstanding that caveat, to threaten the whole assembly with excommunication, and in particular to declare that his holiness would depose the emperor, and divest him of all his dominions <sup>d</sup>.

The pope pro-  
tests against  
the discussion  
of religious  
matters.

Proceedings  
against Grom-  
bach and  
John Frederic  
duke of Sax-  
ony.

IN this diet it was proposed to execute the decree of a former diet, issued against a certain gentleman of *Franconia*, called *Grombach*, who had been put under the ban of the empire, for having assassinated *Melchior Hobil*, bishop and prince of *Wurtzburg*. The decree, though issued about seven years, could not be hitherto executed, because *John Frederic*, duke of *Saxony*, son of the elector of that name, protected him in his fortrels of *Gotha*. However, as the impunity of such a criminal might be attended with very bad consequences in the empire, it was now ordained, that the duke should be compelled by force to surrender *Grombach* and his accomplices. Nor was this the only resolution taken upon the subject; for as it was well known that *John Frederic* granted this protection to those cri-

<sup>b</sup> BEUTH. App. p. 111.  
SPOND. CONT. t. ix. p. 476.

<sup>c</sup> THUAN. Hist. l. 37.

<sup>d</sup> THUAN. l. 39. GABUT. in vit. Pii. l. ii. p. 1.



- a minals, that he might have a pretext for arming, and that the troops he levied were not so much designed for the defence of such malefactors, as for recovering the electorate of which his father had been divested, and even seizing upon the imperial throne itself, according to the vain prediction of a magician, who had acquired his confidence; for these reasons, I say, the diet resolved, that he should be pursued as a perturbator of the public peace, while the emperor promised to furnish a body of troops sufficient to force his town of *Gotba*, and make sure of himself and his fortress; and as he thought the conduct of this expedition could not be entrusted with a more proper person than *Augustus*, whom he had already invested with the electorate of *Saxony*, that prince was accordingly employed to command the army, and execute the decree of the diet<sup>e</sup>. *Maximilian*, having regulated
- b all the interior affairs of the empire, earnestly exhorted the states to provide for its exterior occasions; and, particularly, to find some means for opposing the *Turks*, who now again threatened *Hungary*; for *Solyman* was actually employed in making preparations for revenging upon that kingdom the affront which he had received before *Malta*, from whence he had, the preceding year, been obliged to make a shameful retreat, after a siege of four months, during which he had lost a great number of troops. The states for this service granted supplies sufficient to maintain forty thousand foot and eight thousand horse; and, as there was no time to lose, *Maximilian* dismissed the diet, and repaired to *Vienna*, in order to make the necessary preparations; for, by this time, the army of the *Turks* was said to amount to two hundred thousand men. The emperor exerted himself so industriously on
- c this occasion, that he was soon in a condition to take the field with fourscore thousand foot and twenty thousand horse; and having received intelligence that *Solyman* had already invested *Zigbet*, of which the brave count *Zerini* was governor, he marched directly to *Javarin*, from whence he might observe the enemy. But he was advised to remain wholly on the defensive, without hazarding a battle; and while he looked tamely on, the *Turks* had leisure to ruin all the fortifications of the city, and reduce the governor to such extremity, that he resolved to sally out upon the besiegers with three hundred chosen men, who, with himself, were surrounded and cut in pieces; so that the town was taken in course. *Maximilian* was no sooner apprised of the fate of this place, than he made his retreat to *Austria*; for which he is justly accused of misconduct, because he might have taken advantage of
- d that consternation which prevailed among the *Turkish* generals on account of the death of *Solyman*, who was carried off by a fit of the apoplexy two days before the town was taken, and *Selim*, his son and successor, being absent, they were necessarily involved in perplexity and confusion, because they had no orders to act, and knew not what measures to take<sup>f</sup>.
- BEFORE the emperor left *Hungary*, he placed strong garrisons in the principal towns of that kingdom; so that *Selim*, foreseeing that it would be difficult to make much progress on that side, was the more disposed to listen to the proposals for a truce, which was actually concluded between the two emperors for twelve years, on the usual conditions, specifying that each should retain the conquests he had made; an article which redounded to the advantage of *Maximilian*, whose general *Schuendi* had taken a great many places from the
- e enemy. These precautions being taken, *Maximilian* at his return sent a reinforcement of troops and other necessaries to the elector of *Saxony*, who had not yet finished the siege of *Gotba*; and that prince, being thus reinforced, soon compelled the town and fortress to surrender, on the conditions which he was pleased to impose. He was no sooner master of the place, than he punished *Grombach* and his accomplices with different kinds of death, according to the quality of their crimes. Duke *John Frederic*, whom he had made prisoner, was sent to the emperor, by whose orders he was imprisoned during life; and, that the place might never afterwards yield a retreat to the disturbers of their country, the fortifications of the town and castle were razed to the ground. This affair being ended, *Maximilian* convoked a diet at *Fulde*, in order to take measures for preventing the troubles to
- f which *Germany* might be exposed from the divisions and disorders which every day increased in the *Low Countries*. He had likewise observed, that some princes of the empire interested themselves too much in the affairs of the *Huguenots* of *France*; to the assistance of whom, prince *John Casimir*<sup>g</sup>, son of the elector palatine, had already marched with seven thousand horse and three thousand foot. He, therefore, took wise precautions, and persuaded the diet to issue out several decrees for the maintenance of peace in *Germany*; for that was the goal to which all his thoughts and all his endeavours were directed. From the same motive, he interposed in a difference, that happened the following year, between the city of *Triers* and the elector, who had never been able to reduce the inhabitants to obedience. He pretended, that the town was immediately subject to him, as superior and sovereign, to
- g whom they owed the oath of allegiance; that it was his prerogative to lay the necessary

*Zigbet is besieged and taken by the Turks.*

*The death of Solyman.*

*A truce is concluded for twelve years.*

*A. D. 1567. Grombach is put to death; and John Frederic duke of Saxony condemned to perpetual imprisonment.*

*A. D. 1568.*

<sup>e</sup> HEISS, l. 3. c. 6. <sup>f</sup> BEUTH. ap. in fine. ISTHUAFF. & BIZ. de Bell. Pannon. SANSON. in vita Imp. Turc. <sup>g</sup> MEZ. Abr. Chron. t. iii. 1048.



A. D. 1569.

*The Protestants of Austria are indulged in liberty of conscience.*

taxes, establish the magistracy, keep the keys of the gates, judge all criminal processes, and order the laws to be put in execution. The citizens, on the contrary, alledged, that from time immemorial these rights belonged to them, without depending on the archbishop, except under certain conditions. The elector, therefore, seeing he had nothing to expect by fair means, invested the town on the sixth of June, and the siege lasted to the month of August, when the emperor and the other electors interposed, in order to mediate an accommodation. Accordingly they effected a treaty, in which it was stipulated, that the archbishop should raise the siege; that he should do no injury to the persons or effects of the inhabitants; that he should enter the city with some companies of horse and foot; that the general officers and guard of the elector should lodge in the place, and quarters be assigned to the rest elsewhere; and finally, that the difference should be referred to the determination of the emperor and electors<sup>a</sup>.

MAXIMILIAN's inclination for peace being perfectly well known, the Protestants of the states of *Austria*, to whom he had formerly refused the free exercise of their religion, resolved to take the advantage of his present disposition for obtaining that indulgence. They had the more reason to expect success, because at this time they had done him a very singular favour, in cancelling a considerable debt, which he had incurred by borrowing sums from them for the expence of the war against the *Turk*. In effect, the conjunction was so favourable for them, that, after pressing solicitations, the Protestant nobility were indulged with the free exercise of their religion in their castles, cities, and villages. To this condescension he was swayed, not only by motives of gratitude, but likewise by a natural sweetness of disposition, and a full persuasion that constraint and persecution serve only to widen the breach in all religious disputes.

A. D. 1570.

In consequence of this moderation, he could not, without great pain and anxiety, hear the reports that were made of the horrible cruelties which the duke of *Alva* and *Requesenes*, great commander of *Castile*, practised in the *Low Countries*, with a view to force the consciences of the people: he, therefore, sent his brother *Charles* to *Philip* king of *Spain*, to intreat that prince to moderate those proceedings, lest an entire desertion of the provinces should ensue, and the states of the empire be affected by the evil example of such violence and persecution. These remonstrances, however, produced no effect; on the contrary, the war in the *Low Countries* began to rage more than ever, and in a little time was attended with those important consequences which are so well known.

From the same principles, he refused to *Charles* the ninth of *France*, the permission to make levies in *Germany*, for acting against those of the reformed religion: but the Protestants of *Germany* did not fail to send succours to the *Huguenots* of *France*, being not only moved with sympathy and compassion for their brethren in distress, but also induced by motives of self preservation; for they understood that the pope had entered into a league with the kings of *France* and *Spain*, for extirminating all dissenters from the Catholic religion; and that the duke of *Alva* acted on the same principle in the *Low Countries*. Whatever alliance of this nature those princes might have formed, certain it is the scheme was never carried into execution. The king of *France* even excused himself from engaging in the league against the *Turk*, alledging that his finances were utterly exhausted, and his kingdom reduced to a deplorable condition, by the intestine war which he maintained against the *Huguenots*<sup>b</sup>.

*The Christian princes engage in an alliance against the Turks, who are defeated by sea at Lepanto.*  
A. D. 1571.

In the mean time, the king of *Spain* joined his maritime forces with those of the pope, *Venetians*, duke of *Savoy*, *Genoese*, and *Maltese*, in order to act in concert against the infidels, from whom they apprehended some new design, as *Selim*, flushed with the conquest of *Cyprus*, which he had taken from the *Venetians*, still kept his naval army assembled about the gulph of *Lepanto*. The Christians, apprised of their situation, set sail in quest of them, under the conduct of *John* of *Austria*, natural son of *Charles* the fifth, who was invested with the supreme command, and a famous battle ensued, in which the *Turks* were totally defeated<sup>c</sup>.

A. D. 1572.

THOUGH the emperor would not engage in this alliance of the Christian princes against the *Turk*, on account of the truce which he had some time before concluded, he, nevertheless, took all necessary precautions for the security of his *Hungarian* dominions. For this purpose he concluded a treaty with *John Sigismund*, prince of *Transylvania*, who thereby obliged himself to renounce the title of king of *Hungary*, which, in imitation of his father, he had usurped, and to acknowledge himself a vassal of the emperor, although he was tributary to the *Turk*; but this prince dying in a few days after he had ratified the treaty, *Maximilian* renewed it with *Stephen Bathori*, whom the *Turks* of *Transylvania* had elected in his place.

THE emperor not only secured the peace of *Hungary* in this manner, but also managed the states with such dexterity, that they were prevailed upon to elect his eldest son *Rodol-*

<sup>a</sup> THUAN. Hist. l. 43. t. ii.<sup>b</sup> HEISS, Hist. de L'Emp. l. 3. c. 6.<sup>c</sup> MEZ. Abr. Chron. t. iii. p. 1074.



a *phus* as his successor to the crown of that kingdom. Then he returned to *Vienna*, in order to secure him in his succession to the throne of *Bohemia*, and afterwards to procure his being elected king of the *Romans*. For his second son, he fixed his eyes upon *Poland*, at that time vacant by the death of *Sigismund*, the last of the house of *Jagellon*; but in this project he was disappointed by *Henry* duke of *Valois*, brother of *Charles* the ninth of *France*, who obtained that crown in preference to all his competitors.

YET *Maximilian's* hopes were revived by the abdication of *Henry*, who, in about a year after his election, abandoned this throne in order to ascend that of *France*, the crown of which was devolved to him by the death of his brother. This second vacancy, however, was not more favourable to the emperor than the first; for whether he was not industrious enough in canvassing among the principal palatines of *Poland*, or these noblemen were afraid of augmenting the power of the house of *Austria*, they rejected his proposal, and chose *Stephen Bathori* (F) prince of *Transylvania*, who, by his merit and valour, had acquired their love and veneration<sup>1</sup>. *Maximilian*, far from dropping his pretensions, resolved to support them by force of arms; because he foresaw that should he once make himself master of that kingdom, he would be in a condition to check the progress of the *Turks*, by whom he was incessantly molested. He, therefore, began to make preparations for asserting his claim with the sword: but, at the same time, continued, with great application, to negotiate with the states of *Bohemia* and the electors of the empire in favour of his son *Rodolphus*, who was actually crowned at *Prague*, and afterwards created king of the *Romans*.

A. D. 1574.  
Stephen Bathori elected king of Poland, in preference to the emperor.

Rodolphus created king of Bohemia.  
A. D. 1575.

c THE emperor, having thus regulated the affairs of his own family, employed his whole attention, for several months, on those of the empire. He likewise explained to the diet his design upon *Poland*; but this, and all his other projects, were interrupted by a distemper, which induced him to relinquish all worldly affairs, and turn his thoughts entirely upon the concerns of his soul. He had, for a long time, in his familiar parties, been accustomed to discourse upon the immortality of the soul; and even seemed to take pleasure in meditating upon death, which he now encountered with great constancy and resignation in the fiftieth year of his age<sup>m</sup>.

The death of Maximilian.  
A. D. 1576.

d THIS prince was extremely affable, and accessible to those who wanted to speak with him on any particular business; insomuch, that he never mortified one person with a refusal, or harsh word: he was of a forgiving temper, averse to flattery, an enemy to slander, and a passionate lover of truth: he despised luxury, avoided all excess, and was never known to purchase one jewel for his personal attire; he was well versed in war, which he conducted with equal skill and activity, notwithstanding his want of success in *Hungary*. So regular was his œconomy, that a set hour was assigned to every different action of his life; and every day, after dinner, he allowed even the meanest of his subjects to approach him, when they had any complaint to make, or any thing of consequence to propose: in a word, he was a tender parent and affectionate husband, having lived, for the space of twenty-nine years, in the utmost harmony with *Mary* his empress, by whom he had fifteen children<sup>n</sup> (G).

## R O D O L P H U S. II.

R *ODOLPHUS* II. king of the *Romans*, *Hungary*, and *Bohemia*, who ascended the Imperial throne in the twenty-fourth year of his age, inherited the disposition, and imitated the conduct of his father *Maximilian*; for, during his whole reign, he preserved *Germany* from those wars, which, after his death, embroiled all Christendom: his sole aim in maintaining the repose of the empire by the union of its members being to provide a powerful resistance against the infidels.

Rodolphus II. succeeds to the Imperial throne.

f HIS brother, the archduke *Matthias*, had already acquired such reputation for valour and prudence, that the prince of *Orange* and the confederated states of the *Low Countries*, which had thrown off the *Spanish* yoke, solicited him to accept of the government of their

<sup>1</sup> ISTHMANF. l. 24. FLORIM. l. 4. c. 12.

<sup>m</sup> SPOND. Com. t. ix. p. 584.

<sup>n</sup> THUAN. t. iii. l. 62.

(F) The competitors were *Maximilian* the emperor; *John* king of *Sweden*; *Alphonso* duke of *Ferrara*; and *John Basilowitz* great duke of *Muscovy*. The emperor was actually elected by the majority of the senators, and proclaimed by the archbishop of *Gnesna*; but as this proclamation was not in the usual form, and the greatest part of the nobility was of opinion, that they ought to chuse some prince of their own country, they afterwards elected *Ann*, sister of the late *Sigismund Augustus*, for their queen, with the proviso that she should marry

*Stephen Bathori*, who was expressly recommended to them by sultan *Amurath* (1).

(G) The children of *Maximilian*, by *Mary*, daughter of *Charles V.* were *Rodolphus*, *Ernest*, *Matthias*, *Maximilian*, *Albert* cardinal, *Wimesslaus*, and *Ferdinand*, who survived him; those who died before him were *Albert*, *Frederic*, and *Charles*. Of five daughters, *Ann* and *Elizabeth* were married: *Mary*, *Margaret*, and *Elisabeth* died young (2).

(1) Ext. lit. ap. Natal. l. 26.

(2) Heiff. Hist. l. 3. c. 6.



provinces. He accordingly embraced the proposal, with the consent of the emperor; and going thither, at first conducted their affairs to their satisfaction: but, in the sequel, they were induced, by the jealousy they entertained of all the princes of the house of *Austria*, to dismiss him from this employment, though he was very honourably discharged, and his place supplied by the duke of *Anjou*°.

A. D. 1577.  
He lays the  
Protestants of  
Austria under  
restrictions in  
point of reli-  
gion.

THE emperor was warmed with all his father's zeal for the *Roman Catholic* religion, without that charity and moderation which had induced *Maximilian* to indulge the Protestants with liberty of conscience. He pretended, that those of *Austria* had extended their privileges beyond the concession which had been made in their favour; and therefore abridged them in the exercise of their religion, which he confined to the country-houses of certain gentlemen; though he resolved scrupulously to observe the pacification of *Passau*, by which, among other things, it was stipulated, that every prelate, in renouncing the Catholic religion, should be deprived of his benefice.

AT the desire of *Philip* king of *Spain*, and *John* of *Austria*, at that time governor of the *Low Countries*, *Rodolphus* had sent ambassadors to the confederate estates, exhorting them to listen to terms of accommodation, return to the ancient religion they had relinquished, and the allegiance which they owed to their natural prince. To this admonition they replied by a representation of their grievances, and the oppression under which they groaned from the tyranny of their governors, who, in the exercise of their power, had expressly infringed the articles of the treaty of *Ghent*. They, therefore, implored the good offices of the emperor, and sent an ambassador to the diet, which *Rodolphus* had convoked at *Worms*, in order to take cognizance of their affairs. Here *Philip de Marnix*, sieur de *St. Aldegonde*, who was their deputy, expatiated in a noble harangue upon the miseries of the *Low Countries*, and pathetically supplicated the assistance of the empire, which, however, he could not obtain, on account of the weight and influence of their oppressors, who represented them as a set of contumacious fanatics, in an actual state of rebellion; so that, disappointed in this quarter, they put themselves under the protection of *Elizabeth* queen of *England*.

A. D. 1581.

Proceedings of  
the diet at  
Augsburg.

DURING the next diet, which the emperor called at *Augsburg*, in order to regulate the affairs of the empire, and particularly those of religion, which he had very much at heart, *Gebbert Trusches*, archbishop and elector of *Cologne*, who had espoused the *Lutheran* doctrine, sent deputies to the assembly, where he knew there was a good number of Protestant princes, with a view to obtain liberty of conscience in his diocese; and he would have, doubtless, accomplished his aim, had he not met with an obstinate opposition from the senate of *Cologne*, and the chapter of the cathedral, by which he was so much irritated, that, on pretence of defending the confines of his archbishopric against the enterprizes of the *Flemings*, he assembled a body of troops, and being assisted by some Protestant princes, surprised the city of *Bonn*, pillaged the treasure of the church, which was kept in the castle of *Bruelle*, granted liberty of conscience to his subjects, and publicly married *Agnes*, canons of *Gurishim*, and daughter of *John George* count de *Mansfeld*, of whose exquisite beauty he was very much enamoured. The pope and the emperor employed their whole endeavours and exhortations, in order to reclaim this apostate from the church of *Rome*; but finding him unshaken in his new principles, he was excommunicated, formally deposed, and his place supplied with *Ernestus*, son of *Albert* the fifth, duke of *Bavaria*. This new-elected archbishop, being obliged to support his new dignity by force against his deposed predecessor, he took the field with a body of his father's troops, reinforced by those of the emperor; and after several engagements, in which victory sometimes declared for one side, and sometimes for the other, *Trusches* was at last expelled from his dominions, and obliged to retire with his fair *Agnes* into *Holland*, where he spent the rest of his days in very narrow circumstances; while *Ernestus*, having got possession of the archbishopric, would suffer no religion to be exercised but the *Roman Catholic*, which hath been ever since maintained in that place; and the emperor, by an investiture, confirmed his new dignity.

Trusches  
archbishop  
and elector of  
Cologne re-  
nounces the  
Roman Ca-  
tholic religion.

and is expelled  
from his domi-  
nions.

A. D. 1583.

Amurath III.  
breaks the  
truce with the  
emperor.

A. D. 1584.

A. D. 1588.

*RODOLPHUS*, that he might have the more leisure to apply himself to the affairs of the empire, had taken the precaution to prolong the truce for eight years with *Amurath* the third; nevertheless the *Turks*, without paying any regard to this prolongation of the truce, began to make incursions into *Hungary* and *Croatia*; and a body often thousand men actually carried their ravages as far as the frontiers of *Carniola*, from whence they carried off a great number of Christians and cattle, together with a vast quantity of effects; but the archduke *Ernestus*, the emperor's brother, pursued them into *Croatia*, where they were utterly defeated, and their general slain.

THE same success did not attend his brother *Maximilian*, who three years afterwards was elected king of *Poland*, by part of the states of that kingdom, vacant by the death of

° HEISS, l. 3. c. 7.  
Hist. t. iv. l. 80.

P Id. ibid.

¶ THUAN. t. 3. l. 66.

† SPOND. Cont. t. 9. p. 650.

‡ THUAN.



a *Stephen*. He was obliged to support his claim by force against *Sigismund*, the son of *John* king of *Sweden*, who was likewise elected by a greater number, and that of the strongest party. The two competitors taking the field soon came to battle, in which *Maximilian* was routed and taken prisoner by his antagonist, who detained him in captivity till next year, when he was released in consequence of having renounced his claim to the crown of *Poland*.

*AMURATH* the third, notwithstanding the truce which he had renewed with *Rodolphus*, without any provocation marched an army into the field, made himself master of *Repitch*, *Wibitsk*, and some other towns of *Croatia*; and even arrested at *Weissenburg*, *Frederic Krecovier*, the emperor's ambassador, whom he ordered to be shut up in a tower, where he soon after died. The emperor, provoked at these hostilities, and this outrageous violation of the law of nations, sent into the field with great expedition, an army consisting of five and forty thousand men, which, having found the *Turks* between two rivers near *Sisség*, an abbey and strong castle in *Croatia*, attacked them with such vigour, that they were entirely defeated; their bashaw, together with several other officers and soldiers, being either killed or drowned; while the Imperialists lost not above an hundred men. *Amurath* no sooner received the news of this defeat, than he sent thither another army, which took *Sisség*: then he marched another stronger still into *Hungary*, where it committed great devastations, and took *Wesprin*, together with some other places: but the emperor having reinforced his troops, they advanced towards *Belgrade*, where a battle ensued, in which the *Turks* lost upwards of twelve thousand men. A few days after this success, *Tieffembach*, the emperor's lieutenant general in *High Hungary*, having collected a body of twenty thousand men, surprised and took by assault *Zabatic*, a fortress at that time deemed impregnable, and put all the *Turks* of the garrison to the sword, after he had defeated the succours which the bashaws of *Buda* and *Temiswear* had endeavoured to throw into the place. In less than a month he retook *Fillick*, and eleven other strong castles, which had been for thirty years in the possession of the *Turks*. He likewise delivered from slavery, an infinite number of Christians, and freed many towns and countries from the tribute of those infidels. The emperor, resolving to profit by his good fortune, sent into *Hungary* his brother *Matthias*, who made himself master of *Novigrad* by composition, while the counts *de Serin* and *Nadafti* drove the *Turks* from the fortresses of *Bressens*, *Seczin*, and *Segeft*, in *Lower Hungary*. These conquests were followed by the battle of *Hatvan*, fought on the first day of *May*, in which the Imperialists were again victorious.

The *Turks* are defeated near *Sisség*. A. D. 1593.

And at *Belgrade*.

THE extraordinary expence in which the emperor was engaged by this war, obliged him to convoke a diet at *Ratisbon*, where having explained the infidelity of the *Turks*, in attacking his dominions without any regard to the truce which he had renewed, the necessity of repelling force by force, and the extraordinary expence of the war, he told them he was obliged to have recourse to their assistance; and the states, having taken the case into consideration, granted a supply of some *Roman* months, with which he was very well satisfied. They made divers regulations touching the levies, quarters, march, and pay of the troops: they likewise laid the chamber of justice under certain restrictions, and took cognizance of some other affairs\*. But with regard to the *Low Countries*, notwithstanding the complaints that were brought to the diet from that quarter, they took no other resolution but that of deputing some princes of the empire to the confederated states, in order to concert measures for an accommodation. At the same time, they intimated this resolution to the archduke *Ernestus*, the emperor's brother, who was at that time governor-general of the *Low Countries*; but that prince died the following year, before any thing of consequence could be transacted. The diet ended with the ceremony of investiture, which the emperor conferred upon the elector of *Cologne*, the palatine, the dukes of *Pomerania* and *Wirtemberg*, and some other states, that they might peaceably enjoy their principalities and fiefs. Then *Rodolphus* returned to *Prague*, in order to make the necessary preparations for the defence of *Hungary*, which was now become the object of his whole attention, as the grand vizir *Sinan*, general of the *Turks*, being reinforced with a powerful army of *Tartars*, had constrained the archduke *Matthias* to raise the siege of *Graan*. This vizir likewise had made himself master of the fortresses of *Thata* and *St. Martin*, and invested *Raab* or *Javerin*, of which he soon obtained the possession, by the cowardice and villainy of the governor, who, in consideration of a sum of money, delivered up that important place.

Proceedings of the diet at *Ratisbon*. A. D. 1594.

g This progress of *Sinan*, however, was stopt by those troops which the emperor ordered to advance and reinforce the army of his brother *Matthias*; but that which chiefly contributed to the repulse of the infidels, was the behaviour of *Sigismund Bathori*, prince of *Transylvania*, who quitted the side of *Amurath*, and engaged in a particular alliance with the emperor, by which it was stipulated, that they should join their forces, and act in concert

\* ISTHUAUF. l. 26.

HEISS, l. 3. c. 7.

THUAN. Hist. t. v. l. 109.



The Turks  
are again  
oversted before  
Graan.  
A. D. 1595.

against the *Turks*. In the beginning of the following year, *Bathori* engaged the vaivodes of *Moldavia* and *Walachia* in the same league; and these three princes so vigorously attacked the *Turks* and *Tartars*, who had entered their dominions, that few or none of either nation lived to return to their own countries. On the other hand, the archduke *Matthias* had invested *Graan*, and given the direction of the siege to his lieutenant-general, *Charles* count *de Mansfeld*, a brave and experienced officer; and the *Turks* approaching to succour the place, a battle was fought, in which they were entirely routed with the loss of five thousand men, and almost all their leaders. The consequence of this engagement was the surrender of *Graan*, the strongest place of that country; and this conquest was followed by that of several other fortresses and castles, which he took with extraordinary diligence and success <sup>y</sup>.

Agria sur-  
rendered to  
Mahomet III.  
A. D. 1596.

THE following year was not so fortunate to the Imperialists. *Mahomet* the third, who some months ago had succeeded to his father *Amurath* in the *Othoman* empire, resolved to signalize the beginning of his reign by some great exploit; and for that purpose marched with an army of an hundred and fifty thousand men to the siege of *Agria*, one of the most important places of *High Hungary*. At first the garrison made a resolute defence, in expectation of a powerful succour, which the emperor had sent to them under the conduct of his brother the archduke *Maximilian*: but that prince being retarded by the rains and bad roads, the soldiers of the town, who had been always licentious, grew impatient at the delay, and even compelled the governor to capitulate, and surrender the place upon dishonourable conditions. This baseness was revenged by the *Turks* themselves, who enraged at the great loss they had sustained before the town, disregarded the capitulation, and put the whole garrison, man, woman, and child to the sword <sup>z</sup>.

THE archduke *Maximilian*, being mortified with this misfortune, and inflamed with a desire of revenge, approached the enemy's camp, and harassed them with all his power. At length a battle ensued, in which the *Turks* were routed, with the loss of twelve thousand men, their artillery taken, and without doubt the action would have been decisive, if an *Italian* renegado, who perceiving that the Imperialists, instead of pursuing their victory, amused themselves with plunder, had not returned to the charge with fresh troops, by which the fortune of the day was reversed, and the *Germans* put to flight in their turn. He would not, however, venture to pursue them farther than the field of battle; so that the archduke, prince of *Transylvania*, *Tieffembach*, and other officers, had time to rally their forces, and recollect themselves from the confusion produced by this check, which cost them five or six thousand men. After this battle, *Mahomet* seeing his army greatly diminished by the siege of *Agria*, and this last encounter, resolved to return to *Constantinople*, where he abandoned himself to his pleasures.

A. D. 1597.  
Tata and  
Pappa are  
surprised by  
the Imperia-  
lists.

HE left ten thousand men in *Agria*, and shared the command of the rest of his army among his generals, who were so much divided by jealousy, that they could not act in concert, and when the sultan retired, gave themselves no farther concern about the progress of his arms. This neglect having raised the spirits of the Imperialists and *Hungarians*, they, under the conduct of count *Nadaſti*, and the barons of *Bernsteen* and *Palfi*, formed a scheme for surprising the fortress of *Tata* in *Hungary*, and actually carried it into execution; while the archduke *Maximilian*, reinforced by the emperor with a new supply of troops, made preparations for attacking the town of *Pappa*, near *Raab*, which was accordingly taken <sup>a</sup>.

Who likewise  
take Raab  
and Buda.  
A. D. 1598.

THE following campaign commenced with a very extraordinary exploit of *Adolphus* baron of *Schuartzemberg*, who, understanding that the *Turks* in garrison at *Raab* were very remiss in their duty, resolved, if possible, to surprise that fortress. Having concerted the measures with a *French* gentlemen, whose name was *Vaubecour*, they applied a petard to one of the gates, which being burst open, the troops entered the place, and made themselves master of it, after an action which lasted four hours, during which sixteen hundred *Turks* were killed upon the spot, and seven hundred taken prisoners. The archduke *Matthias*, who commanded in *Lower Hungary*, practised the same expedient, with the same success, at *Buda*, where he found a great booty, with upwards of eighty pieces of cannon, and delivered seven thousand Christians from slavery: but he was obliged to retire without having reduced the castle; and that miscarriage provoked him to set the town on fire. In order to revenge these insults, the *Turks* and *Tartars*, to the number of an hundred and fifty thousand, entered *Upper Hungary*, with a resolution to force the town of *Waradin*, which was defended by *Melchior de Redren* baron *de Friedland*, grand marshal of the archduke *Maximilian*, with a garrison of two thousand soldiers, assisted by the inhabitants. During six weeks, he sustained the siege with such vigour, that the *Turks* were constrained to make a shameful retreat, after having lost a great many men in different sallies from the place, in which no more than seven hundred fighting men remained when the siege was raised <sup>b</sup>.

<sup>y</sup> ISTHUAUF. de Reb. Hungar. l. 29.  
c. 7.

<sup>z</sup> THUAN. Hist. t. v. l. 115.

<sup>a</sup> HEISS, Hist. de L'Empire. l. 3.

<sup>b</sup> THUAN. Hist. l. 121. t. v.



- a ABOUT that time, the archduke *Maximilian* was established governor of *Transylvania*, in consequence of the cession which *Sigismund Bathori* had made of that province to the emperor, in exchange for some duchies in *Silesia*, with an annual pension of forty thousand crowns: but after *Bathori* had staid two months in his new territory, perceiving that the bargain he had made was far from being advantageous, he privately returned to *Colosvar*, or *Clofomburg*, in *Transylvania*, where he had left his wife, who was daughter of the archduke *Charles* of *Austria*; and notwithstanding the levity which appeared in his disposition, he was joyfully received by the states of the country, who dreaded the dominion of the princes of the house of *Austria*, whose sway, they said, extended to the souls as well as the bodies and effects of their subjects. Besides, they were afraid that the young prince might be provoked by a refusal to reclaim the protection of the sultan, who would not fail to establish him in his dominions at their expence.

A. D. 1599.

- b THE *Turks*, in the mean time, to the number of sixty thousand men, under the conduct of *Ibrahim Bassa*, had so successfully advanced their affairs on the other side of the *Danube* upon the confines of *Lower Hungary*, that, after having repulsed the duke *de Merccur*, who attempted to throw succours into *Canise*, they made themselves masters of that and several other places; but the duke having received from the emperor a reinforcement of troops, which, together with his own, composed an army of five and twenty thousand men, he resolved to take his revenge; and advancing into *Transylvania*, retook by assault the town of *Cronveissenburg*, and gained several other advantages over the infidels. Nevertheless, after he retired, they renewed their attempts on this place, and next year reduced it again to their dominion.

Progress of the war in Hungary.

- c As all these expeditions could not be carried on without a very great effusion of human blood, both sides began to be tired of the war in *Hungary*, and serious thoughts of peace were entertained. A negotiation was first begun with *Stephen Botsckay*, an *Hungarian* nobleman, of the *Calvinist* persuasion, who, since the defeat of *Bathori*, and his retreat into *Poland*, had with the assistance of the *Turk*, seized the principality of *Transylvania* and that portion of *Hungary* which *Bathori* possessed (H).

- d A TREATY was accordingly concluded between the emperor, the states of *Hungary*, and this prince *Botsckay*, importing among other things, that the Catholics, *Lutherans*, and *Calvinists*, should enjoy the free exercise of their religion in *Hungary*; that *Botsckay* should remain prince of *Transylvania* during life; that a peace should be negotiated with the *Turk*; that the states of *Hungary* might, in the absence of the emperor, choose the archduke *Matthias* for their palatine or governor; that all the other posts should be conferred upon the natives of the country; and that the jesuits should possess nothing of their own, except the presents made them by the emperor.

A. D. 1605.  
A treaty concluded between the emperor and Botsckay.

- e THERE was more difficulty in treating with sultan *Achmet*, who had succeeded *Mahomet* the third; for the negotiation lasted near two years, when at length an accommodation was concluded on these conditions; that the sultan should treat the emperor as father, and the emperor treat the sultan as son, in all their letters and negotiations; that the king of *Spain* should (if he pleased) be comprehended in the treaty, as well as the *Tartars* upon the *Turks* assurance, that they would forbear from making incursions on the Christians; that this truce or cessation of arms should continue twenty years; that both parties should mutually send presents to each other every three years, and the emperor begin without delay, by sending one to the amount of two hundred thousand florins, which should afterwards be required by another of the like value from the sultan; that each should possess what he occupied, without pretending to impose any other taxes on their new acquisitions, than those which they paid before the war; that they should not, on any pretence whatever, attack each other in any particular place; that they should be at liberty to repair their respective fortresses; and that the agreement made with *Botsckay*, prince of *Transylvania*, should subsist in its full force (I).

Peace established with the *Turks*.  
A. D. 1606.

THESE treaties being ratified by the two emperors, the states of *Hungary* assembled at *Presburg*, were informed that *Rodolphus*, on account of his infirmities, was neither able nor willing to visit them, in consequence of their pressing solicitations, that the affairs of the kingdom might be settled on the ancient footing. They likewise understood, that in pre-

<sup>c</sup> ISTHUANF. l. 30.

<sup>d</sup> THUAN. t. 6. l. 133.

<sup>e</sup> Id. l. 136.

(H) *Sigismund Bathori*, being a man of an unsteady mind, devoid of resolution, and afraid of the emperor's resentment, resigned his right to *Transylvania* in favour of his cousin cardinal *Andrew Bathori*, who was defeated and slain by the troops of the emperor; while *Sigismund* fled into *Poland* (1).

(I) About this time, an ambassador arrived at *Prague* from *Persia*, in order to dissuade the emperor, from making peace with the *Turks*: the same person had been sent to *Spain* for the same purpose, with very rich presents, among which were several cups of glass of such a texture that it could not be broke (2).

(1) *Spand. Cen.* t. ix. p. 806.

(2) *Thuan. Hist.* t. 6. l. 138.



The archduke  
Matthias  
elected king of  
Hungary.  
A. D. 1607.

judice of his brothers, he expressed a strong inclination to favour and raise the archdukes *Ferdinand* and *Leopold*, his first cousins, who were entirely under the direction of the jesuits, whom the Protestants considered as their declared enemies. These reasons induced the Hungarians to invite and receive the archduke *Matthias* as their governor, according to the liberty granted to them in the treaty concluded with the prince of *Transylvania*. Nay, in order to deprive *Ferdinand* and *Leopold* of any hope they might entertain of ascending the throne of *Hungary*, they, in consideration of the emperor's infirmities and want of issue, elected his next heir *Matthias* for their king, on condition that he should confirm all their privileges, and indulge them with the liberty of professing in public, the new religion, which the greatest part of them had embraced <sup>a</sup>.

THE report of this election, and the conditions under which it was made and accepted, being spread through all *Germany*, the Protestants of *Bohemia* began to bestir themselves, and actually sent some of the most considerable among them to persuade *Matthias* to come into *Bohemia*, where they did not doubt of prevailing upon the states to follow the example of the Hungarians, provided he would secure them in the same privileges. *Matthias*, in consequence of this invitation, assembled his troops without loss of time, and marched towards that kingdom, taking his route through *Austria*, of which also he endeavoured to make himself master. <sup>b</sup>

THE emperor, irritated at this conduct, had taken measures for opposing the designs of his brother; but the electors and princes of the empire, apprehending troublesome consequences from such a dispute, sent deputies to meet *Matthias*, to represent the danger that would attend his enterprize, and to persuade him, if possible, to listen to terms of accommodation with the emperor, who (they assured him) was very well disposed for that purpose. On this assurance he complied with their advice, and matters were managed so much in his favour, by the interposition of the princes, that a treaty was concluded and signed at *Prague*, by which the emperor, for the sake of peace, yielded to him *Hungary* and *Austria*, and even promised to secure him in the succession to *Bohemia*, provided he himself should die without male issue. In consequence of this accommodation, *Matthias* received the royal ornaments of *Hungary*, by the hands of cardinal *Diedrichstein*, who presented them in presence of the archduke *Maximilian*, and a great number of princes and noblemen: then he retired with his army towards *Vienna*, which he entered in triumph. There he took possession of the archduchy, and ratified the truce with the Grand Seignior's ambassador, who afterwards repaired to *Prague*, to obtain the same ratification from his Imperial majesty. <sup>c</sup>

*MATTHIAS*, having been inaugurated by the states of *Austria*, returned to *Hungary*, on the frontiers of which he was received by the principal noblemen of the kingdom, at the head of ten thousand men, who conducted him to *Presburg*, where he granted authentic letters, confirming them in their privileges and liberty of conscience, and was afterwards consecrated with the usual ceremony <sup>d</sup>.

A. D. 1608.

THE emperor in the mean time, instead of disbanding his troops, according to the agreement at *Prague*, allowed them to live at discretion in the bishopric of *Passau*, from whence they made incursions into *Bohemia*, ravaging the country, as they had formerly acted under the command of the archduke *Leopold*, his cousin-german. These disorders gave disgust to the states of the empire, as well as to those of *Bohemia*; and the Protestants, who were the greatest sufferers, took occasion with those of *Austria*, to avail themselves of their number and strength, and oblige *Rodolphus* by force to indulge them in that which they could not obtain by dint of intreaty and solicitation. The conjuncture was the more favourable, as a new quarrel, about this time, happened between the emperor and *Matthias*, this last having perceived that the other intended to make one of the archdukes of *Gratz* king of the Romans, to his prejudice; he, therefore, made preparations for opposing this design; and *Rodolphus*, fearing that he would be joined by the Protestants, whom he was known to favour in private, was fain to redress their grievances. They were, accordingly, by letters patent, indulged in liberty of conscience, and allowed to build churches and schools upon their own funds, in any place whatever, and even without the permission of the lord of the fief or high-justice. <sup>e</sup>

Indulgences  
granted by the  
emperor to the  
Protestants of  
Austria and  
Bohemia.  
A. D. 1609.

A new Prote-  
stant alliance,  
called the  
evangelic  
union.

ENCOURAGED by this condescension, the other Protestants of the empire solicited the same indulgence, which being refused, they resolved to consult their own safety by other means; and a new alliance or association was proposed. In a little time, this was actually concluded between the prince palatine elector, the duke of *Wirtemberg*, *Maurice* landgrave of *Hesse*, *Ernest* marquis of *Osnobach*, *Frederic* marquis of *Badendourlach*, *Christian* prince of *Anbalt*, and several other princes, together with the greatest part of the Imperial towns. The alliance was distinguished by the name of the union, and the princes engaged in it assumed the appellation of correspondents, of which the elector-palatine was declared the <sup>f</sup> chief. <sup>g</sup>

<sup>f</sup> HEISS, de L'Empire, l. 3. c. 7.

<sup>g</sup> SPOND. Prol. ad Sæc. 17.



a chief. This association was opposed by another, formed on pretence of preserving the Catholic, Apostolic, and Roman religion, by the electors of *Mentz*, *Cologne*, and *Trier*, the archbishop of *Saltzburg*, the bishops of *Bamberg*, *Wirtzburg*, and *Aichstedt*, the duke of *Bavaria*, who was constituted chief, the archdukes of *Austria*, and others. It was called the Catholic league, and differed from the nature of the union, in comprehending foreigners, such as the pope and the king of *Spain*: nay, the bishop of *Spire* and the *seigneur Helfenstein* were sent into *France*, to engage that crown in this alliance <sup>b</sup>.

THE chief motive that induced each party to take these precautions, was the succession to the duchies of *Juliers* and *Cleves*, in which both, either directly or indirectly, interested themselves. *John William* duke of *Cleves*, *Juliers*, and *Bergue*, count de *la Marck* and *Ravensbourg*, had died without children; but he had several collateral heirs by his four sisters, *Maria-Eleonora*, *Anne*, *Magdalen*, and *Sybilla*, who were married in the families of *Brandenburg*, *Neuburg*, *Deux ponts*, and *Austria-Burgaw*. The principal competitors were *John Sigismund*, elector of *Brandenburg*, son of *Anne*, eldest daughter of *Albert-Frederic*, marquis of *Brandenburg*, and duke of *Prussia*, and of *Mary-Eleonora*, who was the eldest of those four sisters; and *Wolfgang-William*, son of *Philip-Lewis*, duke of *Neuburg*, and of *Anne* of *Cleves*, the second. These two princes, though both of the Protestant religion, openly disputed the succession. As for *John* the second, duke of *Deux-ponts*, son of *John* the first, and of *Magdalen* of *Cleves*, third sister of the same duke *John-William*; and *Charles* of *Austria*, marquis of *Burgaw*, who had married the fourth called *Sybilla*, they took no other than the ordinary course for supporting their pretensions. Besides these, there were other pretenders, namely, the dukes of *Saxony*, as descendants of *John-Frederic*, elector, and of *Sybilla* of *Cleves*, sister of *William* duke of *Cleves*, father of *John-William*, and of his four sisters; the duke of *Nevers*, of the same family, and the count of *la Marck*, marquis of *Maulivrier*; but the different claims of these three were of no importance <sup>c</sup>.

The affair of Juliers and Bergue.

Contest about the succession of Juliers and Cleves.

d ALL these competitors published manifestos, and the most powerful of them prepared to maintain their right by dint of arms; a step which gave great offence to the emperor, who complained of it in a mandate addressed to the council of *Juliers*, in which he observed, that the constitutions of the empire prohibit those who have a claim upon any fief of *Germany*, from seizing it by their own private authority, but expressly enjoin them to obtain possession in the ordinary course of justice; he, therefore, in support of his own dignity, as well as to prevent the evil consequences which may arise from the conduct of those who disregard it, forbids any of the pretenders to the succession of *Juliers*, to take possession of their own accord, and cites all the claimants to appear within four months in his court, either personally or by proxy, in order to explain the nature of their several pretensions.

*RODOLPHUS* affirmed, that by the law of the empire, all such fiefs ought to be sequestered until the dispute should be determined, and this plea was not altogether without foundation; but there is great reason to suspect his design was to protract the contest, and in the mean time convert the fiefs to his own use. This suspicion alarmed the marquis of *Brandenburg*, and the prince of *Neuburg*, who in effect had the best title to the succession; and *Maurice* landgrave of *Hesse* having offered his mediation, they embraced his proposal of referring the difference to arbitration: in the mean time, they agreed to repair together to *Dusseldorp*, in order to assume conjunctly the administration of the estates belonging to the late duke of *Cleves*, and to join their forces against all those who should attempt to seize upon the succession. This transaction was agreeable to the regency of the country, and ratified by the king of *France*, whose protection they had implored <sup>e</sup>.

f AN assembly being at that time held in *Dusseldorp*, the duke and the marquis were received in that city by the magistrates, who resigned to them the government of the provinces of *Juliers*, *Cleves*, &c. of which they declared them legal possessors; but it was not so easy to gain possession of the countries situated on this side the *Rhine*; for while the states were sitting at *Dusseldorp*, the party attached to the house of *Austria*, had privately made themselves masters of *Juliers*, and the court of *Vienna* immediately sent *Leopold* of *Austria* thither in quality of governor, with orders to rule all the dependencies of the duchy in the emperor's name.

Marquis of Brandenburg and prince of Neuburg are declared legal possessors of Juliers.

*LEOPOLD*, by virtue of the powers with which he was invested, published an edict, forbidding the inhabitants to take the oath to the princes, on pain of confiscation of goods, and threatening all others who should favour their party with the pains of death. At first, this new governor behaved with good order and moderation, but at the same time tampered with the garrisons; and making himself master of those places which were weakly guarded, furnished them with soldiers, arms, and provisions: yet he did not succeed every where with the same facility, for which reason the emperor issued a new decree stronger than the

<sup>a</sup> HEISS. Hist. de L'Empire, l. 3. c. 7.    <sup>b</sup> BARRE. Hist. d'Allemagne, t. ix. p. 386.    <sup>c</sup> LUDOLPH. l. 9. c. 2.



first, declaring all princes guilty of leze-majesty, and ordering the magistrates, military officers, and soldiers, to abandon them, on pain of being put to the ban of the empire. a

THE court of *Vienna* having taken this measure, both sides prepared openly for war. The emperor and princes of his house were anxious to know in what manner *France* would interest itself in this affair, as they well knew the event would be favourable to the cause which that crown should espouse: the archdukes of *Flanders*, therefore, sent *John Richardot* to the king, and he was soon followed by the count of *Hohen-Zollern*, in quality of his Imperial majesty's ambassador. These two ministers represented to *Henry* the fourth, that the emperor had no design to invade the rights of the claimants; but had sent *Leopold* to *Juliers*, in order to govern the dominions of the late duke according to the laws of the empire, until the dispute about the succession should be fairly determined. b

*HENRY* had too much penetration to be duped by these pretences; he knew the ambition of the house of *Austria*, and was resolved to be a check upon its growing greatness. The matter was debated before the president *Jeannin* by the two ambassadors of *Rodolphus*, and the envoys of the princes sent thither to defend their cause; and the king declared in favour of these last, who had assisted him in his wars. He promised to succour them in his turn, and actually ordered some troops to defile towards the frontiers of *Champagne*, in order to support the marquis of *Brandenburg* and the duke of *Neuburg*<sup>1</sup>. The house of *Austria* was not idle upon this occasion; it circulated a report that the sole aim of the *French* was to enrich themselves with the pillage of the provinces in question, on pretence of supporting an alliance, to which in effect they had no real attachment: and this artifice c in a great measure succeeded, by arousing the jealousy of the *Germans*<sup>m</sup>.

*The Catholics are expelled from Donawert by the Protestants; upon which the city is proscribed, besieged, and surrendered.*

WHILE these things were in agitation, the city of *Donawert* kindled a sort of a war in *Suabia*. The Protestants, who were the most powerful party, had expelled the Catholics, made themselves masters of the town, and rejected all the proposals of accommodation which were made by the emperor and his commissaries.

IN consequence of this obstinacy the town was proscribed, besieged, and compelled to sue for peace, by the duke of *Bavaria*, who, though he could have taken it by assault, would not expose it to the pillage of the troops; but preferred gentler methods to force, hoping, by this example of clemency, to prevent the cities of *Ulm*, *Nuremberg*, *Nortlingen*, and the other Protestant states of *Suabia*, from having recourse to such extremities; but he d was disappointed in his aim, for they joined their brethren of *Bohemia*, who, being daily threatened with the loss of their religious liberty and other privileges, were already in commotion; and all together complained of their grievances to the assembly, which at that time was held at *Hall* in *Suabia*, by the princes of the evangelic union, who accordingly promised to protect them.

THESE princes had assembled to deliberate upon the affair of *Juliers*, and almost all of their persuasion were present. In short, there was such a concourse of princes, deputies, and ambassadors, among whom was the sieur *Boissiese*, from *Henry* the fourth of *France*, that the number of votes amounted to forty. They agreed to undertake in good earnest the defence of the two princes possessors of *Juliers* and *Cleves*, to expel the sequestrator, e who had been appointed by the emperor, and for that purpose besiege the city of *Juliers*, where he was established. They likewise regulated the several proportions to be contributed for this service, in order to facilitate which, the ambassador of *France* promised eight thousand foot and two thousand horse, in the name of his master.

*The emperor convokes a diet at Wirzburg.*

THE emperor, being apprised of this resolution, called a diet at *Wirzburg*, where all the electors, princes, and cities of his party, were invited to appear; and there measures were concerted for supporting the archduke *Leopold*, by means of a powerful army to be set on foot. After these consultations, nothing was to be seen through all *Europe*, but levies of troops and preparations of war, from which no state was exempted: a circumstance which plainly demonstrated, that besides the affairs of *Juliers*, there was some other great design f upon the anvil<sup>n</sup>.

A. D. 1610.

THIS consideration in a little time obliged *Rodolphus* to convoke another diet at *Prague*, whither several princes of both parties repaired: there, among other things, they proposed a reconciliation between the emperor and his brother *Matthias*; the election of a king of the *Romans*; the restitution of *Donawert*; and an accommodation in the affair of *Cleves* and *Juliers*. Touching the two first articles, nothing positive was determined; as for *Donawert*, it was ordained, that without any exception, the elector of *Bavaria* should leave the place in possession of its former liberty, after having indemnified himself for the expences of the siege. With regard to the affair of *Juliers*, the emperor proposed that the estates of the late duke *John-William* should be settled upon the elector of *Saxony*, and the g princes of his house, on condition that he should prove his title to be better than that of

<sup>1</sup> Contin. CHYTRÆI, p. 169.

<sup>m</sup> BARRE. Hist. d'Allemagne, t. ix. p. 389.

<sup>n</sup> HEISS, l. 3. c. 7.



a any other competitor; that nothing should be changed in point of religion; but that he should satisfy the demands of the duke of *Nevers*, and the marquis of *Burgaw*, and pay the charges of the war, which had been incurred by the emperor and *Leopold*. Though this proposal was disagreeable to the greatest part of the assembly, it was carried in the affirmative; and the prince of *Saxony*, having agreed to fulfil the conditions, was invested with all the estates of the succession.

NOTWITHSTANDING the proceedings of the diet upon this last article, *Maurice* prince of *Orange*, and the prince of *Anhalt*, resolved to prosecute their design upon *Juliers*: and having assembled their troops, invested it without delay. This army was joined by twelve thousand foot and two thousand horse, sent thither by the king of *France*, under the command of the marshal *la Chatre*, and the place so vigorously pressed, that it was fain to surrender upon capitulation, and again delivered into the hands of the princes of *Brandenburg* and *Neuburg*, together with the other places belonging to the duchy of *Juliers*, which durst not make resistance.

NOTWITHSTANDING these transactions, both parties expressed a desire of seeing this grand affair accommodated, and the city of *Cologne* was named as a proper place for the conferences: thither repaired several princes, who were friends to both sides, together with the ambassadors of the emperor, the kings of *France* and *England*, the elector-palatine, the landgrave of *Hesse*, the duke of *Saxony*, and the United Provinces. A sequestration was proposed, though of a very different nature from that which had been effected by the emperor; but it was rejected by some, and among the rest by the duke of *Neuburg*; so that the assembly broke up without being able to bring matters to accommodation.

SOME months after this fruitless meeting, another was held in a castle near *Leipsic*, where the common friends of *Saxony* and *Brandenburg* endeavoured to compromise the affair between the two electors; and their efforts were crowned with such success, that they prevailed upon to sign a treaty, importing among other articles, that the estates of *Cleves* and *Juliers* should be possessed and governed by the elector and princes of *Saxony*, conjunctly with the elector of *Brandenburg* and the princes of *Neuburg*; that the emperor should be entreated to ratify this transaction; and that the family of *Saxony* should retain the investiture of these estates, which he had received from his Imperial majesty, without prejudice to that which *Brandenburg* and *Neuburg* had a right to demand. Nevertheless, this agreement was for that time ineffectual, because the duke of *Neuburg* would not give his assent; so that he and the duke of *Brandenburg* still remained masters of the succession.

*A reconciliation is effected between the houses of Saxony and Brandenburg.*

BUT this affair was not the only source of discord between the *Roman Catholics* and the *Protestants*: these last loudly complained of other particular grievances in *Bavaria*, in the bishoprics of *Strasburg* and *Passau*, as well as at *Aix-la-Chapelle*. Those of *Bohemia* were likewise incensed, on account of the inquisition which the emperor wanted to establish in that kingdom, and of the mortifications which they daily suffered, in contempt of the privileges and liberty which they had formerly obtained. These outrages they suffered patiently for a long time; but, at length, they could no longer restrain their resentment, when they saw the archduke *Leopold* march into *Bohemia*, and surprise the little town of *Prague*, where he cantoned those troops which he had obliged himself to discharge, and evacuate the bishoprics of *Strasburg* and *Passau*.

*Leopold surprises Prague.*

UPON this emergency, they had recourse to king *Matthias*, who promised to assist them; and, in consequence of this promise, actually marched into *Bohemia* at the head of his army, resolving to oblige the emperor to withdraw his troops, and adhere to all the articles of his agreement with the *Protestants*. Accordingly *Rodolphus*, alarmed at the expeditious march of his brother, and the number of his forces, immediately embraced the terms of accommodation that were proposed: and it was, among other things, agreed, that the troops of the archduke *Leopold* should be forthwith paid and disbanded; and that the *Protestants* should be maintained in the liberty of conscience and other privileges which had been granted to them heretofore. But as the principal aim of *Matthias* in this expedition was to profit by the conjuncture in securing to himself the crown of *Bohemia*, he managed the pusillanimity of *Rodolphus* with such dexterity, that this weak prince consented to resign that kingdom in favour of his brother, and actually ceded it by an authentic deed, in which he commanded the states to acknowledge his brother *Matthias* as his successor in that kingdom. This resignation being very agreeable to the *Bohemians*, who were heartily tired of the emperor's sway, they next day proclaimed *Matthias* king of *Bohemia*; and he was crowned at *Prague*, in the chapel of *St. Winceslaus*, with nearly the same ceremonies which were observed at *Presburg* when he was crowned king of *Hungary*.

*Matthias assists the Protestants;*

*and is proclaimed king of Bohemia.*

\* TRECHENMACHER, an Julæ ad An. 1610.

P HEISS, l. 3. c. 7.

3 LONDORP. t. 1. p. 96.



THE emperor, having thus divested himself of the kingdom of *Bohemia*, resolved likewise to transfer the small trouble he took concerning the affairs of the empire upon a king of the *Romans*, who should well acquit himself of the charge. For this purpose he convoked a diet at *Mulhausen*, from whence it was translated to *Nuremberg*, for the convenience of his going thither in person, with a view to concert measures with the princes electors, and finally determine upon the choice of a proper person to succeed him on the Imperial throne; but he being taken ill, the business for the present miscarried.

*Remonstrances  
of the diet at  
Nuremberg.*

THE diet, however, sent ambassadors to *Prague*, where they found *Rodolphus* without any other company than the duke of *Brunswic*; and there they made remonstrances touching the situation of the empire. They, in the name of the electors, demanded that new regulations should be made for the administration of justice; that his Imperial majesty would change his ministers and counsellors, and summon a diet to be held in the beginning of the spring. They expressed their disapprobation of the step which *Matthias* had taken with regard to the emperor, whom, nevertheless, they, in some measure, blamed for the mal-administration of affairs; observing, that the cause of a great many disorders had been his omitting to imitate his predecessors, in communicating the most important affairs to the princes electors, who now besought his Imperial majesty to let them know where he intended to fix his abode, in case he should be disposed to leave *Bohemia*. With regard to a king of the *Romans*, they said they would do nothing except in concert with him; and that as they were inclined to pitch upon some prince of the house of *Austria*, they begged to know the person whom he wished to succeed him on the throne.

To these remonstrances *Rodolphus* replied, that he should be glad to see another diet convoked in some place where he could be personally present, before they should proceed to the election of his successor. Mean while, however, the electors agreed among themselves in private upon the person to be elected king of the *Romans*, having chosen him from the number of the competitors, who were king *Matthias*, the archduke *Ferdinand* of *Gratz*, the archduke *Leopold* of *Inspruck*, and *Maximilian* duke of *Bavaria*; but the decision of this, and other affairs, was referred to another diet, summoned to meet at *Frankfort* in the spring of the following year. During this interval, *Matthias* married the archduchess *Ann Katharine* of *Inspruck*, his own cousin-german; and the nuptials were solemnized at *Vienna* with great magnificence, though the emperor could not be present on the occasion.

*The emperor  
dies.*

THAT prince, who, by the insinuations of *Tycho Brake*, was rendered jealous of his nearest relations, became every day more and more melancholy and distrustful, insomuch as to shut himself up in his palace, from which he never stirred, not even to church, till at length he was seized with a swelling and inflammation in his legs, of which, in a few weeks, he died unmarried in the fifty-ninth year of his age, and in the thirty-sixth of his reign, leaving to his successor abundance of gold and silver, together with a great quantity of jewels.

*His portrait  
and character.*

THIS prince was of a middling stature and pleasing aspect; remarkable for a sweetness of temper, a vivacity of parts, a delicacy of judgment, and an uncommon extent of capacity and understanding, by which he had acquired the reputation of an accomplished prince before he ascended the Imperial throne; while, by his zeal for religion, he had captivated the affections of his people. With these advantages he began his reign, the happy prefaces of which were, however, soon falsified by his future conduct; for, as he advanced in age, he proved himself altogether unfit for governing his dominions either in peace or war. His chief attention was engrossed by the sciences, particularly the study of mechanics; to which he was so much addicted, that he spent whole days in the shops of clock-makers and turners. His palace was filled with chymists; and one of his principal amusements consisted in the practice of that art. He passed many leisure hours in the stables among his horses, which he took great delight in contemplating; and often went thither in the dress of a groom, in order to avoid the eyes of the public. These occupations, so unbecoming an emperor, joined with a natural timidity, inspired his enemies with a contempt of his character, and encouraged them to undertake a great many schemes to the prejudice of the Imperial authority (K).

MATTHIAS, being advertised of the emperor's death, set out immediately from *Vienna*, with his queen and some noblemen; and arriving at *Prague* on the thirtieth of *January*,

<sup>r</sup> STRUV. per. 10. sect. 7. p. 2045.

<sup>s</sup> BARRE, Hist. d'Allemagne, t. ix. p. 405.

<sup>t</sup> HEISS, l. 3. c. 7.

<sup>u</sup> Id. ibid. BARRE ubi supra.

(K) Notwithstanding these shades in his character, some authors represent him as one of the best princes that ever wore the Imperial crown, not only for his industry and address in pacifying the troubles of *Germany*, but also for his prowess and spirit in maintaining wars

against the *Turks* (1).

The body of *Rodolphus* was deposited in the cathedral church of *Prague* on the sixth day of *February*; and about the beginning of *October*, his funeral rites were performed with great solemnity (2).

(1) And. Mauroc. Hist. Venet. Anno. 1612.

(2) Heiss. ubi supra.



a caused one *Rufcius* to be apprehended for having favoured the faction of the archduke *Leopold* in *Bohemia*, and abused the authority of the emperor by levying large contributions in that kingdom. He was accordingly prosecuted with such rigour, as looked more like the rancour of personal enmity than the regular enquiry of justice; and the poor man, believing his adversaries implacable, made away with himself privately, in order to avoid the disgrace of a public execution. This effect of his despair confirmed the accusations that were brought against him. His body was delivered to the executioner, by whom it was dismembered, and his quarters exposed upon gibbets. An example of revenge rather than of justice; and a cruel affront to the memory of an emperor, who had always governed *Bohemia* with moderation \*.

A. D. 1612.

C H A P. XV.

*Comprehending the Transactions of the Empire from the Death of Rodolphus, to the Election of the Elector-palatine to the Crown of Bohemia.*

M A T T H I A S.

c I M M E D I A T E L Y after the death of *Rodolphus*, the elector of *Saxony* published a diploma in the provinces which follow the *Saxon* law, announcing the emperor's decease, exhorting the nobility and people to keep the peace, and have recourse to his tribunal for the decision of their affairs. As *Frederic* the fifth, elector-palatine, was not yet of age to exercise the vicariate, and take upon him the government of his own dominions, *John* count-palatine, duke of *Deux-ponts*, acted as his tutor, by the appointment of his deceased father; but *Philip-Lewis*, count palatine, duke of *Neuburg*, disputed with him this prerogative, as being nearer in blood to the elector; and these two separately published their patents as vicars and administrators of the empire †.

d I N the mean time, the archbishop of *Mentz* summoned the electors to repair to *Frankfort* upon the *Maine*, by the fourteenth of *May*, in order to elect a king of the *Romans*; and he himself was the first who arrived at that place with a grand retinue. He was soon followed by all the other electors, except the marquis of *Brandenburg*, who commissioned *Adam Putlitz*, marshal of his court, to represent his person. After much deliberation, in the course of which *Albert* of *Austria*, *Maximilian* of *Bavaria*, and the duke of *Savoy*, were severally proposed, *Matthias* was at length elected emperor, and crowned with universal applause.

Matthias is elected emperor.

He recommends unanimity to the princes.

e H A V I N G obtained the Imperial dignity, he recommended union and peace to the electors, princes, and states, protesting that his chief care should be to re-establish and maintain the tranquility of the empire. He then set out for *Prague*, where he employed some months in regulating the affairs of that kingdom; and these being settled, repaired to *Vienna*, where he fixed his residence.

f D U R I N G his stay at *Prague*, he had dispatched *Negroni* to the *Othoman Porte*, to complain of the enterprizes of *Bathori*, and of the protection which was granted him by the sultan. This minister being introduced to the divan, the prime vizir ordered the secretary to read the articles of peace concluded between the Grand Seignior and the emperor *Rodolphus*, as *Negroni* affirmed, that, according to the treaty, *Botskai* dying without heirs male *Transylvania* ought to revert to the house of *Austria*. No such article being found, the emperor's minister did not scruple to say that the copy was altered, and produced the two original treaties, signed by both parties, in which the article in question was inserted. The vizir declared that *Botskai* had no authority from the *Porte* to insert such a clause: *Negroni* replied, that the bashaw *Amurath* had actually signed the copy in which it was contained; the dispute lasted a full hour, and at length the determination of the affair was postponed, until *Negroni* should receive new instructions from the emperor ‡.

g A B O U T this time, an ambassador arrived from *Persia*, and another from *Muscovy*, and both had audience of the emperor at *Prague*. The first complained that, contrary to the promise of *Rodolphus*, peace had been concluded with the *Turks*: he advanced divers reasons for breaking that treaty, and concluded with demanding a categorical answer without delay.

Ambassadors arrive from Persia and Muscovy.

*MATTHIAS* answered, that he had the strongest inclination to maintain the friendship which his brother had contracted with the sopher; that the rebellions in *Hungary* had obliged his predecessor to make peace with the *Turk*; but in all probability it would not be of long continuance, as the empire would be under the necessity of undertaking the defence of *Moldavia* and *Transylvania*, which the *Turks* had already begun to harraß; that at

\* KHEVENHULLER, l. 7. p. 441. † REICHSHÄNDEL, part. 7. p. 208. ‡ BARRE Hist. d'Allemagne, t. ix. p. 418.



the next diet he would concert measures with the princes, for restoring the tranquillity of these two provinces, and make the sophi acquainted with the resolutions that should be taken on that subject. The ambassador returned to his own country with this answer, and was accompanied by *Adam Dorm*, in quality of the emperor's resident at the court of *Persia*.

The Russians  
sue for the  
emperor's pa-  
tronage and  
protection.

As for the *Muscovite* minister, he besought his Imperial majesty to interpose his mediation, so as to terminate the war between *Muscovy* and *Poland*, and to bestow upon *Russia* a prince who should re-establish the quiet of that country, which had been so many years desolated by the tyranny of their dukes. He then expatiated upon the cruelties of *Boris*, *Demetrius*, *Zuiski*, and other arbitrary princes, "Whose excesses (said the envoy) authorize our senate to claim your protection, and intreat that we may live according to our  
"own laws, under a prince of your appointing, who shall rule his subjects in equity and  
"peace."

A. D. 1613.

*MATTHIAS*, having heard this address with secret pleasure, promised to satisfy the *Muscovites*, and even to employ his whole power in retrieving their peace; but, in order to be more certainly informed of the situation of their affairs, sent *Peter Herman* into *Muscovy* along with the ambassador.

In the midst of these transactions, *Elizabeth* princess of *England* was married to the elector-palatine, and the nuptials were solemnized at *Heidelberg* with great magnificence.

The Turks  
threaten  
Transylvania.

WHILE the palatine house was filled with rejoicings on account of this event, that of *Austria* was extremely concerned and perplexed about the demands of the *Ottoman Porte*. The *Turks* sent a *chiaoux* to *Matthias*, to congratulate him upon his accession to the throne, and at the same time, to demand the cession of some cities and towns depending upon *Strigonia*, with an entire renunciation of his pretensions to *Transylvania*. *Gabriel Bathori*, the present *vaivode*, saw himself threatened with the loss of his principality; and as he did not know which side to espouse, employed all his address in acquiring the good-will of both the emperor and sultan. He sent deputies to each, and loaded them with presents to dazzle the eyes of these two princes, or at least to suspend their differences; and his envoy at *Vienna* agreed with the emperor's commissaries, that *Bathori* should receive Imperial garrisons in his towns, provided *Transylvania* should be attacked by the *Turks*, from whom the emperor expected nothing but war; for they had assembled an army at *Adrianople*, and there was great reason to believe they intended to use it either against *Hungary* or *Transylvania*.

*MATTHIAS* was provided with troops to oppose the threatened irruption; but as he could not introduce *German* soldiers into *Hungary*, without the consent of the states, he convened an assembly at *Presburg*, and desired them to repeal the law by which it was enacted that no foreign troops should enter the kingdom; for he observed that *Hungary*, was not powerful enough of itself to support a war against the *Turks*; and promised that his *German* troops should commit no irregularities in the kingdom.

THIS proposal met with strong opposition from the palatine and Protestants, who were afraid that the emperor, under pretence of defending *Hungary* against the *Turks*, would employ his troops in establishing an arbitrary authority, and in destroying the privileges of the kingdom (M). However, after long and obstinate debates, the assembly thought of a medium to qualify this article of the troops; and it was agreed, that upon a rupture with the *Turk*, the emperor as their king, might introduce *German* soldiers in *Hungary*, on condition that if the captain was a *German*, the lieutenant should be an *Hungarian*, and the pay of both be equal. Then they reduced the subsidy which the emperor demanded; but in order to make him amends, granted to the empress one hundred and twenty thousand florins, for the coronation of that princess as queen of *Hungary*. Accordingly that ceremony was performed by cardinal *Fortgasi*, in presence of the states, and then their Imperial majesties set out from *Presburg*, on their return to *Vienna*.

A diet is sum-  
moned to meet  
at Ratisbon.

*MATTHIAS*, in imitation of the preceding emperors of his house, employed all his industry and address in re-uniting the Protestants with the Catholic church; but all his endeavours proved unsuccessful, and served only to cool the regard which the *Lutherans* had entertained for his person, and even to detach them from his interests. This alteration he had occasion to see too plain, in their behaviour at the ensuing diet, which was held at *Ratisbon*. In the letters of convocation, the emperor assured the members, that his sole aim was to appease the troubles of *Germany*, and restore it to the fruition of its ancient splendor;

<sup>a</sup> BARRE Hist. d'Allemagne, t. ix. p. 420.

<sup>b</sup> WILSON. p. 62.

<sup>c</sup> KHEVENHULLER, t. vii. p. 548.

(M) The emperor having quitted the assembly, that his presence might not be a restraint upon their deliberations, one of the members took the liberty to say, that the wolf of *Germany* was as formidable as the bear of *Turkey* (1).

(1) Barre Hist. d'Allemagne, t. ix. p. 422.



a to re-establish the visits of the Imperial chamber; augment the number of assessors; abridge the proceedings at law, which chicanery had multiplied to excess; to reform the coin, which was very much debased; and to promote a spirit of unanimity, that all the forces of the empire might join together against the common enemy<sup>d</sup>.

THE diet was opened by the landgrave of *Hesse*, who in a short speech touched upon the different subjects which were to fall under deliberation, and referred the assembly for further particulars to the emperor's secretary *Ducker*, who harangued upon the care his imperial majesty had always taken both before and after he ascended to the throne, to maintain peace in *Germany*: he expatiated upon the abuses which had crept into the courts of justice, and the necessity of opposing the enterprizes of the *Turks*; he proposed a subsidy of five years to be levied in the dominions of the empire, for defraying the expence of a war against these infidels; and gave them to understand, that his imperial majesty would command the troops in person, and cheerfully expose his life and fortune for the safety of his subjects. He then made a transition to the coin; explained the malversations of the directors; exhorted the princes to recoin their money, and reduce it to the just value, so as that trade might no longer suffer from that defect: he afterwards enlarged upon the maintenance of four thousand horse, and twenty thousand infantry, a proposition which had been long ago settled in the matricular book, though always very much neglected; and he concluded by admonishing the states to agree among themselves, about the ceremonial of their sitting in the diet, which had often produced disputes that retarded the business for which they had met<sup>e</sup>.

*Is harangued by the emperor's secretary.*

BEFORE these points were discussed, the Protestants presented to the emperor a memorial, containing divers complaints against his privy council, which, they said, arrogated to itself the cognizance of religious affairs, contrary to the ancient constitutions of the imperial chamber, which regulated the power of every jurisdiction, reserving to the emperor and his council, no more than the articles of investiture of the fiefs, and the power of executing treaties of peace. They complained that the privy council usually nominated commissaries to decide the differences on the score of religion, in the Protestant states, and from them there was no appeal except to the council; that the commissaries were always *Roman Catholics*, or if one was chosen of another communion, it was only with a view to save appearances, the appeals being always reserved for the privy council. They demanded that the president of the imperial chamber should be chosen indifferently from the body of Protestants and Catholics, as well as the assessors of that tribunal, and the officers of the chancery; and that there should be an equal number of judges, professing each religion. They intreated the emperor to enquire into the reasons that induced the imperial chamber to refuse to register the decrees signed by the elector-palatine, as vicar of the empire, while the throne was vacant; to lay injunctions upon that chamber to be more observant of the old and new constitutions; and forbid it to receive religious appeals, that should be brought by persons who are neither the states nor members of the *Germanic* body. They complained, that those of their communion, who were in possession of ecclesiastic principalities, were refused the rank which the Catholics formerly maintained in the diets, observing, that it was an unheard of piece of injustice to deprive a prince of his rank, because he happened to be of another persuasion. They deplored the condition of those Protestants who lived in Catholic states, as being grievously restricted in the exercise of their religion, and exposed to tyranny and fraud in the execution of their wills. Finally, they desired that those of their communion, who held fiefs depending on Catholic churches, should no longer be obliged to take the oath in the name of the saints; that in the diets and councils of the princes, where the Catholics were most numerous, the decisions should not depend upon a plurality of voices; and that his imperial majesty would maintain an equal balance thro' all the provinces of the empire<sup>f</sup>.

*The Protestants present a memorial to Matthias.*

f THIS memorial was received by the emperor, who promised to confer upon it with the princes; but, in the mean time, gave them to understand that particular griefs ought not to hinder them from contributing towards the public weal; and that after they should have deliberated upon the points which his secretary had proposed, he would examine the nature of their complaints.

*and receive an evasive answer.*

THE Protestants, far from being satisfied with this answer, presented a second petition, declaring, that they could not assist at the diet, until their demands should be taken into consideration; and the emperor, having considered the articles of this second address, and advised with the three ecclesiastic electors, and the ambassadors of the duke of *Saxony*, sent an answer to the deputies, importing that he saw no reason which ought to engage the diet in deliberating upon their complaints, before it should proceed to the articles proposed in his declaration; that as their distresses did not interest the whole empire, they could not

<sup>d</sup> MEYER, t. i. p. 671.

<sup>e</sup> HELVIC, l. 5. p. 140.

<sup>f</sup> Hist. de Religions BESCHEVERDEN, l. i. c. 3.



expect that the consideration of them should take place of those measures which were absolutely necessary for the general preservation of the empire; he, therefore, exhorted them to join the Catholics, in deliberating upon the enterprizes of the *Turks*, and promised to do them justice before the end of the diet.

*They insist upon the redress of their grievances.*

THE Protestants still insisted upon the redress of their grievances, as a subject which ought to take place of all others, because a neglect in that particular might involve all Germany in a civil war; and observed, that the acts of former diets plainly proved it was the first care of those assemblies to compose intestine divisions, without which precaution no salutary measures could be taken for the commonweal<sup>s</sup>.

MATTHIAS, who was in great want of troops and money, could not without chagrin behold the time consumed in such remonstrances, which served only to augment the troubles of the empire. He had already received and replied to three memorials, and at length the deputies presented a fourth, giving him to understand that they had orders from their principals to insist upon knowing his final resolution touching their affairs. This preremptory demand he communicated to the Catholic princes and electors, who advised him to give no other answer than they had already received; for as winter approached, and *Ratisbon* began to be sickly, he could not employ sufficient time for discussing such disputes, without running the risk of leaving undetermined the principal affair for which they were assembled<sup>a</sup>.

*Their memorials are answered by the Catholics.*

MEAN while, the Catholics undertook to answer the memorials of the deputies, and re-criminated upon the Protestants, whom they accused of having infringed the decrees of former diets, by introducing divers sects, which had occasioned numberless disorders in the empire; of having demolished churches, persecuted the clergy, abolished the jurisdiction, customs, and festivals of the church, and of having circulated defamatory libels against the pope and the Catholic states, whom it was the emperor's duty to avenge<sup>i</sup>.

*The Turks make an irruption in to Transylvania.*

DURING this contest between the Catholics and Protestants, the arms of the *Turks* made great progress in *Transylvania*, where they supported *Bethleem Gabor* against *Gabriel Bathori*, who had rendered himself odious by his cruelty and misconduct. *Matthias* no sooner received the disagreeable account of these transactions, than he communicated it to the diet, in order to accelerate their resolutions in this conjuncture; he reminded them of the immediate necessity they were under to protect *Hungary*, which was the frontier of the empire, proposed that a powerful army should be raised without delay for that service, exhorted the states to live in peace with one another, and as the plague began to rage at *Ratisbon*, referred the discussion of other affairs to the next assembly.

THE Protestants, who were not sorry to see the house of *Austria* embarrassed, declared that they were ready to contribute towards the expence of the war, provided they could obtain satisfaction with regard to their demands; and the emperor, finding all other methods ineffectual, commissioned his brother the archduke *Maximilian*, to confer with them upon the articles of their complaints: but that prince, with all his insinuation, could not make the least impression upon the deputies, who would by no means swerve from their purpose; but, on the contrary, lodged a protest with the chancery of *Mentz*, against a new subsidy with the Catholic states about this time granted to the emperor, for enabling him to oppose the invasion of the *Turks*<sup>k</sup>.

*The disputes about the succession of Juliers and Cleves revived.*

THE dispute about the succession of *Juliers* and *Cleves* now raged with greater violence than ever: the elector of *Brandenburg*, tired of sharing the possession of these two states, made some attempts upon the rights of the duke of *Neuburg*, who having complained of these encroachments to no purpose, had recourse to reprisals; and matters were insensibly inflamed to such a degree, that each employed his own arms, and those of his allies, to fortify himself in the places which he occupied, and even to surprize those of his antagonist. While the elector of *Saxony* in consequence of the investiture which he had received from the emperor *Rodolphus*, obtained from the archduke *Albert*, governor of the *Low Countries*, possession of the house of *Cleves*, in the city of *Brussels*, together with all the fiefs depending upon the county of *Ravenstein*<sup>l</sup>, the duke of *Neuburg*, finding himself unequal in power to the elector of *Brandenburg*, resolved to strengthen his interest by an alliance with the ducal house of *Bavaria*, and accordingly married the princess *Magdalen*, sister of duke *Maximilian*, and the elector of *Cologne*: then his cause was espoused by the emperor, the archduke-governor of the *Low-Countries*, and the king of *Spain*; and his rival being alarmed at this formidable conjunction, courted the alliance of the states-general.

BEFORE this politic republic would conclude a treaty with the elector, they proposed their mediation to the duke of *Neuburg*, that the affair might be amicably compromised: g

<sup>s</sup> MEYER, t. i. p. 701. <sup>r</sup> LEHMANN. de pace Religion. part. 2. c. 74. <sup>i</sup> SHADÆUS, part. 4. l. 2. p. 119. <sup>k</sup> BARRE Hist. d'Allemagne, t. ix. p. 431. <sup>l</sup> TESCHENMACHER, ann. Julii ad An. 1613.



a but this prince having thanked them for their friendly intention, declined the proposal, unless the elector of *Brandenburg* would revoke every thing he had acted contrary to their agreement at *Dortmund*, and restore the domain of *Montjoyen*, together with the revenues of the allodial funds, which he had unjustly seized.

THE friendship of the united provinces was not the only alliance courted by the elector of *Brandenburg*; he likewise endeavoured to support himself by the assistance of *Saxony* and *Hesse*; and an assembly being held for this purpose, at *Naumburg* in *Thuringia*, the antient confederation between these three houses was renewed.

b THE states of *Cleves*, though solicited to declare for one or other of the confederates, resolved to remain neuter; but by letters earnestly intreated the archduke *Albert*, the elector of *Cologne*, and the united provinces, to accommodate the difference; and the elector answered, that if the duke of *Neuburg* should sustain the least injury, he would undertake his defence<sup>m</sup>:

MEAN while the duke promised to submit his pretensions to this succession, to the decision of the imperial council; whereas, the elector of *Brandenburg*, far from giving such an instance of his veneration and complaisance for that tribunal, openly declared that he would never own for judges those persons whom he knew to be prejudiced against him and his cause, and published certain proposals for accommodation, which were rejected by his antagonist; so that the breach between these princes seemed to widen every day. A. D. 1614.

c THE elector's interest was espoused by the states-general and the Protestants of *Germany*, while the duke of *Neuburg* abjured *Lutheranism*; in order to make sure of the Catholic league, the protection of the emperor, and the assistance of the court of *Spain*. The Protestants of *Juliers* and *Cleves* were alarmed at the duke's apostacy, apprehending that if ever he should become their sovereign, he would treat them as *Philip* the second had treated his subjects in the *Low-Countries*. He, therefore, in order to calm their disquiets, published a declaration, allowing liberty of conscience to those of both religions, and protesting that he should always observe the articles of agreement he had made when he took possession of the country<sup>n</sup>. The duke of Neuburg abjures Lutheranism.

d THE electoral prince of *Brandenburg* was not so prudent in his political conduct. With a view to attach the united provinces the more strictly to his cause, he resolved to introduce *Calvinism* into the states of *Cleves* and *Juliers*; a novelty which would have produced an insurrection of the nobility and people, had not he published a declaration, in which he promised that no person should be disturbed on account of religion.

e THE united provinces, in consequence of the treaty they had concluded with the elector, took possession of *Juliers*, on pretence of holding it in sequestration; and protested, that far from having any design to trouble the repose of *Germany*, their sole aim in this transaction was to accelerate an accommodation between the princes competitors. The duke of *Neuburg*, little satisfied with this declaration, put the other places in a posture of defence, and took the city of *Dusseldorp* by stratagem: while the archduke governor of the *Low-Countries*, openly expressed his indignation at this step of the states-general; and the marquis de *Spinola*, who commanded the army in *Flanders*, threatened to break the truce, and invade the united provinces with fire and sword. The archduke, however, would not proceed to extremities, until he had demanded the restitution of *Juliers*, which being refused, his army commanded by *Spinola*, passed the *Meuse* at *Maastricht*, and took the route to *Juliers*, for which the states-general were in no pain, because it was well provided for making a vigorous resistance, and count *Maurice* had joined the electoral prince of *Brandenburg*, who had a sufficient number of good troops to thwart the enterprizes of the *Flemings*. But they were deceived by the finesse of *Spinola*, who, changing his route all of a sudden, marched to *Aix-la Chapelle*, which was under the protection of *Brandenburg*, and the citizens, terrified at his appearance, surrendered their keys without opposition<sup>o</sup>. The united provinces take possession of Juliers. Spinola takes Aix-la-Chapelle.

f FROM hence he set out for *Mulheim*, assuming the name of the emperor's commissary, and bearing the imperial eagle in his standard; and having put garrisons in the towns of *Dure*, *Burthen*, *Castor*, *Grewembroch*, and other places that submitted to him in his march, he passed the *Rhine* two leagues below *Cologne*, where he was joined by the duke of *Neuburg* with eight hundred horse and five thousand infantry. Then they advanced to *Mulheim*, which they dismantled; and afterwards undertook the siege of *Wesel*, which they took after a gallant resistance, notwithstanding the efforts of count *Maurice*, who, in order to indemnify himself for this misfortune, made several conquests on this side the *Rhine*. He surprised *Emerick*, one of the best places in the country of *Cleves*, and took *Rees* before the Spanish general was in a condition to raise the siege; while *Goch*, *Gennep*, *Kaleal*, and other fortresses in the neighbourhood of the *Rhine*, were obliged to receive his garrisons. The progress of count Maurice.

<sup>m</sup> PUFFENDORF *Rel. Sec.* l. 20. c. 107. part. 4. l. 3.

<sup>n</sup> MERCUR. Gallo-Belg. t. x. l. 3.

<sup>o</sup> SCHADÆUS,



Accommoda-  
tion between  
the princes  
possessors at  
Santhen.

IN the mean time, *Spinola* made himself master of *Duisbourg*, and sent a detachment of his army to surprise *Santhen*; but his scheme miscarried; and that town, having all along maintained its neutrality, was the place chosen for the assembly, in which peace was concluded between the princes possessors. Here the conferences were opened by the deputies of *Brandenburg*, *Neuburg*, the states-general, the king of *Spain*, the archduke governor, the crowns of *France* and *England*, the electors of *Cologne*, *Palatine*, the duke of *Wirtemberg*, and several other princes of the empire; and after their respective demands of the princes possessors were examined and maturely considered, an accommodation was effected on these conditions: that no place belonging to the succession should be garrisoned, without the consent of the princes possessors; that the guard of each should consist of no more than fifty horsemen, and one hundred foot soldiers; that all the effects, benefices, and offices which had been seized and alienated, should be restored to those who enjoyed them before the misunderstanding happened between the princes; that commissaries should be nominated by both parties, in order to re-establish and regulate the police of the state, conformable to the transactions of *Dortmund* and *Hall*; and that these commissaries should be chosen from the noblesse of *Juliers*, *Cleves*, and *Bergue*, and be nominated in one month from the date of this agreement; that, notwithstanding the transactions of *Dortmund* and *Hall*, the two princes should have separate courts of judicature; that the court of *Cleves* should take place in the duchy of the same name, and in the counties of *La Marck* and *Ravenstein*, and the duchies of *Juliers* and *Bergue*, with their dependencies, have recourse to the court of *Dusseldorp*; that the towns, and castles of *Juliers* and *Dusseldorp* should be governed by four officers, natives of these provinces, two of whom should be Catholics and two Protestants; that each of the four should have a company of one hundred soldiers, and that they should take the oath of allegiance to the elector of *Brandenburg* and the duke of *Neuburg*; that the presidents of the chanceries, and other tribunals, should determine no difficult cause without having first consulted one of the princes possessors; that the elector and the duke should alternately confer the benefices and posts belonging to the succession, and that if he whose turn it was to nominate should leave any place vacant for three months, the other might fill up the vacancy; that the pensions and appointments of all officers, either civil or military, should be paid from the revenues of the provinces, and the remainder be equally divided between the princes, without whose consent no tax should be imposed; that the accounts of the treasures should be inspected, an exact inventory taken of the papers and titles concerning the succession, by the commissaries chosen by the princes; that the alienations, mortgages, and presents, made by one or other of the possessors before such a day, should remain in suspense until the definitive sentence of the succession; that an estimate should be made of what had been alienated by one prince in the other's territory, and a proper compensation be made from the revenue of the whole; and finally, that the two princes should bind themselves by oath to ratify the present transaction in six weeks.

*Spinola re-  
tards the exe-  
cution of the  
treaty.*

THE execution of these articles was opposed by *Spinola*, who demanded, that the united provinces should promise not to intermeddle in the succession, provided another rupture should happen between the princes possessors: he moreover pretended, that he could not withdraw his garrison from *Wesel* without an express order from the emperor and the king of *Spain*; and every body perceiving that these were no other than subterfuges for eluding the articles of agreement, the assembly broke up.

*Bathori is re-  
duced to ex-  
tremity by the  
Turks and  
slain at his  
own request.*

THE *Turks* still continued their hostilities in *Hungary* and *Transylvania*. The bashaw *Sandar* having passed the *Danube* with four thousand horse and twelve thousand janissaries, joined *Bethleem Gabor*, who waited for him on the frontiers; while the bashaw *Ogli* advanced on the side of *Walachia*, at the head of another army. *Bathori*, fearing he should be surrounded, encamped at *Milbach*, the river *Maruez* being between him and the infidels, who, nevertheless, advanced to attack him; upon which he retired under the cannon of *Wairadin*, until he should receive the succours which he expected from the emperor. However, as this reinforcement was neither suitable to his expectation or his necessity, he endeavoured to make new levies towards *Trinau*; but he was so universally hated, that not one man would enlist; so that seeing himself reduced to necessity, pursued by the *Turks*, detested by his own subjects, diffident of his troops, without money and ammunition, he would not survive his misfortune, and was at his own request, slain by one of his soldiers.

*He is succeeded  
by Bethleem  
Gabor.*

THE principality of *Transylvania* was no sooner vacant by the death of *Bathori*, than the bashaw *Sandar* declared *Bethleem Gabor* vaivode of that province: a change which seemed to threaten it with a bloody war; but, contrary to the general expectation, peace was concluded with the *Turks* in forty days; and almost all the governors of places, who were supposed to be unalterably attached to the emperor, acknowledged *Bethleem Gabor* for their sovereign. Nevertheless, there still remained a party devoted to the house of *Austria*, who



a were sufficient to disturb this new viavode, and even to seize upon some places in behalf of the emperor.

In consequence of *Gabor's* complaints, the Grand Seignior sent a chiaoux to *Matthias*, demanding, that these places should be restored to the person whom he had appointed as successor to *Bathori*, otherwise he would support him by dint of arms. The emperor answered, it was an affair of such importance that he could not decide upon it, until he should have consulted the states of the empire; so that hostilities recommenced between the *Hungarians* and the infidels.

A. D. 1615.

Hostilities are renewed between the Turks and the emperor.

b *MATTHIAS*, alarmed at these commotions, convened at *Lintz* an assembly composed of the deputies of all his hereditary countries, in order to lay before them the state of his affairs, and to solicit their assistance in this emergency; but some of them being very indifferent to his interest, and the *Hungarians* flatly refusing a passage to his troops, in their march to *Transylvania*, the assembly broke up without having come to any determination in his favour.

c In the mean time, *Bethleem Gabor*, with the assistance of the bashaw *Sandar*, invested the city of *Lippe*, and, in a few days, made himself master of the place, in consequence of a capitulation, importing, that it should not be garrisoned with *Turks*, or be dismembered from the province of *Transylvania*. This clause *Gabor* could not observe without giving offence to the *Turks*, to whom he had promised this town, together with two others; and he was not a little embarrassed by this consideration, when a very unexpected event delivered him at once from his apprehensions. The Grand Seignior having occasion for all his forces to terminate the intestine broils and foreign wars, under which his empire at that time groaned, resolved to make peace with *Germany*, and for that purpose sent an ambassador to *Vienna* with magnificent presents. A negotiation was immediately begun, and, after divers conferences, the treaty formerly concluded between *Rodolphus* the second and the sultan, was renewed and confirmed. All the places occupied by the *Turks* in *Hungary* were delivered up to the house of *Austria*; and the lands, which, during the war, had been alienated, were now restored to the right owners. This was the substance of the treaty by which peace was re-established in *Hungary* for the term of twenty years; though not the least mention was made of *Bethleem Gabor's* usurpation, which was, for the present, overlooked, lest it should have introduced a dispute that might have retarded, if not prevented, the accommodation.

A treaty of peace is concluded.

d In the course of this year, a rupture happened between the duke of *Brunswic* and the city of that name, upon the same subject which had produced a quarrel in the reign of *Rodolphus* the second between the late duke *Henry Julius* and the inhabitants of that town. This was no other than a contest for their liberty, which they resolved to defend against the impositions of the duke, who wanted to exert a sovereign authority over them. *Frederic Ulric*, the present duke, had made some advances towards an accommodation; but these proving ineffectual, he had recourse to arms, and forbade his subjects, on pain of death, to maintain the least commerce with the inhabitants of *Brunswic*. These republicans, depending upon their alliance with the hanse towns, treated this prohibition with contempt, and incensed him to such a degree, that he levied troops, invested the city, and carried on the siege with great fury, while the place was obstinately defended by the count *de Solmes*, strengthened by some auxiliaries from the hanse towns; till at length a treaty was concluded by the mediation of the prince of *Hesse* and the king of *Denmark*, who was uncle to the duke, and assisted at the siege in person (N).

A rupture between the duke of Brunswic and the city of that name.

e About the end of *January* the Protestant states assembled at *Nuremberg*, in order to deliberate upon the affairs of *Juliers*, and every prince of that communion was present, except the elector of *Saxony*, who would not enter into their views, or join in the remonstrances they intended to make to the emperor, touching the possession of the states of *Juliers*, and the liberty of the empire, which they conceived to be in danger from the conduct of the house of *Austria*. Finding the elector averse to their measures, they solicited the assistance of *France*; but that kingdom was too much engrossed by its own intestine divisions, to grant protection to strangers, so that they separated without having brought mat-

1 BARRE Hist. d'Allemagne, t. ix. p. 446. HEISS, l. 3. c. 8. 2 METERANUS, l. 32. p. 155.

(N) The chief articles of this treaty, which was concluded in the town of *Stedenbourg*, and afterwards ratified by the emperor, were these: that the duke should confirm the privileges, immunities, and customs of the city of *Brunswick*; and promise to obey the decrees of the imperial chamber, provided the senate and citizens

would do him homage, take the same oaths to him which they had taken to his predecessors before the year one thousand five hundred and sixty-nine, and acknowledge him as their lawful duke; and that the disputes which had arisen about his jurisdiction, should be determined by arbitrators, or by the imperial chamber (1).

(1) Schadaeus part 4. l. 4. p. 272.



ters to any conclusion ; and the war among the princes, who disputed the succession of *Ju- a*  
*liers*, began to rage again with great fury <sup>s</sup>.

*Grievances of the Calixtins, in Bohemia.* *MATTHIAS*, after having a long time kept measures with the Protestants, now pulled off the mask, and resolved to make them feel that he was their master. *Bohemia* was divided by two religions, namely, that of the Catholics, and that of the *Calixtins*, or descendants of the *Hussites*, who were formerly so powerful that the emperor *Sigismund*, before they would own him as king of *Bohemia*, had been fain to indulge them with a privilege, importing, that there should be no citizen or magistrate in *Prague*, but such as were of their persuasion. *Maximilian* the second encroached upon this grant by allowing Catholics to enjoy the freedom of the city, and their number considerably increased by the favour of the king's officers, all of whom were of the same religion. In the reign of *Rodolphus* the b second, the Protestants of *Bohemia* obtained the emperor's edict for putting them and the Catholics upon an equality in all respects ; but the officers refused to publish the decree, which they deemed prejudicial to the Catholic religion ; and the court of *Vienna* was at no pains to enforce the execution of it : while the Catholics under a prince of their own communion, occupied the first posts of the kingdom, enjoyed the confidence of the sovereign, and their clergy were restored to the possession of all the estates of which they had been deprived by the *Hussites* <sup>t</sup>.

*The archduke Ferdinand is elected king of Bohemia.* THIS was the situation of affairs in *Bohemia*, when the emperor resolved to secure the crown of that kingdom to his cousin *Ferdinand*, archduke of *Gratz*, son of *Charles* of *Austria*, brother of *Maximilian* the second, who was the present emperor's father. This prince c was accordingly presented to the states of the kingdom, assembled at *Prague* for that purpose, and recommended to their choice by the emperor in person, after he had given them to understand that his brothers *Maximilian* and *Albert*, who like himself were without issue, had resigned their pretensions in favour of *Ferdinand* ; and that his sole view in this recommendation was to prevent the evils that might accrue to the kingdom, in case it should at his death be left without an head.

THE proposal was embraced, and *Ferdinand* elected king, on condition, nevertheless, that during the life of *Matthias*, he should not intermeddle in affairs of state, except by the emperor's express permission ; and having promised to observe this stipulation, he was solemnly d crowned in presence of *Matthias* and his empress <sup>u</sup> (O).

NOTWITHSTANDING the promise he had made to maintain the privileges of the kingdom, the Protestants did not fare the better for their new prince, but began to complain that the articles of their agreement, touching the exercise of religion, were not at all observed. In this very conjuncture, when they might have been easily satisfied, the archbishop of *Prague* ordered a church which they had built at *Clostergrab*, to be demolished, and with more rigour than discretion caused another at *Brunow* to be shut up. These proceedings induced some noblemen of the Protestant faith to complain of the outrage to the council which the emperor had left at *Prague* ; but they received a supercilious answer, implying, that nothing had been done contrary to the privileges of the subjects, the edicts of the emperor, or the resolutions taken by the states of the empire. e

*The malcontents of that kingdom make remonstrances to the emperor's council, some members of which are thrown from a window.*

THE complainants, seeing themselves treated with such scorn and disrespect, resolved to convoke the states of the kingdom, in order to deliberate upon their grievances ; and the emperor, being apprised of their intention, forbade them to proceed on pain of his displeasure ; but their resolution being already taken, his orders came too late. Two days after the assembly was opened, several noblemen were sent as deputies to the council, where they repeated their remonstrances, and demanded justice in a peremptory manner. Among others who sat as judges were *William Schlabata*, president of the chamber, *Jarowslaw Bor- f*  
*sita*, count *de Martinitz*, and *Philip Fabricius*, secretary of the council. These members treated them with great insolence, and rejected their demands with contempt, which irritated the deputies to such a degree, that they rushed upon them and threw them headlong from the windows of a second story into a ditch, the water of which saved them from being hurt : they had even the good fortune to escape some shot that were sent after them, and to reach *Vienna* without farther damage <sup>s</sup>. The burgrave of *Bohemia*, and *Papal* grand prior of *St. Mary*, suffered no insult, because they had behaved with moderation to the remonstrants, who therefore conducted them in safety to their own houses. The count *de la Tour*, who was the principal actor in this bold scene, finding he had proceeded too far to retreat, rode through the streets attended by his associates, and harangued the populace. " I do not

<sup>s</sup> MERCUR. Gallo-Belg. t. x. l. 3. p. 78. part. 4. l. 6.

<sup>t</sup> BARRÉ Hist. d'Allemagne, t. ix. p. 451.

<sup>u</sup> SCHADÆUS,

(O) If we may believe *Struvius*, he was, on his return to his apartment, absolved by the pope's nuncio of the oath he had just taken (1).

(1) *Struv. period* 10. *sec.* 8.



- a “propose myself (said he) as your chief, but as a companion to accompany you in that career, which will lead us to happy freedom, or glorious death. The die is already thrown: it is now too late to recal what is past, and misery will be your portion if you suffer yourselves to be oppressed. Your safety altogether depends upon your unanimity and courage: you must break asunder your chains, or perish by the hands of an executioner. If you take arms, and triumph over your oppressors, you will be renowned for valour, and reap the delicious fruits of your resolution: whereas, if you tamely submit to arbitrary power, you will be treated with indignity, and punished as rebels.”

- b THIS sort of declamation met with universal applause; and many Protestants, who did not approve of the violence offered to the emperor's officers, foreseeing that his resentment would make no distinctions, joined the party of the count, and seriously prepared for war. These were reinforced by the greatest part of the Catholics, who perceived that their new king *Ferdinand* paid as little regard to the liberties of the realm, as to the complaints of the Protestants. The whole united body assembled at the *Carolin* college, where they resolved to exact an oath of the garrison and inhabitants of the three towns of *Prague*, to secure the castle and furnish the other fortresses with troops. Then they elected thirty directors, whom they invested with the sovereign authority, concerted measures for the safety of other places, which they ordered to be fortified with all possible dispatch, gave directions for levying forces, and expelled the jesuits, together with all the Catholics, who did not favour their conduct, and whom they branded with the appellation of enemies to the edicts of his imperial majesty. Finally, they published a manifesto, that the emperor and all the world might be informed of the justice of their cause and conduct, in chastising those who were enemies of the state and perturbators of the public peace.

*The Bohemians revolt.*

- c *MATTHIAS* was extremely incensed at the outrage which had been committed against persons of quality, invested with his authority, as well as at the subsequent proceedings of the perpetrators; but, as he no longer possessed that activity of disposition for which he had been formerly remarkable, he was loath to proceed to extremities, until he should have tried gentler methods; and endeavoured to reclaim the *Bohemians* by letters, edicts, and declarations: to which they paid very little regard; for tho' in their answers the emperor's person was mentioned with respect, they boldly accused cardinal *Klesel*, bishop of *Vienna*, who was his prime minister and favourite, of being author of all the errors of the administration.

*Matthias tries in vain to reclaim them by gentle methods.*

- d *KLESEL*, though a person of obscure birth, was endued with a good understanding, and an insinuating manner; but he was imperious and unquiet, an implacable enemy to those who thwarted his designs, and much more apt to ruin a kingdom already in disorder, than to re-establish its peace by a wise reformation of abuses. He was not always hated by the Protestants of *Bohemia*; on the contrary, they had once paid great honours to him, as the person who had prevailed upon the emperor to indulge them with that edict, by which they enjoyed the free exercise of their religion: but now, being persuaded that he counselled *Matthias* to disregard that very edict, and to invade the liberties and privileges of their country, they bitterly inveighed against him as the sole source of all their grievances.

- e AT the same time *Silesia* abounded with malecontents, who complained of the same oppression which had excited the troubles in *Bohemia*. Some noblemen were disappointed in the expectation of certain dignities to which they pretended a right; and several benefices were bestowed upon Catholics, after they had been taken from those of the other communion. These impolitic steps of the emperor had produced a spirit of discontent and disaffection among the nobility, which gradually diffused itself through the whole province, and at length broke out in open rebellion, soon after the revolt of the *Bohemians*, with whom the states of *Silesia* actually entered into alliance and confederacy. This was the beginning of a bloody war, that raged thirty years in the empire, which interested almost all *Europe*, and was not determined till the peace of *Westphalia*. *Ferdinand* was of opinion, that the rebels of *Bohemia* and *Silesia* ought to be immediately reduced by force of arms; but his influence did not as yet predominate in the councils of the emperor, who had resigned *Bohemia* in his favour, on condition that he himself should retain the sovereign authority during his life: the same clause was inserted in the treaty of cession when he settled him on the throne of *Hungary*, which he had lately ascended.

*The inhabitants of Silesia join the Bohemian malecontents.*

- f *FERDINAND* was disgusted at these conditions, which he knew to have been suggested by cardinal *Klesel*, who, having always sat at the helm, could not bear to see the sovereign authority wrested from his hands, and therefore persuaded the emperor to retain the government of these kingdoms. The new king, incensed at his conduct on this occasion, represented him as an ambitious and turbulent minister, who had embroiled the kingdom of *Bohemia*, on purpose to render himself the more necessary to the emperor; and his remonstrances being reinforced by the archduke *Maximilian*, *Matthias* was obliged to remove him from court. He was apprehended without his master's knowledge, stripped of



his cardinal's robes, and conducted to the confines of *Stiria*, where he remained five years a close prisoner <sup>y</sup> (P).

THE count *de la Tour* could not have found a more favourable conjuncture for the accomplishment of his designs, and accordingly took the advantage of it in assembling troops, and forming his army. He put garrisons in all the defensible places, from which he drove the officers and soldiers whom he suspected of disaffection to the cause, occupied all the passes, established magazines, collected money, and made all the dispositions for a vigorous resistance.

La Tour prepares for a vigorous defence.

THE emperor, who was still unprepared for using force, proposed a general amnesty to the *Bohemians*, and promised to re-establish them in their prerogatives, and the free exercise of their religion; but these advances produced no effect. *La Tour* was persuaded that sooner or later *Matthias* and *Ferdinand* would revenge the insult they had suffered in the persons of their officers, and that there was no safety but in the success of his arms; he therefore demanded succours of the Protestant princes, and opened the campaign in such a manner as flattered his party that he would soon free *Bohemia* from the *Austrian* yoke.

Takes Crumlaw by assault.

*CRUMLAW* and *Budewitz* are two strong places upon the *Molde*, and form an important pass from *High Austria* into *Bohemia*; this the count *de la Tour* undertook to shut against the Imperialists, by making himself master of these towns, which declared for *Matthias*. He accordingly took *Crumlaw* by assault, and summoned *Budewitz* to surrender; but this place withstood all his threats and solicitations; and as he was not yet strong enough to besiege it in form, he encamped in the neighbourhood, while *Mansfeld*, with another army, reduced the other places of *Bohemia*.

Mansfeld's character.

THIS last general, so famous for his exploits in *Flanders*, where he served the king of *Spain*, was natural son of the count of *Mansfeld*, and renounced the religion of his ancestors, in order to embrace the Protestant faith. He was brave, enterprising, and ambitious; and though without money, arms, or estate, by his sole courage defied the whole power of the house of *Austria*. Wonderfully fruitful in expedients, and incredibly bold in execution, he derived from his defeats more honour than victory could bestow upon his conquerors. He was sober, vigilant, indefatigable, eloquent, and judicious, prodigal of his fortune, and covetous of wealth to expend in the enjoyment of his pleasures. He lived replete with the most sanguine hopes and magnificent designs, and died in a village on the frontiers of the *Venetians* and *Turks*, destitute of money and resource, in a strange country, where his body could scarce have the benefit of Christian burial <sup>z</sup> (Q).

THE archduke, governor of the *Low Countries*, sent a body of forces to the emperor's assistance, under the command of the count *de Buquoy*, already famous for his valour and discretion; but before his arrival, the count *de Dampierre* had, by the emperor's orders, entered *Bohemia* with the *Austrian* troops, and in his route made himself master of *Bistritz*, *Pilgram*, and *Polna*. His design was to possess the places situated upon the river *Sassava*, that he might make incursions to the very gates of *Prague*; but this project was disconcerted by the activity of *La Tour*, who after some skirmishes, in which the loss was pretty equal on both sides, hampered him in such a manner, that he was obliged to retire for want of provisions.

MEAN while, the states of *Bohemia* demanded succours of the Protestant princes of *Germany*. The *Silesians* furnished them with six thousand men, under the command of the count *de Swenbecci*; while the count *de Hohenloe* levied some excellent troops for their service, in the dutchy of *Brunswick*, and the *Dutch* promised to supply them as soon as possible with men and money. In a word, their army soon amounted to thirty thousand soldiers, for the most part veterans, and commanded by experienced officers.

THE count *de Buquoy* likewise invaded *Bohemia*, by the frontier of *Moravia*, and made himself master of *Tentschbrod* and some other places, which having fortified with troops and

<sup>y</sup> STRUV. Per. 10. Sect. 8. p. 2054. KHEVENHULLER, t. 9. p. 21.

<sup>z</sup> CLUVIER. Descr. German.

(P) *Ferdinand* is said to have laid a scheme for killing the cardinal with a musket-ball during the frings at the ceremony of his coronation; but as the shot did not take place, he caused him to be arrested in the palace, stripped of his robes, in lieu of which he was clothed in black apparel, and sent to the place of his exile, with an escort of two hundred horse, commanded by the baron *de Breuner* and the counts *Colalto* and *Temperen*. After he had been thus carried off, *Ferdinand* and the archduke *Maximilian* went and imparted the whole transaction to the emperor, who was very much afflicted at the news; and pope *Paul V.* being extremely irritated at their presumption, employed all his influence to set the

cardinal at liberty: but it was his successor *Gregory V.* who found interest to have him brought to *Rome*, where he was tried in a congregation of cardinals, and declared innocent: upon which he was set at liberty, and returned to his diocese with the consent of *Ferdinand II.* (2).

(Q) He died, not without suspicion of poison, at the age of forty-six. Finding his end approaching, he ordered himself to be dressed in his richest habit, with his sword by his side, and gave up the ghost standing, being supported by two of his domestics. As he insisted on being well paid for the services he rendered to the *Dutch*, they used to say of him, *Bonus in auxilio, carus in pretio* (2).

(1) Heiff. l. 3. c. 8.

(2) Dictionnaire de Mæri, p. 11. t. 6.



a provisions, he went to join the count *de Dampierre*, resolving to engage the *Bohemians*, *Both armies take the field.* whom accordingly he found drawn up in excellent order upon the two banks of the *Molde*. Astonished at the number and countenance of the Protestant forces, he durst not hazard a battle, nor even advance farther into the country; but was fain to retrench himself under the cannon of *Budewitz*, in order to wait for a reinforcement from *Vienna*, which, however, was not sufficient to put him on a footing with the malcontents.

b THE emperor, finding himself too weak to cope with them in the field, thought proper to offer them an accommodation, which had been proposed by the princes of the empire assembled at *Rothembourg*; and the duke of *Bavaria*, together with the electors of *Mentz*, *Saxony*, and the palatinate, were chosen arbitrators of the difference<sup>a</sup>. *Matthias* pitched upon *Pilsen* for the congress; but as that city was remarkable for its attachment to the house of *Austria*, the *Bohemians* demanded that some other place should be appointed; and before this dispute was decided, ordered *Mansfeld* to undertake the siege of that town. *Pilsen* was one of the most considerable places in *Bohemia*, and tolerably well fortified for those times; but its chief strength consisted in the courage of its inhabitants, who valued themselves upon having formerly sustained a siege of ten months, against *Ziskai* the famous chieftain of the *Hussites*. The importance of this town, and the wealth which the Catholics in the neighbourhood had carried thither, as to a place of safety, animated one side to attack, and the other to defend with the utmost resolution. The besieged, of their own accord, reduced to ashes the magnificent suburbs, which constituted the chief ornament of their city, thereby giving the assailants to understand that they were determined to defend themselves to the last extremity. *Pilsen is besieged by Mansfeld.*

c ACCORDINGLY, the trenches were opened, and the siege carried on with uncommon vigour, while the inhabitants behaved with such obstinacy of valour, that they would have suffered themselves to be buried in the ruins of their city, rather than yield at discretion, had not the melancholy desolation of the place excited the compassion of their enemies, and induced *Mansfeld* to offer them their lives, effects, and liberty, provided they would take the oath of allegiance to the states of *Bohemia*. The condition was accepted, and the government of the town bestowed upon *John-George de Solms*, with whom *Mansfeld* left seven companies of soldiers, after having repaired the works, and filled the magazines with provisions and munitions of war<sup>b</sup>.

d AFTER the loss of *Pilsen*, the Imperialists retained but a very few inconsiderable places in *Bohemia*, which the approach of winter would not permit the count *de la Tour* to invest; so that he cantoned his infantry at *Neubaus*, and in the neighbourhood of *Budewitz* and *Crumlaw*; while the count *de Swenbecci*, at the head of the cavalry, made incursions to within nine miles of *Vienna*, took and garrisoned the abbey of *Swetal*, pillaged *Hoefurt*, *Veitre*, and several monasteries, and carried off a rich booty into *Bohemia*.

e THE Protestant cavalry, being chiefly composed of *Silesians*, the emperor wrote to the states of that province, complaining of the disorders they had committed in *Austria*: and received an answer, importing, that they only made reprisals upon the *Austrians*, who had exercised unheard of violences in *Bohemia* and *Silesia*; and that their aim in making *Austria* the seat of war was to oblige their enemies to listen to terms of peace, and to facilitate the union of the Protestants of that country with their brethren of *Bohemia*. In effect, the *Austrian Lutherans*, both above and below the river *Ems*, held a private correspondence with the states of *Bohemia*, and only waited for a specious pretext to declare themselves. This they thought they should obtain, by building a fort upon the *Danube*, in order to cut off the communication between *Bohemia* and *Austria*; but the duke of *Bavaria*, and the magistrates of *Passau*, complained of this transaction to the emperor, who ordered the Protestants to demolish the fort, and furnish the count *de Buquoy* with provisions and necessaries for his army. Though this order was ill received, it was, nevertheless, partly executed, because the malcontents of *Austria* durst not yet pull off the mask; and such was the situation of affairs, when the emperor died at *Vienna*<sup>c</sup>. *The Protestants of Austria favour the Bohemians.*

f AFTER his elevation to the empire, this prince had forfeited a great part of the reputation which he had formerly acquired, and could not perceive the decline of his character without infinite mortification, which was grievously encreased by the embarrassed state of his affairs, and the miscarriage of his effort towards an accommodation with his revolted subjects: these causes of chagrin had been lately augmented by the death of the archduke *Maximilian*, and the loss of his empress; and altogether overwhelmed him in such a manner, that he sunk into a languishing distemper, which put a period to his life in the sixty-third year of his age, and the eighth of his reign<sup>d</sup> (R). *The death of the emperor Matthias.*

<sup>a</sup> BELLUS. l. 2. p. 135. l. 3. c. 8.

<sup>b</sup> Relatio obsidionis Pilsnæ edita 1618.

<sup>c</sup> KHEVEN. l. 9. p. 334.

<sup>d</sup> HEISS,

(R) He married *Ann Katharine*, daughter of the archduke *Ferdinand*, by whom he had no issue; but he left a natural son, who was known by the name of *Don Matthias of Austria*.



WHEN he found himself near his end, he called heaven to witness that his chief desire <sup>a</sup> was to re-establish peace in *Bohemia*; and addressed himself to his successor *Ferdinand* in these words: "If you wish to see your subjects happy under your government, let them not " feel the exertion of your power."

A. D. 1610. IMMEDIATELY after the decease of *Matthias*, *Ferdinand*, his successor in the kingdoms of *Hungary* and *Bohemia*, as well as in the dominions of *Austria*, resolved, if possible, to succeed him likewise on the Imperial throne; and, that he might the more easily accomplish that aim, made advances towards an accommodation with the *Bohemians*, whose privileges he, of his own accord, promised to confirm; for this purpose, he wrote to the states of that kingdom, who, far from agreeing to the suspension of arms which he proposed, took offence at the title of heir of *Bohemia*, which he assumed in his letter, and affirmed, that as <sup>b</sup> their crown was elective, they had a right to choose their own sovereign. He met with no better success in summoning the states of *Austria* to come and take the ordinary oath of allegiance; for they replied, the affairs of *Germany* were in such confusion, that they must have time to deliberate upon the submission which he required; and it was not long before he understood the true motive of this evasion, which was no other than the negotiation of a treaty of union between them and the states of *Bohemia*.

Ferdinand confirms the Bohemians in their privileges.

WHATEVER inclination *Ferdinand* had to take vengeance on these his revolted subjects, the conjuncture was so unfavourable, that he resolved to proceed by more pacific measures; and actually sent to the states of *Bohemia* the confirmation of the privileges which had been granted by their former kings: he moreover promised to observe all the edicts and agreements touching religion; never to bestow the government of *Carlstain*, where the crown and other ensigns of royalty were kept, without the consent of the nobility of the kingdom, and of the magistrates of *Prague*; to confer posts and benefices upon none but natives; to alienate no demesnes of the crown; but, on the contrary, repurchase those that were alienated; to preserve the true value of the coin, without diminution or augmentation; to ratify all the donations which had been made by the kings his predecessors, except those that might be contrary to the ordinances of *Ladislaus*; and, finally, to maintain the subjects of the kingdom in all their rights, customs, privileges, and immunities. <sup>c</sup>

They decline his proffers, and the war continues.

THE *Bohemians* taking it for granted that *Ferdinand* was more politic than sincere in these concessions; that he would not have granted so much, without an intention to revoke the whole; that his aim was to amuse them with negotiations, while he prepared for war; and that his design was to craze with the sword what he had written with the pen: fraught with these sentiments, I say, they sent back the letter and declaration to *Vienna*, because in the address to the directors he had omitted the words of both communions, the confirmation of privileges equally regarding the Catholics and Evangelics. Notwithstanding this mortifying repulse, *Ferdinand* would have willingly suppressed his resentment, and offered safe-conduct for such deputies as they should think proper to send to *Vienna*, in order to treat of an accommodation; but he received no answer to this proposal, and the war continued on both sides with great animosity. <sup>d</sup>

THE count *de Buquoy*, at the head of his cavalry, daily alarmed the towns in the neighbourhood of *Budewitz* and *Crumlaw*; and *Kinscki*, general of the Evangelic army, taking the field with a thousand horse and fifteen hundred arquebusiers, defeated a body of heydukes with great slaughter. <sup>e</sup>

The Protestants of Moravia, Silesia, Lusatia, and Upper Austria, join the Bohemians.

ABOUT this period, the Protestants of *Moravia*, *Silesia*, *Lusatia*, and *Upper Austria*, demanded the free exercise of their religion; and that, as well as the Catholics, they should be admitted to the posts and honours of their several provinces; but their demands being rejected at the court of *Vienna*, a spirit of discontent diffused itself through all that communion; and the directors of *Bohemia*, taking advantage of this disposition, engaged them to shake off the *Austrian* yoke. The Evangelics of *Upper Austria* were the first who assumed the title of states, and entered into a league with the *Bohemians*; and then the Protestants of *Moravia*, *Silesia*, and *Lusatia*, taking the reins of government in their own hands, expelled all the Catholics who seemed to favour the house of *Austria*. This resolution was facilitated by *Henry* count *de la Tour*, who, at the head of fifteen thousand men, advanced towards *Moravia*, reduced *Iglaw*, *Trebichz*, and *Znaim*, in which last place he left a good garrison. Cardinal *de Dietrichstein*, who commanded for *Ferdinand* in that country, finding himself too weak to oppose the irruption, endeavoured to amuse the *Bohemians* until he should receive a reinforcement; and with this view, sent one of his secretaries to *La Tour* to know his reasons for invading *Moravia*. The count replied, that he had obeyed the orders of those who had a right to command him; and that the principal noblemen of *Bohemia*, who were in his army, had come on purpose to conclude with the *Moravians* a league <sup>f</sup> offensive and defensive against those who should presume to attack their liberty, and change the form of their government. To this declaration, the cardinal made answer, that he had <sup>g</sup>

La Tour enters Moravia.

<sup>a</sup> BARRE Hist. d'Allemagne, t. ix. p. 446.

<sup>f</sup> Mercur. Gallo-Belg. l. 12. p. 39.

<sup>g</sup> PIACES. p. 417.



- a no intention to thwart the states of *Moravia*; that he had sent them the order of king *Ferdinand* to assemble at *Brin*, and would sign the general union with *Bohemia* and the other provinces, provided there was nothing in it contrary to the fidelity which he owed to that prince. The assembly, however, was not held in that place, but at *Znaim*, under the protection of the count *de la Tour*.

- DITRICHSTEIN*, who maintained a private correspondence with the senate of *Brin*, took the necessary precautions to preserve that place for *Ferdinand*: he threw one hundred and twenty men into the castle of *Spilberg*, and ordered the barons of *Nachot* and *Valstein*, to assemble their troops in one body, and join the count *de Dampierre* with the *Hungarians*, that they might march together against the Evangelic army. This junction, which might have laid the count *de la Tour* under great difficulties, was prevented by the address of that general, who gained over to his interest *Stubenloff*, lieutenant of the cavalry which *Nachot* commanded, and which by his example declared for the Protestants; so that *Nachot*, being abandoned by his troops, retired towards *Austria*. Every thing at *Brin* conspired to favour the same cause. Cardinal *Ditrichstein*, the prince of *Lichtenstein*, the senate, and the deputies of the Catholic states, were destitute of forces to maintain their authority. The citizens inclined towards the Protestants, and conferred a whole hour with the deputies of the assembly at *Znaim*, who, under an escort of eight hundred horse, commanded by *Swenbeci*, alighted at the hotel of *Anderlitz* for that purpose. During this conference, the burghers of *Brin* crowded together in the market-place, and *Eudenbourg*, one of the Evangelic deputies going down to the street, exhorted them to live in amity with the states of *Bohemia*. Inflamed by his harangue, they immediately ran to arms, and introduced *Swenbeci* with seven troops of German horse, who took possession of the city, which was no sooner secured, than the deputies, repairing to the market-place, persuaded the burghers to take an oath in public, to maintain the liberty of conscience, together with the authority and privileges of the states: then they went to the cardinal, and forbid him from thenceforward to assume the title of grand-master and captain-general of *Moravia*: the keys of the city and castle were taken from the senate and given to *Stubenloff*, together with the government of the place, for which he took the oath to the states<sup>h</sup>.
- Swenbeci takes possession of Brin.

- FERDINAND*, alarmed at these insurrections, began to be afraid of losing *Silesia*, whether he sent *Otho Melcander*, in order to maintain peace and prevent disturbances; and that minister promised to the inhabitants, the friendship of the king his master, and the confirmation of their privileges, provided they would continue quiet; but to these assurances the Evangelics replied, "Let his highness *Ferdinand* of *Austria* begin by appeasing the troubles of *Bohemia* and the incorporated provinces, and then in due time and place we shall act according to the dictates of our duty<sup>i</sup>."

- THE directors of *Bohemia*, being assured of *Hungary*, *Moravia*, and *Silesia*, ordered *La Tour* to march towards *Austria*; and in consequence of that order he passed the river *Teia*, and invested *Laba* before the *Austrians* had the least intimation of his approach. The states, however, of both communions sent deputies, desiring him to raise the siege of a place which ought not to be considered as an enemy's town; and he answering, that his sole aim in besieging *Laba* was to expel the foreign garrison, the count *de Buchein*, chief of the Catholic deputies, undertook to give him satisfaction on that score; and having performed his promise, the *Bohemian* general quitted the place, and with his army took the route to *Vienna*, in the suburbs of which he quartered his troops without resistance, while *Ferdinand* remained in the city, in order to prevent an insurrection of the Evangelics.
- La Tour marches into Austria.

- LA TOUR* would not begin the siege until he should have made all the necessary provisions for such an important enterprize; and content with having blocked up the place, confidently waited for a revolution within, which would spare abundance of bloodshed. He was so sure of taking *Vienna*, that he had already regulated the plan of government to be established in *Austria*, from whence he was resolved to drive the princes of that house, as well as to prevent *Ferdinand's* being elected king of the *Romans*. But while he continued inactive, waiting for the effect of his intelligence, matters took a very different and unexpected turn. The count *de Buquoy*, profiting by his absence, privately quitted his retrenchments at *Budewitz*, and fell upon the troops of *Mansfeld* with such fury, that they were entirely defeated<sup>k</sup>, and their general obliged to fly to *Prague*, which he filled with consternation and alarm, while the victor took fourteen hundred prisoners, and afterwards made himself master of divers important places. *La Tour* no sooner received the news of this misfortune, than he gave up his project upon *Vienna*: and reassembling all the forces of *Bohemia*, resolved to repair the disgrace of *Mansfeld*; but the count *de Buquoy* had retired to his intrenchments, which were too strong to be forced; so that the other, having retaken
- Mansfeld is defeated by the count de Buquoy.

<sup>h</sup> BARRE Hist. d'Allemagne, t. ix. p. 471.

<sup>i</sup> Mercur. François a l'An. 1619.

<sup>k</sup> HEISS. l. 3. c. 9.



A confederacy  
is signed by  
the deputies of  
Silesia, Mo-  
ravia and  
Lusatia,

some fortresses, returned to *Prague*, where an act of confederacy was signed by the deputies of *Silesia*, *Moravia*, and *Lusatia*, for their common defence.

By this treaty *Ferdinand* was stripped of a fine kingdom, and the richest provinces belonging to the house of *Austria*; he was likewise deprived of the dignity of elector, consequently of the easiest means for ascending the Imperial throne, from which the confederates were resolved to exclude him. As their intention was no secret from the beginning, he had endeavoured to defeat it by disposing *Matthias* to hasten his election; but that scheme miscarried in consequence of the emperor's death. Besides, the *Germans*, who were tenacious of their liberty, and jealous of the power of the *Austrian* house, and particularly the Protestants, who interested themselves in the commotions of *Bohemia*, did not seem disposed to elect *Ferdinand* king of the *Romans*, or to take any step which might aggrandize a family, which numbered *Hungary*, *Bohemia*, and even the empire among its inheritances. Indeed, the *Bohemians*, who pretended that their crown was elective, offered the sovereignty to the duke of *Savoy*, who by his mother was grandson of the emperor *Maximilian* the second; and it was not till after he had declined the proposal, that they made a tender of it to the elector-palatine<sup>1</sup>.

The duke of  
Bavaria de-  
clines being  
elected king of  
the Romans.

With regard to the election of a king of the *Romans*, four electors, three of whom were Protestants, promised their suffrages to *Maximilian* duke of *Bavaria*, that in chusing a Catholic prince, the world might see they had no intention to exclude *Ferdinand* from the Imperial throne, on account of his religion, but solely to re-establish the *Germanic* liberty. In all likelihood this scheme would have succeeded, had not the ministers of the pope and the king of *Spain* exerted all their address in dissuading *Maximilian* from accepting an offer which might be attended with dangerous consequences, and in deferring the election, which was accordingly postponed till the twenty-eighth day of *August* New-style<sup>m</sup> (S). Towards the latter end of *July*, the electors of *Mentz*, *Cologne*, and *Triers*, together with the ambassadors of *Saxony*, the *Palatinate*, and *Brandenburg*, arrived in great pomp at *Frankfort*, whither also repaired *Ferdinand* as king of *Bohemia*, after having left the regency of his *Austrian* dominions to his brother *Leopold*.

The states of *Bohemia* resolving (if possible) to hinder *Ferdinand*'s admission to the electoral diet, sent thither deputies, who being refused entrance at *Frankfort*, retired to *Hanau*, from whence they wrote a letter to the elector of *Mentz*, complaining that he had sent the act of convocation to *Ferdinand*, though he had not as yet taken possession of the kingdom of *Bohemia*, consequently could not enjoy the privileges of an elector, which were attached to that crown; for that the electorate was not a personal but a local dignity, which no king of *Bohemia* could exercise except in the name of the states. To these allegations *Ferdinand* replied in a manifesto, that the *Bohemians*, in a general assembly, had acknowledged him as successor and grandson of the emperor *Ferdinand*, and as heir of *Anne* queen of *Bohemia*, in which quality he had been proclaimed sovereign of that kingdom.

Dampierre is  
defeated by the  
Moravians,

This dispute was canvassed in several assemblies held by the electors and deputies; and the archbishops of *Mentz*, *Triers*, and *Cologne*, would have proceeded to the election of a king of the *Romans* without further delay; but the ambassadors objected to such precipitate measures, until they should know the pleasure of their masters on this subject. The elector-palatine endeavoured with all his might to delay the election, without, however, openly contesting the right of *Ferdinand*; and in order to demonstrate his attachment to the *Bohemians*, attacked and defeated the count *de Solms* in his march through the *Palatinate*, with five hundred horse, to join the count *de Buquoy* in *Bohemia*. This action, which he performed on pretence that they had entered his territories without permission, was followed by the defeat of *Dampierre*, who commanded a flying camp on the frontiers of *Moravia* and *Austria*: he had attempted to surprize the castle of *Joslawitz*, but his scheme miscarried through the vigilance and valour of the *Moravian* horse, which amounted to four thousand; and afterwards endeavoured to make a lodgment in *Niclasburg*, from whence being repulsed with loss, they pursued, overtook, and totally defeated him after an obstinate engagement, in which six hundred of his men were slain, so that he was fain to retreat in disorder to *Vienna*. Mean while, the count *de Buquoy* made himself master of several places in *Bohemia*; and taking *Piseck* by storm, put the garrison to the sword, and ordered the governor to be hanged. The fate of this place overwhelmed the neighbouring towns with consternation, and many people retired with their effects to *Prague*: their terrors were augmented by a rumour, importing, that the count *de Buquoy* intended to besiege *Pilsen*; but this report was altogether without foundation<sup>2</sup>.

while the  
count de Bu-  
quoy makes  
some progress  
in Bohemia.

DURING these transactions, the ambassadors of *Saxony* and *Brandenburg* received orders from their masters to proceed in the election of a king of the *Romans* without farther hesita-

<sup>1</sup> BARRE Hist. d'Allemagne, t. ix. p. 474.

<sup>m</sup> SPANHEIM. Memoir. l. i. p. 137.

<sup>n</sup> BARRE ubi supra.

(S) We shall adhere to the new stile in the sequel of this history.



a tion; and *Ferdinand* king of *Bohemia* being chosen future emperor, was conducted to the church, and solemnly proclaimed king of the *Romans*: while the states of *Bohemia*, informed of this event, renewed their complaints, and protested against the election. In order to satisfy these malcontents, the electors agreed to assemble in the diet, where the new emperor and the states of *Bohemia* should appear by their deputies, and each side plead their own cause, on condition that they would promise to submit to the decision of the assembly: but this expedient was rejected by the *Bohemians*, who renewed their protestation, and appealed to the states of the empire from the determinations of the assembly at *Frankfort*. This act they sent to the electors, who did not receive it till after the coronation of *Ferdinand*, which was performed on the ninth of *September*. Ferdinand is chosen emperor.

b THE majority of the princes murmured against the election of *Ferdinand*, wishing that the crown had been bestowed upon *Maximilian* of *Bavaria*, who might have been easily raised to that dignity, as two of the electors were of his own family, and two more attached to his interest; but none except the *Austrian* princes were proposed in the electoral college; and the choice would have fallen upon the archduke *Albert*; had not his ill state of health rendered him unfit for the toils of government. Among the articles of capitulation signed by *Ferdinand*, were two additional clauses, importing, that he would never disturb the vicars of the empire in the exercise of their jurisdiction, or permit any person whatsoever to dispute the rights that depend upon their vicariate; and that he would never admit into the aulic council any other than princes, counts, and barons, born and bred in *Germany*, and well versed in the constitutions of the empire. This last article was intended to remedy an abuse committed by the preceding emperors, who used to fill the aulic council with their creatures, in order to make their own party preponderate.

## C H A P. XVI.

*Deducing the History to the Alliance concluded between Gustavus Adolphus, King of Sweden, and the Protestant Princes.*

### F E R D I N A N D.

d THIS election seemed to inflame the animosity of the *Bohemians* against *Ferdinand*. The states assembling at *Prague* on the twenty-ninth of *August*, resolved that they would never acknowledge him as their sovereign, but proceed to the election of a new king, and accordingly chose *Frederic* the fifth, elector-palatine, in that quality. This prince being apprised in form of their determination, demanded time to deliberate and consult his allies, the principal of whom were his father-in-law the king of *England*, and his two uncles prince *Maurice* and the duke of *Bouillon*. These last advised him to accept the crown, flattered, perhaps, with the prospect of seeing their nephew on a throne; and he listened to their advice, notwithstanding the remonstrances of *James* king of *England*, who used all his influence in dissuading him from receiving such a pernicious present, and even protested that he would give him no manner of assistance in such a rash undertaking. The count-palatine likewise desired to know the sentiments of the elector of *Saxony*, touching his promotion; and the answer being unsuitable to his own inclination, he addressed himself to the other princes and corresponding states assembled at *Rottemburg*, who counselled him to accept the crown, as well for the interest of his own house, as for that of the Protestant religion. Thus confirmed in his own opinion, he signified to the states of *Bohemia*; that having consulted his allies, he found them for the most part unanimous in favour of his election; and that he would, therefore, accept of the crown with the most grateful sentiments of acknowledgment to the states, who had bestowed upon him such an honourable mark of their esteem. He then made preparations for his journey to that kingdom, appointed the duke *de Deuxponts* governor of the electorate in his absence, left a good body of troops under the command of *John-Lewis*, count of *Nassau*, and having regulated all his other concerns in that country, set out with the electress; and upon the frontier of the *Palatinate* they were met by the deputies of *Bohemia*, who with twelve hundred horse conducted them to *Prague*. Frederic V: elector-palatine, is chosen king of Bohemia.

f THE archbishop having retired to *Budewitz*, from whence he refused to come and consecrate the new king, that ceremony was performed, on the fourth of *November*, by the administrator of the *Hussites*, and on the seventh of the same month the electress was also crowned. The name of king made no alteration in the behaviour of *Frederic*, who, in order to avert the storm which he foresaw must necessarily burst upon him, employed his whole attention in making preparations for war, and in strengthening himself with new alliances. *Venice* was the first power that acknowledged him king of *Bohemia*, and *Beth-*

\* KHEVENHULLER, t. ix. p. 416.

† ZEIGLERN Capitulation, p. 79.

‡ LONDOND. t. i. l. 4. c. 91.



Bethleem Gabor invades Hungary,

and marches towards Vienna.

La Tour attacks the Imperialists in their entrenchments.

Gabor takes Presburg upon capitulation.

*leem-Gabor*, vaivode of *Transylvania*, soon followed the example of that republic. He wanted a favourable opportunity to conquer northern *Hungary*; was assured of the Grand Seignor's protection; and, depending upon the diversion which the states of *Bohemia*, his allies, would make in *Austria*, he in all haste passed the river *Teisse* with his army, at the head of which he marched towards *Cassovia*. *Gabor's* sudden invasion of *Hungary* filled the whole kingdom with terror: the places were unprovided with arms, the garrisons had been withdrawn for the war in *Bohemia*, and *Homanor*, who commanded in *Hungary*, finding himself unable to cope with the vaivode, retired to the frontiers of *Poland*, leaving *Gabor* master of the country. He, accordingly, penetrated farther into the kingdom, in order to give the people an opportunity of declaring in his favour, and in eight days reduced *Cassovia* and *Pileck*; so that the states of *High Hungary*, astonished at the rapidity of his conquests, sent deputies to offer their submission, provided they should be allowed to enjoy their privileges; and he gladly acquiesced in that condition. Their example was soon followed by the towns of *Low Hungary*, which sent their keys to the vaivode, who then took the route to *Vienna*, bearing a standard of red damask, in which were represented two armed knights joining hands, with a device importing, *Concord and Association* (T). The archduke *Leopold*, who commanded in *Vienna*, being apprised of *Gabor's* march, sent orders to the count *de Buquoy* to repair with his army to the neighbourhood of that city. This general had taken *Piseck*, and intended to besiege *Thabor*; but that design miscarried, and he was obliged to retreat to *Meroweis*. The count *de la Tour* advanced towards the Imperial camp, and the proximity of the two armies produced frequent skirmishes, till at length both were fain to decamp for want of provisions; when *La Tour*, knowing that *Buquoy* was recalled into *Austria*, left very few troops in *Bohemia*, and took the route to *Silesia*, in order to join the *Moravians* and wait for succours from prince *Gabor*. This junction being effected, he followed the *Austrians*, whom he found intrenched at the distance of two miles from *Vienna*, and attacked their intrenchments with great fury; they defended themselves for a long time with equal obstinacy, until some casks of powder being blown up by accident, they imagined themselves surrounded by the enemy, were seized with a panic, and universal disorder ensued. In this emergency *Buquoy* performed the part of a great general: he explained the accident which had disconcerted them, confirmed those that wavered by his exhortations, and rallying the fugitives in person, renewed the battle, which continued till night, when both sides retired with abundance of loss. Next day the attack was carried on, though with less ardour; and *La Tour*, seeing no prospect of being able to force their entrenchments, ordered a retreat to be sounded, leaving two thousand men upon the spot, whereas the loss of the *Austrians* did not exceed six hundred.

WHILE *Buquoy* was thus detained in *Austria*, *Mansfeld* retook several places in *Bohemia*. *Vinterbourg*, *Prales*, and *Piseck*, submitted to him, almost without resistance; and *Budewitz* and *Crumlaw* were now the only towns in that kingdom which adhered to the house of *Austria*; but the siege of these was an enterprize which *Mansfeld* was not strong enough to undertake; he, therefore, contented himself with pillaging the adjacent country, and then returned to *Pilsen*, of which he was governor.

AT that time *Gabor*, having multiplied his conquests in *Hungary*, advanced at a great rate towards *Presburg*; and *Forgatsi* having informed the archduke of the danger that threatened this important place, the baron *de Teiffenbach* was sent thither with a reinforcement of a thousand men and three pieces of cannon. This officer took up his quarters in the suburbs, where, by means of a thick fog, he was surprised by *Gabor*, who totally routed his detachment, and summoned *Forgatsi* to surrender. The grandes of the kingdom, who were then in the city, left the palatine at liberty to act according to his own judgment; in consequence of which *Presburg* was surrendered, and a treaty concluded on these terms: *Gabor* shall be acknowledged prince of *Hungary*; *Forgatsi* continue in his office of palatine; the town and castle of *Presburg* be surrendered to *Gabor*; and liberty of conscience allowed through all *Hungary*.

In the mean time, the Protestant electors, princes, and states of the empire assembled at *Nuremberg*, whither the new king of *Bohemia* repaired in person with all his adherents. The states of *High* and *Low Austria*, and almost all the Imperial towns, sent deputies to this diet; and the emperor, knowing he had every thing to fear from such an assembly, sent thither the count *de Hohen-Zollern*, to manage his interests, and ward off the blows that should be aimed at his authority. Accordingly, this commissioner explained to the states, the pacific measures which his Imperial majesty had employed to quiet the troubles of *Bohemia*; and the Protestants answered his memorial by a recapitulation of all the grievances they had suffered from the courts of *Vienna* and *Rome*, and the Catholic league: they in-

\* PUFFENDORF, l. 1. sect. 28. Mercur. Gallo-Belg. t. xiii. l. 1.

\* BARRE Hist. d'Allemagne, t. ix. p. 484.

(T) *Confederatio et Concordia*.



- a treated the emperor to restore peace to *Bohemia* without delay, to pay some regard to their complaints of mal-administration, and no longer give ear to some ministers of his council, whose sole aim was to foment discord between the *Germanic* body and its chief. The count perceived from this answer, that the assembly of *Nuremberg* was disposed to favour the elector-palatine; and as he could not prevail upon the princes who composed it, to observe a neutrality in the present war, he returned to *Vienna* to give an account of his commission. All *Germany* was divided between the emperor and the elector-palatine; even those princes who were united within the empire, and at peace in their own dominions, prepared for making war upon one another in *Bohemia*. The Catholic league assembled at *Wirtzburg*.
- b The ambassadors of the emperor, the electors of *Mentz*, *Cologne*, and *Triers*, the dukes of *Bavaria*, *Lorrain*, and *Neuburg*, together with the deputies of the archbishops, bishops, abbots, prelates, and the Catholic Imperial towns, were present at this assembly, where they deliberated upon means for preserving the peace of *Germany*, and for raising a certain number of troops, to enable the emperor to reduce the *Bohemians*.

- ALTHOUGH *Ferdinand's* party was in itself more powerful than that of his antagonist, he resolved to insure success by having recourse to all the neighbouring powers. He obtained of the pope considerable sums to be levied on the clergy, and was assisted with troops by some *Italian* princes<sup>1</sup>. The king of *Spain* promised to supply him with eleven thousand men, and undertook to make a powerful diversion in the *Palatinate*<sup>2</sup>. The queen regent of *France*, who seemed to have forgot the politic maxim of that country, which had always favoured the enemies of the house of *Austria*, instead of troops, which she could not afford, sent ambassadors into *Germany*, in order to promote an accommodation. The king of *Denmark* and duke of *Brunswic* remained neuter; but *Sigismund* king of *Poland*, and the elector of *Saxony*, declared in favour of *Ferdinand*; and, notwithstanding the opposition of the *Bohemian* states and their new king, made great preparations for war. The emperor's officers levied forces in *Naples* and *Sicily*, in *Lorrain*, the Catholic electorates, and his own hereditary dominions: the marquis *de Spinola* entered the *Lower Palatinate* with a body of twelve thousand troops; and the duke of *Bavaria*, at the head of five and twenty thousand, spread fear and consternation among the malcontents of *Upper Austria*. Next to the emperor, this duke was the most avowed enemy of the count palatine. The ancient jealousy subsisting between their families, *Maximilian's* zeal for the Catholic religion, and his pretensions to the succession of the *Austrian* dominions, which he was afraid would be dismembered, were so many motives to engage his whole power in fixing the crown of *Bohemia* upon the head of *Ferdinand*, whom he himself might possibly succeed in that dignity.

*Ferdinand strengthens his claim with new alliances.*

A. D. 1620.

- To counterbalance this powerful association, the palatine had secured the friendship of several princes, who promised to send him succours. The marquis of *Brandenburg Anspach* put himself at the head of thirteen thousand men, with whom he traversed the *High Palatinate*; and marching along the *Danube*, intrenched himself in *Lower Austria*, within sight of the duke of *Bavaria*. *Bethleem Gabor* undertook to send ten thousand *Hungarians* into *Bohemia*, upon the frontiers of which were the prince *D'Anhalt* and the duke of *Saxe-Weimar*, with two bodies of troops, who joined the army of *La Tour* and *Mansfeld*; so that all these considerations supported the hopes and courage of the elector.

*The count palatine secures the friendship of several princes.*

- WE have already observed, that *James* the first, king of *Great-Britain*, had resolved to observe a neutrality in this dispute. Over and above his timorous disposition, which hindered him from engaging in quarrels of any sort, and his notions of indefeasible hereditary right, which he thought the *Bohemians* had infringed in favour of his son-in-law, he was swayed by other motives on this occasion; for he imagined that the two competitors for the crown of *Bohemia* would choose him as the arbitrator of their difference; and he was, besides, afraid of disobliging the house of *Austria*, so as to break off his darling match between his son the prince of *Wales*, and *Mary* infanta of *Spain*. Nevertheless, by dint of solicitation, he was prevailed upon to allow some noblemen, at their own expence, to raise two thousand four hundred men for the service of his son in law. The command of these was given to *Horace Vere*, under whom the earls of *Essex* and *Oxford* served as captains<sup>3</sup>.

- By this time all *Germany* was in commotion, and the princes and cities were obliged to hold frequent consultations about providing for their own safety. Among others, the elector of *Saxony* raised troops for the defence of his own dominions; and being questioned by the *Bohemians* concerning the intent of these levies, he answered they were destined to defend the circle of *Upper Saxony*, and would act against none but such as should attack the states of that province<sup>4</sup>. Soon after this declaration, he assisted at an assembly of the princes held at *Mulhausen*, at which were present the archbishops of *Mentz* and *Cologne*, together with deputies from the elector of *Triers*, the duke of *Bohemia*, and the landgrave of *Hesse*.

<sup>1</sup> CARAFA. p. 80. p. 79.

<sup>2</sup> PIASECIUS, p. 324.

<sup>3</sup> WILSON, Hist. Mag. Brit. p. 135, &c.

<sup>4</sup> CARAFA.



They wrote a letter to the elector-palatine, exhorting him to resign the crown of *Bohemia*, otherwise they would oppose him with their whole force, and at the same time sent dispatches of the same import to all the states which had embraced his party <sup>a</sup> (U). But receiving unsatisfactory answers, the assembly deliberated whether or not the palatine should be proscribed; though this measure was effectually opposed by the electors of *Mentz* and *Saxony*.

MEAN while, the war continued to rage in *Bohemia*. *Teiffenbach* (X), commander of the *Moravians*, made himself master of *Niclasburg*; and *Buquoy*, having attacked a body of *Bohemians* posted near *Silfendorf*, under the command of the baron *de Fells*, was repulsed with loss, although the baron lost his life in the action.

THE operations on both sides were suspended by the arrival of the duke *d'Angouleme*, <sup>b</sup> ambassador from the king of *France*, who in an assembly of the princes and free towns at *Ulm*, delivered a long discourse, in which he offered the good offices of his master for the re-establishment of peace in *Germany* <sup>a</sup>. The deputies having acknowledged their obligation to his most Christian majesty, proceeded to deliberate upon means for restoring the tranquility of the empire; but as they could not agree upon the measures to be taken for deciding the dispute between the emperor and count palatine, it was resolved, that the Catholic league and Protestant union should mutually abstain from hostilities; and that in case any one state of either communion (excepting *Bohemia* and the incorporated provinces) should be attacked, the rest without distinction should send succours to its assistance.

Agreement at  
Ulm.

THE emperor, seeing all his negotiations miscarry, sent a summons to the elector-palatine, commanding him, on pain of incurring his high displeasure, to desist from all acts of hostility, and relinquish his pretensions to the crown of *Bohemia*. At the same time, he addressed monitory letters to the provinces of the empire, in alliance with *Frederic*, to the officers who served in his army, and to the imperial towns which espoused his cause, observing, that as they were in effect rebels to the imperial authority, he had a right to execute against them the constitutions of the empire; but preferring clemency to the rigour of justice, he would pardon them for what was passed, provided they would abandon *Frederic* and the *Bohemians*; but should they continue to favour their enemies, he would proceed against them with all the vengeance of offended majesty.

IT was not long before his mandate to the elector was answered by that prince, who affirmed that the crown of *Bohemia* being elective, the states of the kingdom have the sole right to judge whether or not his election was lawful; that they had an independent tribunal of their own, together with laws, privileges, and customs, different from the *Germanic* body, upon which they in no manner depended; therefore, the prince whom they had elected as their sovereign, could not be subject to the ban of the empire; that *Ferdinand* had acted contrary to the articles of his capitulation, in beginning to make war upon a prince of *Germany*, before he had been tried in the diet, and judged according to the imperial laws and capitulations, which he had sworn to observe before his coronation <sup>b</sup>.

The duke of  
Bavaria re-  
duces the Pro-  
testants of Up-  
per Austria.

IN the midst of this altercation, the duke of *Bavaria*, at the head of five and twenty thousand men, passed the *Danube* at *Donawert*, and advanced towards *Brunsborg*, while the marquis *d'Anspach*, lieutenant of the Protestant union, posted himself with thirteen thousand men between *Langenau* and *Tropheim*; but no hostilities were committed on either side. From this camp the duke of *Bavaria*, by the emperor's order, marched into *Upper Austria*, to reduce the Protestants of that province, who, after having made some resistance, assembled at *Lintz*, and seeing no prospect of succour, resolved to submit to the emperor. Accordingly they were pardoned on their promising to renounce their alliance with the *Bohemians*, and take the oath of allegiance to the emperor, as their lawful sovereign.

THE reduction of the *Hungarian* malcontents was not such an easy task. True it is, the emperor and *Gabor* had agreed to a truce for six months, during which it was hoped an accommodation might have been effected; but *Ferdinand*, seeing his forces augmenting every day, began to entertain hopes of reducing the *Hungarians* by force of arms. His army commanded by the duke of *Bavaria*, already amounted to fifty thousand men, ready

<sup>a</sup> KHEVENHULLER, l. 9. p. 836.  
l'An. 1620. p. 126.

<sup>a</sup> Mem. de M. de Villeroi, t. iii. p. 452.

<sup>b</sup> Mercur. Franc.

(U) These were the directors of *Bohemia*, *Silesia*, *Moravia*, and *Lusatia*, the Protestant princes, the states of *Austria*, the counties of *Weteravia*, the nobility of the *Rhine*, *Franconia* and *Suabia*, the cities of *Nuremberg*, *Straßburg*, *Ulm*, *Spire*, and *Worms*, and the malcontents of *Hungary* and *Transylvania*, which last had,

by their deputies, concluded at *Prague* an offensive alliance with the palatine (1).

(X) This *Teiffenbach* must not be confounded with another officer of the same name, who was attached to the emperor.

(1) Barre Hist. d'Allemagne, t. ix. p. 489.



a to enter *Bohemia* by the northern side of that kingdom. *Spinola*, at the head of four and twenty thousand *Spaniards* or *Walloons*, had begun his march to conquer the *Palatinate*; and the emperor knew there was a good number of *Hungarian* noblemen attached to the house of *Austria*, besides those who, being disobliged by the contrary interest, waited for nothing but an opportunity to declare in his favour.

*GABOR*, apprised of their dispositions, assembled the states of the kingdom at *Neubaus*, where they resolved to send ten thousand men into *Bohemia*, at the expiration of the truce; and in the mean time declared *Bezbleem Gabor* king of *Hungary*, and appointed a day for his coronation at *Presburg*. The *Roman Catholic* noblemen opposed his elevation with all their power; and as they knew all of their communion were well wishers to the house of *Austria*, b prepared for making a stand at *Haimburg* against the partisans of this new usurper.

*BOHEMIA* was in universal agitation. *Frederic's* army did not exceed thirty thousand men; a number sufficient to carry on a defensive war against the emperor: but the elector of *Saxony*, who had lately set an army on foot, harraised the states of *Bohemia* and their sovereign with continual alarms: they, therefore, sent deputies to *Dresden*, intreating that prince to observe a perfect neutrality; and he refusing their request, on pretence that it was his duty to assist the head of the empire against his rebellious subjects, they dispersed letters through *Misnia* and *Saxony*, in which they exhorted the towns and states of those two provinces to oppose the enterprizes of their sovereign. The elector was so much incensed at this conduct of the *Bohemians*, and so eager to augment his dominions of *Lusatia*, that he c entered this country at the head of twenty thousand men, made himself master of *Gorlitz* and several other towns, and invested *Budissen*, which having taken by assault after a siege of three weeks, he ordered forty of the principal inhabitants to be hanged. He met with the same success in subjecting the whole province, and compelled the marquis of *Jagendorf*, who commanded in it, to fly for refuge to *Silesia*.

*FREDERIC* was not so much alarmed at the conquests of the elector of *Saxony*, as at the murmurs of the *Bohemians*, who, finding themselves disappointed in their expectations from *England*, would neither heartily obey their king, nor resolve to own the emperor as their sovereign; for the duke of *Bavaria*, who was already in their country with an army of fifty thousand men, offered in the name of *Ferdinand*, a general amnesty, provided they d would submit to the emperor, and revoke all they had done in favour of *Frederic*. To this proposal they replied, that they were resolved to defend their liberties at the hazard of their lives, and that having taken all the measures which human prudence could suggest, they depended upon Providence for the issue; which answer being reported to the duke, he, with marks of extreme indignation, said to the messenger, "Since the *Bohemians* are determined to perish, they shall perish." Mean while, the elector-palatine saw himself reduced to a very disagreeable situation; for he was hemmed in by the *Saxon* army on the north, and the *Imperialists* on the south, so as to be in danger of seeing his troops perish for want of subsistence. In this emergency he had recourse to the advice of the count *de La Tour*, a man extremely fruitful in expedients, who counselled him to send a body of *Hungarians* to ravage *Misnia*, these being the surest means to oblige the elector of *Saxony* to return to the succour of that province: with regard to the *Imperialists*, it was his opinion, that he ought to keep on the defensive, and let them insensibly diminish and disperse in consequence of sieges, sickness, death, and desertions.

*FREDERIC* approved of the scheme, in consequence of which he sent five thousand *Hungarians* to the frontiers of *Misnia*, beyond which, however, they could not penetrate, the elector having left a sufficient body of troops to defend that province; and he ordered the count *de la Tour* and the prince of *Anhalt* to cover the towns which were in the route of the *Austrian* army, and to throw garrisons into them when they should be obliged to retire, that by these means the progress of the enemy might be retarded.

f IN the mean time, *Spinola* with five and twenty thousand men made an irruption into the *Palatinate*, surprised *Crutznach*, took *Oppenheim* by assault, and seized all the provisions of the count-palatine, who with his allies loudly exclaimed against this infraction of the agreement at *Ulm*. In the midst of these transactions, *Henry Frederic de Nassau* joined the marquis *d'Anspach* with eight thousand infantry, and one thousand horse; and a council was held, in which some officers proposed to give battle to the *Spaniards*; but this proposal was rejected by the majority, and a misunderstanding arose between the marquis and the *English*, of which *Spinola* taking the advantage, plundered the *Palatinate* with impunity.

BUT, without pretending to give a minute detail of all the actions performed by detached bodies, let us observe the operations of the principal armies. That of the emperor, g composed of fifty thousand men, commanded by the count *de Buquoy* and the duke of *Bavaria*, having in one month reduced almost all the places in *Bohemia*, encamped near *Pil-*

*Gabor is declared king of Hungary.*

*The elector of Saxony acts against the count palatine.*

*The duke of Bavaria invades Bohemia.*

*The emperor's army advances to Prague.*

<sup>c</sup> BARRE Hist. d'Allemagne, t. ix. p. 496.

<sup>d</sup> BELL. l. 4 p. 441.

<sup>e</sup> LONDORP. t. i. l. 4. c. 144.

<sup>f</sup> CARAPA. p. 83, 85.



*sen*, which was garrisoned by *Mansfeld*, as if they had intended to besiege that city; but the season being too far advanced for such an enterprize, the generals resolved to continue their route to *Prague*, towards which place they accordingly marched in order of battle, and their rear was attacked by *Mansfeld*, who, after a very warm action, was repulsed with loss.

*FREDERIC*, who with thirty thousand men was intrenched at *Rockensen*, no sooner understood the intention of the Imperialists, than he passed the little river of *Pilsen*, and followed the enemy, with whom he incessantly skirmished, until both armies arrived in the neighbourhood of *Prague*; and the count-palatine, foreseeing that he should be obliged to hazard a general action, sent his son *Charles-Lewis* to the elector of *Brandenburg*, who received and entertained him with the most generous hospitality.

and attacks  
the count pa-  
tine,

who after an  
obstinate en-  
gagement is  
utterly defeat-  
ed at Weissen-  
berg.

*FREDERIC*, resolving to stand upon the defensive, took possession of a rising ground, upon which he drew up his forces in order of battle; then he rode through the ranks exhorting the soldiers to do their duty, and ordered the gates of *Prague* to be shut, that they might see they had no resource but in their own valour. The duke of *Bavaria*, perceiving their excellent order and determined countenance, called a council of war, to determine whether or not it would be proper to attack them; and this question being unanimously decided in the affirmative, the army was drawn up in three unequal lines; and the baron *de Tilly*, who was at the head of the *Bavarian* horse, on the left of the first line, ordered to begin the action. He accordingly passed a rivulet and morasses that covered the right of the *Bohemians*, and charged them with great fury, but met with such a reception as made him retire with great disorder. *Buquoy* then advanced with a large reinforcement to support him, and was encountered by *Frederic* himself, who sustained his efforts, and in his turn attacked him with uncommon valour, so that his troops gave way and fled in great confusion. From that moment victory would have declared for the count-palatine, had he restrained his men from pursuing the fugitives; but so inconsiderate was their ardour upon this occasion, that *Buquoy* observing the victors as much disordered as the vanquished, rallied some squadrons of horse, and seconded by colonel *Verdugo*, returned to the charge with incredible impetuosity. Notwithstanding all the efforts of the elector, who exerted extraordinary courage and activity in reducing his troops to order, and opposing this torrent, they bore down all before them; and *Frederick* being abandoned by his soldiers, was forced to retire. At the same, his left wing was broke by the duke of *Bavaria*; and the rest of his army being overwhelmed by the number of the foe, betook themselves to flight, leaving to the Imperialists their baggage, cannon, and five thousand dead upon the field of battle, besides a great number who were drowned in the *Moldau*. The elector finding it impracticable to rally the wreck of his army retired into *Prague*, from whence he departed that same night for *Silesia*, with his wife, children, and most valuable effects. The Imperialists, whose loss did not exceed five hundred men, encamped under the walls of that place, which submitted to the clemency of the duke of *Bavaria*, who entering the city in triumph, ordered the gates to be kept shut for six hours, that the authors of the revolt might not escape; and *La Tour's* wife and son were sent to prison, together with a great number of noblemen and citizens (Y).

A. D. 1621.

Lord Digby  
arrives at  
Vienna as am-  
bassador from  
the king of  
England.

*FREDERICK's* defeat was no sooner known in *England*, than the people of that kingdom, and even the parliament, began to murmur at the king's indifference towards his son-in-law; but *James* was so effectually amused by the address of *Gondemar*, the *Spanish* ambassador, who assured him that he would ruin the match between the prince of *Wales* and the infanta, if he did not keep aloof in the affair of the *Palatinate*, that he still refused to take any material steps in favour of the elector: indeed he sent lord *Digby* to *Vienna*, in order to negotiate an accommodation. That ambassador being admitted to an audience, demanded that the elector-palatine should be re-established in the dominions which he possessed before he was elected king of *Bohemia*; and that the emperor should postpone the intended ban against him for some time, during which his father-in-law would do his utmost endeavours to oblige him to make suitable satisfaction to the head of the empire. *Ferdinand*, whose chief aim was to gain time, answered, that he was very well disposed to pay the most profound regard to the recommendation of his *Britannic* majesty, and would willingly pardon the count-palatine, provided he would make proper satisfaction for his past misconduct; but as the war had been undertaken by the advice, and with the assistance of several princes of *Germany*, he could not conclude any treaty without their con-

<sup>a</sup> STRUV. part. 10. sec. 9. p. 2071.

<sup>b</sup> HEISS, l. 3. c. 9.

(Y) When an officer, who accompanied *Frederic* in his flight, endeavoured to condole with him on his defeat, "I have not (said he) forgot who I am: there are virtues which can only be acquired from misfortune; and these no prince can know without having experienced disaster." (1)

(1) *Barre Hist. d'Allemagne*, t. ix. p. 502.



a sent, though he would convoke a diet at *Ratisbon*, and communicate the resolutions of it to the king of *England*<sup>1</sup>. A few days after he delivered this answer, he received a letter from the infanta *Isabella*, announcing the death of the archduke her husband, which happened at *Brussels* on the thirtieth of *July*, and beseeching him to regard the intercession which had been made in favour of *Frederic*. On the back of this intreaty *Digby* presented a memorial, in which he demanded a truce for the *Lower Palatinate*, in consideration of which *Frederic* should order *Mansfeld* to desist from his operations, revoke the commission which he had given to *John-George* marquis of *Jagerndorf*, and put the emperor in possession of *Thabor* and *Witigaw*, the only places which still held out against him in *Bohemia*.

b *FERDINAND*, by letters to the king of *England* and *Isabella*, assured them, that in consequence of their mediation, he would treat of a truce upon these terms, before the expiration of which a general peace might be negotiated; but at the same time, he told *Digby* that he could not grant the suspension he had demanded, without the consent of the duke of *Bavaria*, who was then in the *High Palatinate*, whither he advised the ambassador to repair with his proposal. *Digby* forthwith set out for that country; and when he explained, his errand he was told by the duke, that there was no occasion to negotiate a truce for a province which was almost totally subdued, and that he would take such measures as would in a little time extinguish the war<sup>k</sup>. In effect, he had by this time no body to cope with but *Mansfeld*, who being obliged to quit *Bohemia*, had retired to the *Upper Palatinate*. The elector of *Saxony* had over-run *Lusatia*, the count *de Buquoy* had subdued *Moravia*; c but *Silesia* was still kept firmly attached to *Frederic*, by the influence of the duke of *Jagerndorf*, one of the most powerful noblemen of that province<sup>l</sup>.

In this conjuncture, the emperor giving way to his resentment against the princes in alliance with the palatine, put him and all his confederates to the ban of the empire, by an edict declaring *Frederic* divested of all his dominions, of the dignity of elector, and the honours of the empire, which he had hitherto enjoyed; and proscribing *John-George* duke of *Jagerndorf*, *Christiern* prince d'*Anbalt*, *George-Frederic* count *de Hohenloe*, together with the other princes and noblemen, who had assisted the palatine either with their persons or their arms<sup>m</sup>. This effect made an impression upon the states of *Silesia*, which, at the intercession of the elector of *Saxony*, were pardoned by *Ferdinand*, after they had renewed the oath of d allegiance, disbanded their troops, and obliged themselves to pay within the year three hundred thousand florins, for the occasions of his imperial majesty.

The elector-palatine had quitted this country, leaving the princess his wife at *Custrin*, where she was delivered of a son called *Maurice*, and repaired to the king of *Denmark*, who received him with open arms, and undertook to mediate an accommodation at the court of *Vienna*; but the more *Frederic* yielded in the course of this negotiation, the more was exacted by the ministers of the emperor, who not only insisted upon his renouncing the crown of *Bohemia*, but likewise upon his ceding the *Upper Palatinate* to the duke of *Bavaria*: they, moreover, demanded that he would reimburse that prince, and the house of *Austria* for the expences of the war, and repair to *Vienna*, in order to make what personal satisfaction the emperor should think proper to require<sup>n</sup>. These proposals were too harsh to e be accepted, and some time was consumed in manifestoes and other fruitless attempts towards a peace, while the duke of *Bavaria*, who was charged with the execution of the imperial ban, entered the *Upper Palatinate*, and at *Straubing* joined the baron *de Tilly*, who had all along observed the motions of *Mansfeld*. This last officer, at the head of eight thousand men, had for some months kept the war alive, not without extraordinary success; but understanding that the duke of *Bavaria* had passed the *Danube* at *Straubing*, and that several places in the *Upper Palatinate* had submitted to his orders, he traversed the *Nab*, and encamped upon the river *Pregnitz*, in the neighbourhood of *Nuremberg*; where, having intrenched himself with a view to wait for an opportunity of penetrating into the *Lower Palatinate* by f *Franconia*, he was suddenly invested by the duke; and being destitute of provisions and ammunition, saw it would be impossible to retreat before such a considerable army, without exposing himself to a certain overthrow. In this disagreeable situation he had recourse to stratagem, and signified to the duke of *Bavaria*, that he was willing to abandon the service of *Frederic*, and join the emperor with his army: he even drew up the articles of the treaty, demanded provisions and money, part of which he actually received, and admitted the Imperialists into *Valdhausen*, in token of his sincerity, and so artfully lulled the suspicion of the duke, that he found means to decamp without his knowledge and reach the *Lower Palatinate*, where his presence soon changed the face of affairs<sup>o</sup>.

A TRUCE for five weeks had been concluded between *Spinola*, general of the *Spanish* army in that province, and *Horace Vere*, who commanded the troops of the elector. The

A truce for five weeks is concluded between *Spinola* and *Vere*.

<sup>1</sup> RUSHWORTH, t. i. p. 37.

<sup>k</sup> Id. ibid.

<sup>l</sup> PUFFENDORF, sec. 32.

<sup>m</sup> LONDORP, t. ii. l. 6. c. 1.

& 2. <sup>n</sup> BARRE Hist. d'Allemagne, t. ix. p. 538.

<sup>o</sup> HEISS, l. 3. c. 9.



governers of the *Low Countries* made the king of *England* believe that this truce was granted to his solicitation; but the emperor's real reason for consenting to it, was that he might have time to send forces into the *Lower Palatinate*, in the room of those which *Spinola* was obliged to withdraw into *Brabant* to overawe the *Dutch*. Accordingly, *Gonçales de Cordova*, who succeeded to the command, was soon reinforced to the amount of eighteen thousand men; and *Vere*, being obliged to retire to *Worms*, he had no other enemy to fear, so that he took *Stetin*, *Lademburg*, and *Keiserlautern*, and had already reduced *Frankendal* to extremity; when *Mansfeld*, hastening to its succour, compelled him to raise the siege and retreat.

Frederic has recourse to the kings of Sweden and Denmark.

*FREDERIC* was at that time in *Holland*, where he had been received rather like a conqueror than a fugitive, and accommodated with a monthly allowance of ten thousand florins for his subsistence. He had retired to this country that he might be near *England*, from whence he still expected assistance and protection; but finding *James* as much as ever averse to any effectual engagement in his favour, he addressed himself to the kings of *Sweden* and *Denmark*, who had a personal interview at *Segebert*, where the palatine was present, together with the ambassadors of *Brandenburg*, the Protestant princes, and the states of *Holland*. Whatever were the deliberations of this assembly, certain it is, the king of *Denmark* undertook to send a magnificent embassy to *Vienna*, to solicit the emperor in favour of *Frederic*; and to his remonstrances the ministers of *Ferdinand* replied, that a diet was already summoned to meet at *Ratisbon*, where such measures would be taken on that subject as should be agreeable to the *German* princes. The king of *England* likewise complained of the invasion of the *Palatinate*, as a breach of the promise which *Ferdinand* had given, and explained his sentiments touching the satisfaction which the emperor had a right to expect from his son-in-law, observing at the same time, that in case his mediation should be rejected, he would at length have recourse to arms in favour of the elector. The emperor, who knew his disposition too well to be alarmed at these menaces, continued still to amuse him with the hopes of peace, and sent the count *de Schwartzemburg* to *England*, in order to negotiate the conditions of a truce.

The count de Buquoy makes some progress in Hungary, and loses his life in an engagement near Neuhaus.

IN the mean time, he dispatched the count *de Buquoy* into *Hungary*, to renew the truce with *Betbleem Gabor*, whom he would have honoured with the title of prince of *Hungary*, and a pension of one hundred thousand florins; but the vaivode demanding other advantages which were refused, both sides prepared for war, which was renewed with great animosity. *Buquoy* invested and took *Presburg* upon capitulation, and many other places surrendered to him on the same terms; while the marquis *de Colalte* reduced a number of towns and castles in *Low Hungary*, to the dominion of the house of *Austria*. At length, *Buquoy* undertook the siege of *Neuhaus*, which was defended with great gallantry. The count *de la Tour*, being detached with six thousand men from the army of *Gabor*, fell upon a convoy guarded by two thousand *Austrians*, who being put in disorder, *Buquoy* mounted his horse in order to rally and support them; but in spite of all his endeavours, they were totally routed, and he himself lost his life in the engagement; so that the Imperialists were obliged to raise the siege, and retreat with precipitation to *Gutta* upon the *Danube*, after having abandoned their train of artillery. *Gabor*, taking the advantage of their discomfiture and absence, made some new conquests, and being joined by *Jagerndorf* with his *Moravians* and *Silesians*, resolved to retake *Presburg*, which was accordingly invested; but *Colalte* defended the place with such vigour, that they were fain to relinquish the enterprize, after the trenches had been opened a whole month.

Gabor invests the city of Presburg.

ABOUT this time the elector Palatine, who had returned to *Holland*, was informed that the emperor had ordered the principal authors of the revolt in *Bohemia* to be put to death; nine of the directors of that kingdom having been beheaded, and two and thirty hanged. The execution of so many zealous adherents could not but be very grievous to *Frederic*, who, seeing he had nothing to expect from his father-in-law, resolved to take other measures for retrieving his dominions. He was still master of *Manheim*, *Heidelberg*, and *Frankendal*; and count *Mansfeld*, though retired into *Alsace*, was ready to enter the *Lower Palatinate*: he therefore engaged prince *Christiern* of *Bruswick* to levy an army in *Westphalia*, and join the count; and made a contract of the same nature with the prince of *Baden-Dourlach*. Accordingly *Christiern* took the field, and made himself master of some places in the county of *La Marck*: from thence he marched to the electorate of *Mentz*, and afterwards committed horrible devastations in the dominions of the landgrave of *Hesse-Darmstadt*. On the other hand, the landgrave of *Hesse-Cassel* ravaged the country belonging to the counts *de Waldec*, on pretence that they had received an investiture from the emperor of some fiefs which he held of his landgraviate: besides, a dispute subsisted between him and the landgrave of

° KHEVENHULLER. t. ix. p. 1395.  
l. 3. c. 9.

P BARRÉ Hist. d'Allemagne, t. ix. p. 515.

° HEISS.



- Darmstadt*, about the sovereignty of *Marpurg*; and, as the emperor favoured his rival, he embraced the party of the count palatine. The counts of *Waldec* and the landgrave of *Darmstadt* complained of these hostilities to *Ferdinand*, who ordered the duke of *Brunswick-Halberstadt* and the landgrave of *Hesse* to lay down their arms; on pain of being proceeded against with all the rigour of the law: but the count *d'Anhalt*, who commanded the troops of *Cologne*, took a more effectual method, by joining the forces of *Mentz* and *Darmstadt*, and marching across *Weteravia* to the valley of *Buccen*, in quest of *Christiern*, whom he found intrenched in a wood. He immediately commanded his carabineers to alight and attack the *Halberstadians*, who, being broke and defeated, retired in disorder to the territories of *Paderborn* and *Munster*, burning and pillaging the whole country. As for the landgrave of *Hesse-Cassel*, when he saw *Anhalt* so near his dominions; he, by a letter, desired to know his intentions; when the other replied, that he had no orders to enter *Hesse*, and exhorted him to lay down his arms, and live in peace with the landgrave of *Darmstadt*. Mean while, *Christiern* committed great excesses in *Westphalia*: he ruined *Pukelsheim* and *Bereurie*, and ordered the inhabitants to be hanged: he destroyed the country with fire and sword; and, retiring to *Lippe*, treated all the villages as a conquered province, laying taxes and levying contributions at pleasure. The licence and impunity of his soldiers, encouraged a number of profligate ruffians to enlist in his service; so that his army, being thus augmented, soon became superior to that of *Anhalt*, and, over-running the bishoprics of *Munster* and *Paderborn*, filled every place with carnage and desolation (Z).
- THE emperor, whose sole aim was to subdue the elector palatine and all his partizans, resolved to employ his whole forces on the *Rhine*; and for that purpose granted advantageous conditions to *Bethleem Gabor*, who, in consequence of a treaty concluded at *Niclasburg* renounced the title and dignity of king of *Hungary*, promised to restore the crown and royal ornaments within eighteen days, and retire to *Cassovia*; and bound himself, by oath, to give no further disturbance to the house of *Austria*. *Ferdinand*, on his part, promised to create *Gabor* a prince of the empire; to let him enjoy, during life, a viscountship in *Hungary*; to cede, in his favour, the dutchies of *Oppelen* and *Ratibor* in *Silesia*: to mortgage some castles in *Hungary* for the payment of a certain sum; and to pay yearly fifty thousand florins, to maintain the garrisons of these places, the soldiers of which should take the oath of allegiance to *Ferdinand* and *Gabor*. During these negotiations the marriage of the emperor with *Eleonora de Gonzaga*, sister of the duke of *Mantua*, was celebrated at *Oedembourg*; and, after the rejoicings, the affairs of *Hungary* were regulated in a diet, where *Ferdinand* granted a general amnesty, and liberty of conscience to the Protestants.
- IN the mean time, *Mansfeld*, who had been obliged to retire from the *Lower Palatinate* by the superior force of count *Tilly*, marched into the bishopric of *Strasbourg*, took the rich abbey of *Mour-Munster*, made himself master of *Hagenau*, and opened the trenches before *Saverne*; but the besieged having received a reinforcement of two thousand men, he was obliged to relinquish the enterprize; and, dividing his army into small bodies, laid waste the whole province of *Alsace*. It was not, however, upon the valour and activity of *Mansfeld* alone that the elector palatine depended: he entertained great hopes from the power and influence of *George-Frederic*, marquis of *Baden-Dourlach*, who espoused his interest out of resentment against the emperor, who had adjudged the half of the marquisate of *Baden* to *William*, son of *Edward*, surnamed *the Fortunate*. This decision he considered as a grievance, because *Edward* having married a simple gentlewoman, her children were disqualified from inheriting the marquisate: having therefore resigned his dominions to his eldest son, he levied an army of thirteen thousand foot and three thousand horse, and prepared a considerable train of artillery, with all sorts of warlike munition. The elector palatine, elevated with the news of this armament, departed from *Holland*, traversed *France* in disguise, and arrived at *Landau*, where he was received by the governor count *de Lowenstein*, and immediately joined by *Mansfeld*, with whom he forthwith passed the *Rhine*, and obliged *Tilly* to raise the siege of *Dilsberg*. This general afterwards encamped in the front of a forest, near *Wisseloch*, in order to prevent their junction with the marquis of *Baden-Dourlach*; and *Mansfeld*, in order to drive them from this advantageous post, contrived an ambuscade, which succeeded to his wish. He posted his vanguard at *Mingelheim*; and,

The duke of Brunswick-Halberstadt is defeated by the count d'Anhalt. A. D. 1622.

The emperor concludes a treaty with Gabor.

Mansfeld over-runs Alsace.

The marquis of Baden-Dourlach declares for the elector-palatine.

<sup>1</sup> CARARA. p. 117.

<sup>2</sup> LUDOLPH. l. 21. c. 3.

<sup>3</sup> CARARA. p. 127.

(Z) *Christian*, or *Christiern*, duke of *Brunswick*, surnamed *the Furious*, called himself *the friend of God*, and enemy of *priestcraft*. Fearing that, should the Catholic party prevail, he would lose the bishopric of *Halberstadt*, of which he was in possession, he declared for the elector palatine, and fixing a glove of the electress in his hat, he swore he would either die or re-establish

*Fredric* in his dominions. He used to threaten the peasants with mutilation, in order to prevent their revolting, and tell them by way of raillery, that a countryman who was born for the plough, ought to be contented with one natural hand and foot, and supply the other with wood (1).

(1) *Heiff. l. 3. c. 9. Burgoldens, part 1. disc. 1. p. 80.*



Mansfeld  
gains an ad-  
vantage over  
count Tilly,

who in his  
turn defeats  
the marquis of  
Baden-Dour-  
lach.

The archduke  
Leopold is  
routed by  
Mansfeld.

The duke of  
Brunswick is  
entirely defeat-  
ed by Tilly.

having disposed his artillery, detached some squadrons to skirmish with the enemy, before whom they pretended to fly. Tilly fell into the snare; for, having pursued them as far as *Mingelheim*, Mansfeld appeared upon their flank, plied them with his artillery, and attacked them with such fury, that they were utterly defeated, with the loss of two thousand men, and all their baggage<sup>a</sup>.

THE marquis of *Baden Dourlach* no sooner received the news of this victory, than, believing this was a proper opportunity to signalize himself, he, instead of joining Mansfeld, according to the advice and desire of *Frederic*, marched directly to Tilly; who had by this time posted himself between *Vimpfen* and *Heilbron*, and was reinforced by some *Spanish* regiments under the command of *Gonçales de Cordova*: for Mansfeld had given him time to rally his troops, by undertaking the siege of *Lademburg*. The *Bavarian* general did not decline the engagement, which began with equal fury on both sides, and at first the marquis had some advantage; but at length Tilly, after having sustained several repulses, broke his main body, and gained a complete victory over the marquis, who lost all his cannon and baggage, together with two thousand men, and with great difficulty escaped to Mansfeld with a small party of horse<sup>b</sup>.

THE count was still employed in the siege of *Lademburg*, which he at last took by assault, and put all the garrison to the sword: then, leaving the elector to repair the works, he re-passed the *Rhine*, in order to relieve *Hagenau*, which was invested by the archduke *Leopold*. Having advanced as far as *Frankendal*, he surprised and cut to pieces a detachment of a thousand men; and this success filled the archduke's army with such terror and consternation, that all his efforts were insufficient to detain one foldier; so that he was obliged to abandon his artillery, provisions, and ammunition: two thousand of his men were slaughtered in their retreat towards *Dresenheim*; the rest of his army fled to *Dachstein*, *Molsheim*, and *Saverne*; and the considerable magazines which *Leopold* had prepared at *Bischwiller*, fell into the hands of the elector. Mansfeld, having performed this exploit, crossed the *Rhine* again; and, being joined by *Frederic* and the marquis of *Baden*, marched with an army of twenty thousand men into the country of *Darmstadt*, which was abandoned to plunder, the landgrave himself being defeated and taken prisoner. But their progress was soon checked by Tilly, who, being reinforced, advanced with his light cavalry, and, attacking their rear, obliged them to retreat with great loss into the forest of *Lorche*; from whence they repaired to the *Palatinate* in great disorder, being altogether destitute of money and provisions<sup>c</sup>.

FREDÉRIC, having now no other resource, wrote to the duke of *Brunswick* to come and join him with his troops. That prince had ravaged the whole country situated upon the river *Lippe*: being supported by the *Dutch*, he had taken several towns in the territory of *Paderborn*, and fortified himself in *Lippstadt*, where he had fixed his head-quarters. Here, however, he was in danger of being cooped up by *Anhalt*, reinforced with ten thousand men from the *Low Countries*, had not the states of *Holland* made a diversion in his favour, by assembling all their troops at *Nimeguen*; in consequence of which, the arch-dutche's was fain to recal the *Spaniards*: so that *Christiern* was ready to take the field again, when he received the elector's orders<sup>d</sup>.

He accordingly began his march, levying contributions and plundering the country through which he passed. Having traversed the territory of *Cassel*, and the circle of the *Upper Rhine*, he advanced towards *Frankfort* upon the *Maine*, while Tilly and *Gonçales* waited for him at *Hanau*: but the duke, changing his route, marched to *Urfel*, where he employed his men in building a bridge over the river; and Tilly, passing it at *Aschaffenburg*, approached him in order of battle. *Christiern* was not backward to engage, and the fight was for a long time maintained with equal courage on both sides; but the issue was fatal to the duke, who was intirely defeated, and found great difficulty in escaping with five troops of horse to *Bensfeld*, whither the count of Mansfeld had advanced to join his forces<sup>e</sup>.

THIS defeat gave the finishing stroke to the party of *Frederic*, who, at the solicitation of the elector of *Saxony* and *Maurice* prince of *Hesse*, set at liberty the landgrave of *Darmstadt*. The marquis of *Dourlach*, disheartened at so many disasters, disbanded his troops and retired to *Hocheberg*; while the elector, Mansfeld, and *Christiern*, retreating into *Lower Alsace*, were hospitably received, and supplied with all necessaries, by the city of *Strasbourg*, which had been always attached to the Protestant cause.

ALL these successes could not dispel the disquiet of *Ferdinand*, who still dreaded a reverse of fortune while Mansfeld and *Brunswick* were in the service of the count palatine. As he suspected that several princes of *Germany* waited only for a favourable opportunity to espouse the cause of his antagonist, and that the kings of *England* and *Denmark* might at length engage heartily in the elector's interest, he durst not put in execution the design he had form-

<sup>a</sup> PEASEC. p. 357.

<sup>b</sup> HERS. l. 3. c. 9.

<sup>c</sup> PEASEC. p. 117.

<sup>d</sup> Mercur. Gallo-Belg. p. 37.



- a ed of transferring the palatine electorate to the ducal house of *Bavaria*. In answer to the solicitations that were daily made in behalf of *Frederic*, he continually declared, that the palatine could expect no favour while he retained in his service proscribed partizans, who laid waste whole provinces, in contempt of the laws and constitutions of the empire; but that, if he would dismiss *Christiern* and *Mansfeld*, the emperor would pay proper regard to the mediation of *England* and *Denmark*. Trusting to this declaration, the unhappy elector complied with the advice of his father-in-law; and, in an evil hour, depriving himself of these two enterprising and indefatigable officers, retired to *Sedan*, the residence of his uncle the marechal *de Bouillon*. This was the most imprudent step he had ever taken, and diametrically opposite to the policy of all princes, who, in order to facilitate a peace, never fail to increase their preparations for war.

- b c WHILE *Frederick* in this manner contributed to the ruin of his own affairs, count *Tilly* finished the conquest of the *Palatinate* by the reduction of *Heidelberg* and *Manheim*, from whence the famous library of the elector was sent to the duke of *Bavaria*, who kept part of the books for his own use, and made a present of the rest to the vatican at *Rome* <sup>a</sup>. At the same time the archduke *Leopold*, having taken *Brisac*, passed the *Rhine*, made himself master of *Hagenau*, *Landaw*, and *Weissenburg*, re-established the bishop of *Spire*, took *Germerheim*, which he abandoned to plunder; then repassing the river, executed the sentence of the *Aulic* council in favour of *William* marquis of *Bade-Baden*; who was no sooner settled in his dominions, the possession of which had been disputed by *George-Frederic*, than he restored the Catholic religion in the marquisate of *Baden*, from whence it had been long exiled. *Worms*, *Landaw*, and the other cities which had favoured the elector-palatine, now received Imperial garrisons; the revolution became general, *Frankendal* alone being spared out of complaisance for the governors of the *Low Countries*, who thought such an instance of lenity might forward the peace.

Count Tilly finishes the conquest of the Palatinate.

- d e f DURING these transactions, *Mansfeld* and the duke of *Brunswick* marched towards *Lorrain*, at the head of an army consisting of ten thousand foot and eight thousand horse, with fourteen pieces of cannon, and passing the *Moselle*, encamped above *Metz*, in order to deliberate upon their next expedition. While they continued in this situation, *Mansfeld* was solicited to enter into the service of the king of *France*; but his terms were so high, that *Lewis XIII.* did not think proper to comply with them, and the negotiation being broke off, the count continued his route to the neighbourhood of *Sedan*, where the duke *de Bouillon*, chief of the *French Calvinists*, employed all his address in persuading him to take the command of that party, which was then upon the decline: the emperor dreading his return into *Germany*, attempted to buy his friendship with a pension and considerable presents; the archduchess fearing he would fall upon *Luxemburg*, sent very advantageous proposals to him, on the part of the king of *Spain*; the king of *England* made the most pressing instances to dissuade him from abandoning the elector-palatine; the states of *Holland* courted his assistance in raising the siege of *Berg*; and finally, the *Venetians* essayed to engage him in their interests, promising to invest him with the command of their army: so that this single man, without either country or habitation, money, or allies, was, at one time, equally feared and flattered by all the chief powers of *Europe* <sup>b</sup>. He resisted, however, all these tempting offers, and resolved to penetrate into *France*, in order to support the reformed of that kingdom; but *Gonçales* having passed the *Rhine* to protect *Luxemburg*, joined the duke *de Nevers*, who had raised some troops in order to oppose the count and the duke of *Brunswick*, and following them into *Thierache*, a battle ensued, in which *Mansfeld* was intirely defeated, after having left five thousand killed and wounded upon the field. The *Spaniards* pursued the fugitives, of whom they slew a great number, and took abundance of prisoners, with the whole baggage and artillery: yet notwithstanding this discomfiture, in which the duke of *Brunswick* lost an arm, *Mansfeld*, with the troops which he could rally, marched with great expedition to the assistance of the *Dutch*, and actually compelled *Spinola* to raise the siege of *Bergen-op-Zoom*.

Mansfeld is put to flight by Gonçales and the duke de Nevers.

*MANSFELD* being thus disabled from giving *Ferdinand* any further disturbance, the Imperialists made themselves masters of *Glatz*; which was the last place in *Bohemia* that held out for the elector-palatine; and that kingdom being wholly reduced, the emperor published a second edict for apprehending those who were proscribed, and for prosecuting such rebels as had not yet been tried: some of these having consulted their safety in flight, were found guilty of treason, outlawed, and their effects were confiscated for the use of the emperor. Others, who stood their trial, were condemned to death; but the emperor changed their punishment into perpetual imprisonment. These measures being taken, *Ferdinand* declared, that for the future there should be none but Catholic magistrates through all his hereditary dominions; and this resolution was signified to the governor of *Prague* by the

The emperor expels the Protestants from Prague.

<sup>a</sup> SPANHEIM Memoires, p. 261.

<sup>b</sup> Mercur. Franc. t. viii. l' An. 1622.



prince *de Liechtenstein*, viceroy of *Bohemia*, who likewise, by the emperor's order, gave notice that all the ministers of the *Augsburg* confession should leave the city in four hours, and be for ever exiled from the hereditary countries. In consequence of this mandate the Protestant churches were shut up, and the administration of the university vested in the jesuits, notwithstanding the remonstrances of the elector of *Saxony*, protector of the *Augsburg* confession, who, in letters to the prince of *Liechtenstein*, and the elector of *Mentz*, complained of these alterations. Besides these, the emperor had resolved to make other regulations, about which he was desirous of consulting the electors and princes of the empire<sup>c</sup>; for which purpose he summoned a diet to meet at *Ratisbon*, where, however, he took care that a majority of his own friends should be present; for his chief design was to transfer the palatine electorate to the person of *Maximilian* duke of *Bavaria*. Accordingly the diet was no sooner opened, than the emperor made a long detail of *Frederic's* crimes and misconduct, for which he had been proscribed and deprived of the electoral dignity, which, by the law called *Commissorial*, having devolved to his Imperial majesty, he now, from the plenitude of his power, transferred it to the person of *Maximilian* duke of *Bavaria*, in consideration of that prince's great services during the late war<sup>d</sup>.

A. D. 1623.

The duke of  
Neuburg's re-  
monstrances.

THIS proposal met with great opposition from the *Spaniards*, who were by no means inclined to aggrandize the house of *Bavaria*, the ancient rival of the *Austrian* family, or to disoblige the king of *England*, with whom they were at that time heartily disposed to enter into alliance, by concluding the marriage of the infanta with the prince of *Wales*. As for the electors and other princes, they were differently swayed by their different motives and views of interest. The archbishop of *Mentz*, who had been long an inveterate enemy of the palatine, eagerly wished for the *Bergstræß*: the elector of *Cologne* of course favoured his brother the duke of *Bavaria*: the archbishop of *Triers* being *Frederic's* professed enemy, desired nothing so much as to see him intirely deprived of his dominions, and to obtain some portion of the spoil: the archbishop of *Saltzburg*, whose country lay between the emperor and the duke of *Bavaria*, durst not disoblige such powerful neighbours: the landgrave of *Darmstadt* wanted an opportunity to secure the favour of *Ferdinand*, who was to judge in his dispute about *Marpurg*; and the elector of *Saxony* being incensed against the emperor, for having expelled the Protestants from *Bohemia*, would not be present at the diet; but he and the elector of *Brandenburg* sent thither deputies to declare, that they would never consent to the intended investiture of the duke of *Bavaria*. *Wolfgang-William*, duke of *Neuburg*, loudly complained, that, contrary to the disposition of the golden bull, a distant relation should succeed to the inheritance of a criminal, to the prejudice of the nearest kinsmen, who were innocent; and, in his answer to the emperor's proposal, observed, that although the elector-palatine might have deserved such punishment as *Ferdinand* meant to inflict, the manner of proceeding against him, appeared unlawful, as he had neither been legally summoned, tried, nor condemned; and, as in causes of the least importance, according to the capitulation which his Imperial majesty had sworn to observe, and which was deemed a fundamental law of the empire, the accused is always judged by his peers; it was highly reasonable, that in cases of great consequence, the same rule should be obeyed. Besides, to transfer the electorate to the duke of *Bavaria*, in prejudice of the palatine's children, brother, and nearest kinsmen, who had given no cause of offence to the emperor, would be an unjust violation of the laws of the empire, and the custom always observed on such occasions, and introduce an innovation destructive to the fundamentals of electoral succession (A).

As these arguments had no weight with the emperor, the duke composed a second remonstrance, in which he solemnly appealed to his Imperial majesty's paternal clemency and patriotism, and represented, that the intended translation would infallibly prove a source of jealousy and distrust between the chief and the members of the empire, and sow the seeds of another cruel war, as the kings and princes, allies and relations of the palatine house, would certainly use their utmost efforts in the maintenance of its rights and pretensions<sup>e</sup>.

The emperor  
confers the  
electoral dig-  
nity upon Ma-  
ximilian duke  
of Bavaria.

THE emperor, notwithstanding such exhortations, continued inflexibly attached to his purpose and promise, and foreseeing that his proposal would be sanctioned by a majority of suffrages, he solemnly conferred the electoral dignity on *Maximilian* duke of *Bavaria*; but at the same time promised to convoke another diet, in which the rights and pretensions of the palatine's children and relations should be examined and regulated, either by accom-

<sup>c</sup> KHEVENHULLER, t. x. p. 11.  
Gallo-Belg. t. xiv. l. 3.

<sup>d</sup> PIASEC. p. 359.

<sup>e</sup> HEISS. de L'Empire, l. 3. c. 9.

<sup>f</sup> Mercur.

(A) While *Ferdinand* was employed in answering this remonstrance, the ambassadors of the king of *Denmark*, the elector of *Brandenburg*, the dukes of *Brunswick*, *Holftein*, and *Mecklenburg*, with the deputies of the hanse-towns of *Bremen*, *Hamburg*, *Lubeck*, and *Lunenburg*,

held an assembly in *Lower Saxony*, and engaged in an association for the defence of that province; and *Christiern* duke of *Brunswick-Halberstadt*, was created captain-general of the army of the confederates.



a modulation or form of law. Then the duke of *Bavaria* was brought into the assembly, and kneeling by the emperor, from whose hands having received the electoral cap and mantle, he took the usual oath upon the evangelists<sup>1</sup>; but the deputies of *Saxony* and *Brandenburg*, the duke of *Neuburg*, and the *Spanish* ambassador, refused to assist at this investiture. The new elector was put in possession of all the *Upper Palatinate*, except the bailiwicks of *Barekstein* and *Weidem*, which were reserved for the duke of *Neuburg*; and at that time these benefits were limited to the person of *Maximilian*, after whose death the natural succession should take place: but the prosperity of *Ferdinand*, upon whom fortune smiled from every quarter, soon inspired him with other ideas. Perceiving *Frederic* and his party utterly abased, he divided his spoils at pleasure. He gave to *Maximilian* that part of the *Lower Palatinate*, which

b is on the farther side of the *Rhine*, in exchange for *Upper Austria*, which had been mortgaged to him for one hundred and fifty thousand rix-dollars: to the king of *Spain* he abandoned the rest of the *Lower-Palatinate*, except the bailiage of *Germerheim*, with its dependencies, which he bestowed upon his son the archduke *Leopold-William*, bishop of *Strasburg*: the landgrave of *Darmstadt* was presented with the bailiwicks of *Ursberg* and *Umstadt*. The archbishop of *Mentz* regained possession of what the palatine held in the *Bergstraß* by mortgage from his bishopric; and the bishops of *Worms* and *Spire*, together with the grand master of the *Teutonic* order, as neighbours, were not forgotten in this general distribution.

and divides the spoils of *Frederic* among his favourites.

THE king of *England*, seeing his son-in-law stripped of his electorate, began to wake from his infatuation, and resume the negotiations which had been interrupted. The city

c of *Frankendal* had been last year invested by count *Tilly*, who was obliged to raise the siege on account of the rigorous season; but *Gonçales* intended to open the trenches before it in the beginning of the next campaign. *James*, therefore, concluded a truce for eighteen months with the king of *Spain*, and the archduchess's governess of *Flanders*, in whose hands *Frankendal* should be sequestered during that period, on condition, that if a reconciliation between the emperor and the palatine could not be effected before the expiration of the truce, the town should be restored in the same condition in which the *Spaniards* had received it.

ABOUT this time the Imperial court determined the dispute between *Maurice* landgrave of *Hesse Cassel*, and *Lewis* landgrave of *Darmstadt*, touching the succession of *Lewis the Old*, landgrave of *Marpurg*: by the decree *Maurice* was commanded to restore to *Lewis* the

d whole inheritance in one and twenty days: and the vassals of the county of *Marpurg* were absolved of the oaths they had taken to the landgrave of *Hesse Cassel*. Immediately after this decision, *Ferdinand* being informed that the zeal with which the elector of *Saxony* had declared for the Protestants, was no other than a pretext to cover a grudge he had conceived against the emperor, who had not reimbursed him for the money he had expended during the war in *Lusatia*: *Ferdinand*, I say, being apprised of this motive, promised to indemnify him according to his own desire, provided he would abandon the party of the Evangelics, and unite himself to the house of *Austria*; and they concluded an agreement, in which it was stipulated that the elector should enjoy the revenues of *Lusatia*, until he should be entirely reimbursed for the expences of the war; for it was not till thirteen years after this

e agreement, that it was settled upon him intail male, by a treaty concluded at *Gorlitz* &c.

An accommodation is effected between the emperor and elector of *Saxony*.

IN the mean time the states of *Lower Saxony* being assembled at *Lunenbourg*, the Imperial commissaries repaired to that meeting, and demanded that the duke of *Brunswick-Halberstadt*, should either be obliged to accept of the amnesty which the emperor had offered, or quit the frontiers of that province. In compliance with this demand, the states, who dreaded that their circle should become the seat of war, ordered the duke to retire without delay, on pain of being treated as an enemy; and he accordingly decamped, in order to join *Mansfeld*, who was still in *Friesland*. Count *Tilly* being informed of his departure, and joined by the troops of *Anbalt*, began his march, in order to pursue *Christian*, whom he overtook between *Abaus* and *Statlo*, and defeated, after an obstinate engagement, in which

f four thousand of the *Halberstadians* were slain. The duke himself, and the young count *de la Tour*, though wounded in the battle, escaped to *Besfort* with the wreck of their army, which amounted to ten thousand effective men, six thousand of which were taken into the service of the states, and the rest disbanded<sup>2</sup>. *Mansfeld* having received the news of this overthrow, abandoned *Meppen*, in *Westphalia*, which was garrisoned by count *Tilly*, who having joined the *Spanish* army, advanced into the county of *Embsen*, and the states-general being alarmed at this march, ordered prince *Henry* of *Nassau*, and count *Casimir* to take the field. *Mansfeld* intrenched himself between the towns of *Embsen* and *Meppen*, where he resolved to wait for the *Austrian* army; but *Tilly* seeing him posted to great advantage, would not venture to attack his lines, and returned to *Westphalia*, leaving orders with the

g count *de Ridberg* to besiege *Lipstadt*, which was obliged to surrender on capitulation, after *Mansfeld* had made several fruitless attempts to succour the besieged<sup>3</sup>.

The duke of *Brunswick* is again defeated by count *Tilly*.

<sup>1</sup> BARRE Hist. d'Allemagne, t. ix. p. 547.

<sup>2</sup> KHEVENHULLER, t. x. p. 188.

<sup>3</sup> BELLUS. l. 7.



Conditions of  
peace proposed  
by the emperor,  
and rejected.

WHILE the partizans of each side exerted themselves in this manner, the emperor's commissaries invested with the power of treating of an accommodation, imparted to the king of England, the conditions on which *Ferdinand* was content to make peace with the palatine. Provided the count would comply with the submission which was proposed, the emperor promised a full and intire restitution of his dominions in the person of his eldest son, for whom *Frederic* should act as administrator during life: that after the death of the duke of *Bavaria*, the dignity of elector should be restored to the palatine house, and the young prince married to one of *Ferdinand's* daughters. *James* exhorted his son-in-law to accept of these offers; but *Frederic*, considering them as vague proposals, absolutely refused to submit, unless the emperor would give proper security for the performance.

A treaty is  
concluded be-  
tween the  
elector of  
Brandenburg  
and duke of  
Neuburg.

ALL Europe was at that time attentive to the designs of the house of *Austria*. *Spinola* marched into *Brabant*, at the head of thirty thousand men, and the count *de Berg* commanded another body of ten thousand in the country of *Cleves*; while the states-general, being inferior in point of force, were obliged to act upon the defensive. *Maurice* prince of *Orange* observed *Spinola's* motions with an army of sixteen thousand men, and his brother prince *Frederic-Henry* covered the dutchy of *Cleves* with half that number. This province, together with the country of *Juliers* and *Bergue* being desolated by the war, sent deputies to the governor of *Emeric*, giving him to understand that they could no longer furnish provisions for the troops of the states-general; and, on the other hand, the elector of *Brandenburg*, and the prince of *Neuburg*, being moved with compassion for the miseries which these dominions suffered from foreign troops, resolved to take measures for redressing their grievances, and actually concluded a treaty on the subject of the succession; by which they agreed, that the dutchy of *Cleves*, with the counties of *La Marck*, *Ravensburg*, and *Ravensstein*, should fall to the share of the elector; and that the duke should enjoy the dutchies of *Juliers* and *Bergue*: but this transaction could not take effect without the approbation of the archdutchess governess of the *Low Countries*, and the confirmation of the states-general, who started so many difficulties as entirely frustrated the purpose of the whole<sup>k</sup>.

Gabor is de-  
feated by the  
Imperialists.

By this time *Hungary* underwent fresh disturbances from the incursions of *Bethleem Gabor*, who having broke the treaty of peace which had been signed at *Clausenburg*, surprised several places in that kingdom, and began to commit devastations, when his progress was stopped by the Imperial general, who defeated him in an engagement, which was renewed three days successively, and compelled him to take refuge in *Cassovia*, where, schooled by his miscarriage, he proposed a truce, during which another treaty of peace was concluded at *Vienna*, importing, that *Gabor* should renounce all pretensions to the title of king of *Hungary*, deliver the seals into the hands of the emperor, and never afford the least assistance to the enemies of the *Austrian* house: in consideration of which concessions, *Ferdinand* should put him in possession of the lordships of *Zatmar*, *Zabolar*, *Ugochi*, *Berochi*, the dutchies of *Ratibor* and *Oppelen* in *Silesia*, with their jurisdictions, revenues, and domains, on condition that the judges and officers of these cities should take an oath to do nothing to the prejudice of his Imperial majesty and his successors<sup>l</sup>. The partizans of the elector-palatine loudly complained of this accommodation, by which *Ferdinand* bestowed upon the prince of *Transylvania* a tract of country fifty leagues in length, and five and twenty in breadth, while he stripped an elector of the empire of his dignity and dominions: but these complaints, though joined with menaces, could neither hinder the execution of the treaty, nor even retard the measures that were taken in favour of the elector of *Bavaria*; for the emperor, in an assembly of the states which he had convened at *Stenningen*, in the county of *Henneberg*, admitted the duke into the electoral college, with the consent of the members, notwithstanding the remonstrances that were made by the ambassadors of those princes who espoused the interests of *Frederic*, and the solicitations of his children, who protested against the destitution of their father<sup>m</sup>.

A. D. 1625.  
Christian the  
fourth king of  
Denmark acts  
against the  
emperor.

THE king of *England* finding himself at length a dupe to the *Spaniards*, listened to the proposals of *Mansfeld*, who promised to make a diversion in the *Spanish* dominions, while the allies of *Frederic* might enter the *Palatinate* with a powerful army. He supplied the count with some money to levy troops, and solicited *Christian* the fourth, king of *Denmark*, to take arms against the emperor, in order to favour the project he had formed of re-establishing by force, the elector-palatine in his dignities and dominions. He likewise engaged in the same undertaking all the princes and states of *Lower Saxony*, except the duke of *Luneburg*; and they elected his *Danish* majesty captain-general of their circle, in the room of the duke of *Brunswick*, who had resigned. While this new general was employed in raising forces, on pretence of defending the country from the ravages committed by the soldiers and garrisons of count *Tilly*, the circle of *Lower Saxony* assembled at *Brunswic*, sent letters to the princes and states of *Upper Saxony*, in which, after having drawn a pathetic pic-

<sup>k</sup> BARRE Hist. d'Allemagne, t. ix. p. 550.  
Boic. gent. part 3. l. 9. p. 122.

<sup>l</sup> DUMONT. t. v. part 2, p. 444.

<sup>m</sup> ADLZREITTER ann.



a ture of the miseries attending the intestine troubles of the empire, they solicited their assistance, and proposed an union for their common defence, as well as for the preservation of their religion and tranquillity<sup>a</sup>.

b THIS address served as a manifesto to the ensuing war. The *Wefer*, which separates *Lower Saxony* from *Westphalia*, was the rendezvous of four great armies that marched thither from different parts. The king of *Denmark* fixed his quarters in the neighbourhood of *Bremen*, where he was joined by *Mansfeld* and the duke of *Brunswick Halberstadt*, who had come to him through *Westphalia*; while count *Tilly* hastened to the same place through *Hesse*, and the baron of *Walstein*, lately created duke of *Fridland*, took his route thro' *Suabia*, in order to reinforce that general, who, advancing to the banks of the *Wefer*, took several places depending upon the dutchy of *Brunswick*, which having garrisoned, he undertook the siege of *Nienburg*: but the king of *Denmark* found means to introduce colonel *Limbac* into the place, and that officer took such measures as disconcerted those of *Tilly*. The count employed all his address in bringing *Christian* to a battle; but that prince knowing how far he could depend upon his army, which was composed of new levies, resolved to be upon the defensive, and fortify his camp, until he should accustom his troops to service, by sending out detachments to intercept the convoys of the enemy. Mean while, he animated his soldiers by his own example; he worked in person at the intrenchments, and visited the lines twice a day, until he chanced to be thrown from his horse, and dangerously wounded in the head. *Tilly*, being informed of this accident, spread a report of his death, which encouraged his men to make new efforts at the siege of *Nienburg*; but they were soon undeceived in this particular by the recovery of his *Danish* majesty, who, in a little time, reappeared in the midst of his troops, and resumed his operations in order to retard their progress. *Tilly* finding his army in great want of provision, and foreseeing that he should not be able to continue long in his present situation, resolved to hazard one dangerous step by giving a general assault. Accordingly every circumstance was regulated for that purpose, and the attacks were carried on with great fury and perseverance; notwithstanding which, the Imperialists being repulsed with great loss, abandoned their enterprize, and retired into the county of *Schawemburg*, after having lost part of their rear, which was cut to pieces by the *Danish* horse<sup>b</sup>. Here, however, *Tilly* made himself master of *Calemburg* upon the river *Glein*; by which conquest he was enabled to extend himself into the bishopric of *Hildesheim*, and the duchy of *Brunswick*, which he laid under contribution.

Is joined by Mansfeld and the duke of Brunswick.

Tilly is obliged to desist from the siege of Nienburg.

c THESE two armies were not more eager in their operations of war, than the elector of *Saxony* in his negotiations for peace. In consequence of his interposition, conferences were held at *Brunswick* and at *Ulm*; but nothing was concluded at either of these assemblies, because they could not agree about the indemnification which the Imperialists demanded for the ravages committed by *Frederic's* allies; and neither side would be the first to lay down their arms. While they disputed upon these points at *Brunswick*, the king of *Denmark* repaired to an assembly which he had summoned to meet at *Wessel*, in *Holstein*, where he obtained a considerable subsidy for the maintenance of his troops; and by an ordinance prohibited all *Spanish* vessels, or such as belonged to the provinces subject to that crown, from entering the *Sund*.

d JAMES the first, king of *England*, being dead, and his son *Charles* too much involved in disputes with his own parliament to interest himself in the cause of his brother-in-law, all the hopes of this unfortunate prince now centered in the friendship of his *Danish* majesty, and the assistance of the states of *Lower Saxony*. The zeal of these last prompted them to recommence hostilities in his favour, even before the end of winter; for in the month of *February*, the administrator of *Magdeburg*, putting himself at the head of his troops, attacked *Walstein*, from whom he met with such a warm reception, that in less than a quarter of an hour his forces were entirely routed, and fled with such precipitation, that the victors found upon the field of battle five thousand and three hundred loaded musquets, which had never been discharged. This disgrace, however, was in some measure repaired by the duke of *Brunswick-Halberstadt*, who cut in pieces five hundred Imperial *Croats*, whom he surprised in their quarters.

A. D. 1626. The administrator of Magdeburg is routed by Walstein.

e THE *Austrian* generals wished for nothing so much as for a general engagement, which was carefully avoided by the king of *Denmark*, who would not risque his best soldiers upon such a precarious issue; but divided his army into three bodies, in order to carry on the war in so many different places at the same time, and to oblige the *Austrians* in like manner to separate their forces. So far he succeeded; but the event did not answer his expectation<sup>c</sup>. Having marched with the bulk of his army through *Brunswick*, he entered the bishopric of *Hildesheim*, where he took and garrisoned several places: then he detached the duke of *Weimar* to make an attempt upon *Osnabrug*, which he carried by escalade, and ex-

Christian divides his army.

<sup>a</sup> LUDOLPH. t. iii. p. 839.

<sup>b</sup> BELLUS, l. 9. p. 921.

<sup>c</sup> KHEVENHULLER, t. x. p. 526.



acted a considerable sum of the clergy : he afterwards reduced all the towns of that diocese, and might have opened to the king a road to the *Palatinate* through the bishopric of *Munster*, had not his progress been stopped by a large present from the inhabitants; in consequence of which he contented himself with the conquest he had already made, and his eldest son being elected coadjutor of *Osnabrug*, he returned as he came, and rejoined his *Danish* majesty. That monarch had set out from the banks of the *Elbe*, towards *Wolfembutte*, in order to check the progress of *Tilly*; but he amused himself by the way, in besieging *Hottensleben*, and some other places; so that *Tilly* had leisure to carry on his works before *Gottingen*, which accordingly surrendered upon capitulation.

and is defeated by Tilly.

Death of the duke of Brunswick Halberstadt.

AFTER this success he marched towards *Northheim*, which he intended to invest; but the place was supplied with a strong reinforcement of troops, provision, and ammunition, by the king of *Denmark*, who was now employed in the siege of *Duderstadt*; so that seeing it would be impracticable to reduce the place, he resolved to baffle the present purpose of his *Danish* majesty, whom he obliged to hazard a general action, in which that monarch was defeated (B), and compelled to fly into *Holstein*, with part of his cavalry. Perhaps this overthrow was not more fatal to the interests of *Frederic*, than the loss of two great officers, who died in the course of this year. On the sixth day of *May*, *Christian* duke of *Brunswick-Halberstadt* expired at *Wolfembutte* (C), leaving behind him the character of a very brave and enterprising commander; though the impetuosity of his temper very often deprived him of that reflection and forecast, which are requisite in forming plans of importance: in this particular, however, he might have been improved by age and experience. He was lavish of his fortune; but as he squandered his own without restraint, so he used that of other people without scruple.

Mansfeld marches into Hungary.

*MANSFELD*, with part of the army, had been defeated by *Walstein* at *Dessau*; but far from being disheartened by his misfortune, he, in his retreat towards *Silesia*, reassembled such a number of soldiers, that in a little time he took the field again with five and twenty thousand men; and after having surmounted a number of obstacles in his march, arrived in *Hungary*, with a view to join *Bethleem Gabor*, who had again broke with the emperor. *Walstein* duke of *Fridland*, had pursued and harrassed him all the way; and now that they were divided by the *Wag*, resolved to cross that river, and attack him before he should be reinforced; but this design was frustrated by the expedition of the Protestant army, and *Gabor*, who joined *Mansfeld*, with a good number of forces, while the pacha of *Buda* advanced with another body to favour their operations. While the two armies watched the motions of each other, they were daily diminished by the distempers produced from the autumn rains, which occasioned such a mortality, that both camps looked like burying places for the dead, and hospitals for the living. *Mansfeld* was extremely afflicted when he saw his army melt away in such a manner; and his chagrin was not a little augmented, when he understood that the *Hungarian* malcontents had accepted an amnesty from the emperor; that *Gabor* negotiated another treaty with the house of *Austria*; and that the pacha of *Buda* was on the eve of concluding an accommodation with the same power. Mortified by these articles of intelligence, and despairing of being able to retrieve the affairs of *Frederic*, he left the remains of his army with *Gabor*, and, accompanied by twelve officers, set out from *Gran*, though he was then afflicted with a slow fever. When he had crossed *Servia* and *Bosnia*, his malady increased to such a degree, that he was obliged to halt in a village near *Zara* in *Dalmatia*, where, perceiving his end approaching, he recollected his spirits, and having exhorted his followers in a pathetic harangue to spend their best blood in defending the liberty of their country, he died with the courage and sentiments of an ancient hero (D).

Nienburg is succoured by the king of Denmark.

*HUNGARY* being thus again reduced to obedience, the Imperialists under *Tilly*, returned to the siege of *Nienburg*; and the king of *Denmark*, dreading the loss of such an important

<sup>a</sup> STRUV. per. 10. sect. 8. p. 2091.  
<sup>c</sup> KHEVENHULLER, t. x. p. 1242.

<sup>r</sup> HEISS, Hist. L'Empire, l. 3. c. 9.  
<sup>u</sup> LONDORP. l. 6 num. 23, &c.

<sup>s</sup> BARRE, t. ix. p. 564.

(B) *Philip* landgrave of *Hesse*, and many general officers, were slain in this action, which happened on the seventh of *August* 1626: a great number were taken prisoners, together with two thousand men, who had retired to the castle of *Lutber*; and above five thousand *Danes* were left dead upon the spot (1).

(C) He was first cousin to the electress-palatine by his mother, who was sister to the king of *Denmark*; and his consanguinity was one motive for his engaging in the cause of the count palatine (2).

(D) He was natural son of *Peter Ernest de Mansfeld*, governor of *Luxemburg*; and, being legitimated, was educated at the court of *Brussels*, under the eye of his godfather the archduke *Ernest*. In his youth he served the king of *Spain* in the *Low Countries*, and the emperor

or in *Hungary*; but being refused a vacant government which he demanded, he quitted the court of *Rodolphus*, and espoused the Protestant cause. He was one of the greatest captains that *Germany* ever produced; intrepid, indefatigable, cool in the heat of action, prudent in deliberation, and a hero in misfortune: he could wonderfully accommodate himself to time, place, and circumstance, and find new resources when his friends were in despair. He had acquired such an empire over his passions, that being once informed of the treachery of *Cazcl*, his confidant, who disclosed his designs to the count *de Buquoy*, he gave him three hundred rix-dollars, with a recommendation to *Buquoy* in these terms: "Cazcl being more in your interest than in mine, I send him to you that you may profit by his service." At an-

(1) *Barre Hist. d'Allemagne*, t. ix. p. 559.

(2) *Id. ibid.*



- a portant place, exerted all his vigilance and address in supplying it with fresh succours, which infused new courage in the besieged, who defended themselves with the most obstinate valour. He not only provided for the safety of this town, but having received auxiliaries from *France* and *Holland*, formed an army of four and twenty thousand foot, and fifteen thousand horse. These he divided into three bodies, one of which he sent into the bishopric of *Bremen*, another he detached into the island of *Stilborn*, and the third was employed in fortifying the town of *Arheim* \*. On the side of the Imperialists, *George* duke of *Lunenbourg* took *Plaga*, which was abandoned to plunder, while *Tilly* made preparations for prosecuting his victories, as soon as he should be joined by the troops of *Rodolphus Maximilian*, duke of *Saxony*. In order to defeat the designs of this general, the administrator of *Magdeburg* marched at the head of sixteen thousand men, and was followed by the bulk of the *Danish* army towards the bridge of *Dessau*, to hinder the count from passing the *Elbe*; but notwithstanding all his endeavours, the *Austrians* built a new bridge, and crossing that river took *Brandenburg* and several other places, while the king of *Denmark* intrenched himself near *Wefer*. Thus situated, both armies harrassed each other with frequent skirmishes, in which neither side gained any considerable advantage, until *George* duke of *Lunenbourg*, after having seized several posts in the electorate of *Brandenburg*, on pretence of hampering the *Danes*, at length entered the duchy of *Holstein*, in order to make a diversion in favour of count *Tilly*. Nor was this expedient ineffectual. The king of *Denmark* sent thither twelve thousand men, draughted from his army, to oppose the duke; so that *Tilly* was enabled to send one half of his troops to *Hoja*, while the other continued the siege of *Northheim*, under the command of the count *de Furstemberg*, who, at first refused to grant a capitulation; but after having lost abundance of men in three unsuccessful assaults, he, of his own accord, proposed favourable conditions, which were accepted by the garrison, which marched out with all the honours of war.

At the same time the town of *Havelberg*, and the fort near *Ardenburg*, were taken by count *Tilly*, whose conquests were so rapid, that the king of *Denmark* lost some place of importance every day; insomuch, that the duke of *Holstein* fearing his country would become the seat of war, proposed an accommodation to *Tilly*, who dictated the following articles: A. D. 1627. Conditions prescribed by Tilly to the duke of Holstein.

- d " The king of *Denmark* shall lay down his arms, resign his office of general of the circle of *Lower Saxony*, quit all pretensions to the duchy of *Holstein*, and the other fiefs of the empire, which he has forfeited, by rebelling against the emperor, into whose hands he shall deliver the fortresses of *Gluckstadt*, by way of security: he shall reimburse the emperor for the expence of the war, renounce all his claims to the principalities of *Brunswick* and *Lunenbourg* and all other pretensions he may have upon other states and cities of the empire; he shall indemnify the duchies of *Brunswick* and *Lunenbourg* and other states of Germany, for the damage they had sustained from his troops: he shall disengage himself from every confederacy against the house of *Austria*, open the navigation of the *Sound* in conformity with antient treaties, and give sufficient security for the performance of all these articles \*."

- e THE king of *Denmark* having rejected these imperious proposals, *Tilly* pursued his conquests with such expedition, that the *Danes*, intimidated at his success, fortified themselves along the *Elbe*, in the neighbourhood of *Wolfemburg*: even there they were attacked by *Tilly*, and obliged to abandon their intrenchments in the night. Of these having taken possession, he threw a bridge of boats over the *Elbe*, and crossing into *Holstein*, pursued the *Danish* army, which was seized with such consternation, that it abandoned all its forts, and took refuge in the sea-ports of *Holstein* and *Jutland*, leaving *Tilly* at liberty to attack several places, of which he soon made himself master. The king of *Denmark*, who was pursued from place to place, and had retired for safety to *Jutland*, did not find himself secure even in that retreat. Thither he was followed by the Imperialists, who not only defeated a considerable body of his troops, but even compelled them to enter into the service of the emperor. Nor were the affairs of *Lower Saxony* in a more favourable situation. *Nienburg* had at last surrendered after the death of *Limbac*; upon which the states of the duchy of *Brunswick* renounced their confederacy, and had recourse to the clemency of the emperor. The elector of *Brandenburg* published an edict, enjoining all his subjects who were in the service of the king of *Denmark*, to return to their own country, on pain of confiscation and exemplary punishment; and the marquis of *Baden-Dourlach* had made his peace with the emperor, who nominated commissaries to terminate the difference that still subsisted between him and the marquis of *Bade-Baden*. The *Danes* fly before the Imperialists. *Nienburg surrenders*.

\* CARAFA. p. 274.

† BARRE Hist. d'Allemagne, t. ix. p. 569.

‡ LOTYCHIUS, l. 18. c. 3.

LUDOLPH. l. 27. c. 2. n. 30.

other time he said to an apothecary who had undertaken to poison him, " Friend, I can scarce believe that a person whom I have never injured, should be desirous

" of taking my life away; if it was necessity that induced you to undertake the office of assassin, there is money to enable you to live like an honest man." (1)

(1) Mercur. Franc. t. xii. l'An. 1626.



Conditions of  
peace dictated  
by the emperor  
to the count-  
palatine.

WHILE the king of *Denmark* seemed thus overwhelmed by misfortune, *Frederic*, elector a palatine, tired of his exile, intreated the dukes of *Lorrain* and *Wirttemberg* to intercede in his behalf with the emperor; who, being accordingly solicited upon the subject, gave them to understand, that he would receive the count Palatine into favour, on these conditions only: that *Frederic* should ask his pardon, and renounce all pretensions to the crown of *Bohemia*; the duke of *Bavaria* should retain the electoral dignity; that the Catholic religion should be re-established through the whole *Palatinate*; and the count should indemnify the house of *Austria* for the expences of the war. On this occasion, conferences were held at *Colmar* by the ministers of the mediators and the envoys of the elector-palatine; who, being informed of the emperor's proposals, answered, that their master would ask pardon for what was past, and renounce the crown of *Bohemia*; that he and the duke of *Bavaria* should b alternately enjoy the electoral dignity, on condition, that after the duke's decease, it should be intirely vested in him and his heirs; that he could neither in honour or conscience make any change in the established religion of his country; but would permit the monks to remain in two or three monasteries, over which, however, he himself would reserve a jurisdiction; and as to the expence of the war, it would be impossible to defray it, the *Palatinate* being entirely ruined<sup>2</sup>.

The ambition  
of the house of  
*Austria*.

THESE representations were so unsatisfactory to the emperor, that he renounced the negotiation, and resolved to continue the war, in which he was successful, even beyond his own expectation. His victorious arms kept all the princes of *Germany* in awe; and the court of *Vienna* no longer dissembled its design to suppress the Protestant religion, extinguish the liberties of the empire, and render the Imperial crown hereditary in the house of *Austria*. *Walstein* openly declared, that the electors would soon be reduced to the condition of *Spanish* grandees: he and *Tilly* quartered the troops indifferently upon Catholics and Protestants, allowing them to live at discretion, and levying immense contributions. *Leopold* of *Austria*, archduke of *Inspruck*, having resigned the bishoprics of *Strasburg* and *Passau*, together with several other benefices, in order to marry *Claudia de Medicis*, widow of duke *Urbino*, the emperor conferred them upon *William*, one of his own sons, who was afterwards elected bishop of *Halberstadt*, and obtained from the pope bulls for the abbey of *Hereschfeld*, which was possessed by the landgrave of *Hesse*; and, finally, *Ferdinand*, took measures for putting him in possession of the archbishoprics of *Magdeburg* and *Bremen*. These were d ecclesiastical appendages, which *Ferdinand* intended to establish in different parts of *Germany*, as provision for the younger sons of the *Austrian* house<sup>3</sup>.

ALL the princes equally trembled at the projects and power of this emperor, which, in order to circumscribe within proper bounds, the Protestants implored the assistance of *France*, and begged that the young electoral prince palatine might be received into one of the towns of that kingdom. The duke of *Bavaria*, though loaded with the favours of *Ferdinand*, dreaded the consequence of his growing greatness; and privately solicited cardinal *Richelieu* to engage *Lewis* the thirteenth, in defending the princes of the empire from oppression: and, lastly, the elector of *Triers* had well nigh put himself under the protection of *France*, in order to preserve the liberty of his states against the incroachments of the house of *Austria*. The cardinal was not a little embarrassed by these addresses; for the interior commotions of the kingdom, and the war with which it was threatened by *England*, would not permit him to grant powerful assistance to the *German* princes, especially as he had promised to furnish money for the king of *Denmark*, who was not yet disheartened by the misfortunes of his two last campaigns. He therefore contented himself with sending *Marcheville* into *Germany*, in order to dissuade the electors from chusing a king of the *Romans*; and to offer the mediation of *France* for concluding a peace, or at least a suspension of arms. As for the electoral prince palatine, he durst not receive him, lest he should give umbrage to the house of *Austria*, the pope, and the duke of *Bavaria*; though the reason he alledged for his refusal was, that the king could not admit the electoral prince into his dominions, without declaring himself his protector, and consequently traversing the proposals of peace, until he should be re-established in all his rights. All that *Marcheville* could obtain from the states of the empire was to delay the election of a king of the *Romans*; and as the emperor could not prevail upon them to raise his son *Ernest* (already king of *Hungary*) to that dignified station, he consoled himself for the disappointment by placing the crown of *Bohemia* upon his head. Not that there was any previous election by the states of that kingdom, which the house of *Austria* now considered as an indefeasible inheritance: the emperor, by his own authority, commanded them to proceed to the coronation of his son, by which means he strengthened his interest with another voice to be used at the election of a king of the *Romans*<sup>b</sup>.

Ernest is  
crowned king  
of *Bohemia*.

MEAN while, the king of *Denmark* took the duke of *Mecklenburg* under his protection; g and demanded succours from the inhabitants of *Bremen*, and other hans-towns, who excused themselves from granting his request; and, being intimidated by the emperor's generals, expelled the consuls and agents of *England* and *Holland*, and furnished the Imperial troops

<sup>2</sup> NANI Hist. Venet. l. 6. ad An. 1627.

<sup>b</sup> PLACES. p. 297.



2 with provisions, ships, and ammunition : so that, while they proceeded in subduing *Germany*, the diet was opened at *Mulhausen*, whither the electors of *Mentz* and *Saxony* repaired in person, and the other princes sent their ministers.

In this assembly *Marcheville*, the *French* envoy, exhorted the members to restore peace A. D. 1628. and tranquility to the empire ; and the baron *de Stralendorf* made some specious proposals in the name of the emperor, who nevertheless plainly shewed his intention was to give law to all *Germany* ; and to shut the mouths of those who still talked of the liberty of their ancestors. By this suggestion the clergy demanded the restitution of the bishoprics and benefices which the Protestants had seized since the treaty of *Passau*. *Ferdinand's* aim in this requisition was to obtain a decree of the diet, in consequence of which he should be enabled to put the archduke *William*, his second son, in possession of other rich and powerful benefices : but this demand was warmly opposed by the two Protestant electors ; so that the execution of his project was deferred till a more favourable opportunity. Then the affair of the elector-palatine being brought upon the carpet, all the Catholic princes were of opinion, that *Frederic*, as author of the war, should humble himself before the emperor, and renounce the crown of *Bohemia*, together with the electoral dignity ; in consequence of which concessions, his imperial majesty would pardon and re-establish him in all or part of his dominions, according to his good pleasure : but, should the Palatine refuse to submit to these conditions, they unanimously declared they would join their forces with those of the emperor against him and all his adherents <sup>a</sup>.

*Proceedings of the diet at Mulhausen.*

d During these deliberations, the *Danish* senators assembled at *Copenhagen*, wrote a letter to the emperor, exhorting him to put an end to the war ; though, considering the situation of affairs, they could not expect great success from this remonstrance : and *Christian*, persuaded that no regard would be paid to it by the imperial court, employed himself in making all the necessary preparations for continuing the war <sup>e</sup>. Having received a considerable supply from his allies, he equipped a strong fleet ; and, setting sail in the beginning of the spring, made a descent upon the isle of *Femeren*, where he took the fort which had been built by the Imperialists. His next conquest was *Eckelenfordt*, which he abandoned to plunder, after having made the garrison prisoners of war, and exchanged them for a like number of *Danes* : this place, however, was in a little time retaken by the Imperialists, who cut in pieces, or put to flight, all who pretended to oppose them. *Christian*, with a fleet of forty-seven ships of war appeared before *Kiel*, the siege of which he undertook by sea and land : but meeting with a very obstinate resistance, and being unsuccessful in all his assaults, he quitted that enterprize, in order to relieve *Sarden*, which was hard pressed by count *Tilly*, who had taken such precautions, that he could not throw succours into the place, so that he retired to *Gluckstadt* : while colonel *Morgan*, who commanded the *English* garrison at *Staden*, being reduced to extremity, resolved to capitulate : and accordingly marched out, with his arms and baggage, at the head of sixty four companies, with whom he retired towards *Bremen* <sup>f</sup>. After the reduction of *Staden*, the imperial army invested *Gluckstadt* and *Krempen*, which were defended with extraordinary valour by the *Danish* garrisons, who made frequent sallies, and obliged the enemy to abandon their posts. Three of their ships surprised the town of *Gripswald*, and set fire to the *Austrian* houses. Two regiments of their cavalry entered *Barmstaden*, from whence they returned loaded with booty, after having killed and taken prisoners the imperial garrison : and they afterwards took *Pirmenberg*, where they found a body of *Croats*, whom they cut in pieces.

f ABOUT this time a general assembly of the hans-towns was held at *Lubeck*, in order to deliberate upon the proposals of the emperor and the king of *Spain*, touching a new company to be formed for carrying on the trade of the North ; and the result of their deliberations was, that, although they were always disposed to obey his imperial majesty, they could not grant what he demanded, concerning the navigation, without exposing themselves to the enmity of *Sweden* and *Denmark*, which would never allow the ships of that new company to pass the *Sound*. They therefore begged he would permit them to observe a neutrality ; but, foreseeing he would be incensed at their refusal, they resolved to levy troops, and prepare for their own defence <sup>g</sup>.

*An assembly of the hans-towns is held at Lubeck.*

THE Imperialists and *Danes*, finding themselves exhausted by a long war, began at length to entertain serious thoughts of peace ; and the four Catholic electors having offered their mediation, the emperor consented to open a congress at *Lubeck*, whither the electors of *Saxony* and *Brandenburg* sent their deputies, after having prevailed upon the king of *Denmark* to appoint plenipotentiaries to treat of an accommodation. The articles proposed by these last were, that the principalities of the towns and other fiefs of his *Danish* majesty, occupied by the Imperialists, should be restored, together with all that had

<sup>a</sup> PUFFENDORF. rer. Succ. l. 1. p. 410.

<sup>b</sup> BARRE, t. ix. p. 576.

<sup>c</sup> CARAFA, p. 323.

<sup>d</sup> RUSDORF, Consil. p. 181.

<sup>e</sup> PLACES.



Proposals of  
the emperor's  
commissaries,

been forcibly taken from his subjects, and the prisoners on both sides discharged without ransom: that all the princes and states of *Lower Saxony* should peaceably enjoy the liberty of religion, and a general amnesty comprehend all those who had any share in the war: and lastly, that the sons of his *Danish* majesty should not be disturbed in the enjoyment of those postulations and elections, which had been made in their favour, within the empire<sup>a</sup>. These proposals were communicated to the emperor by the conveyance of *Walstein*, who was at *Gustrow*; and, in the mean time, the imperial commissaries made the following propositions to the assembly: "The king of *Denmark* shall not, for the future, intermeddle in the affairs of the empire: he shall renounce the duchies of *Holstein*, *Sleswick*, and *Dytmarsie*: together with all the pretensions which he and his sons might have upon the archbishoprics, bishoprics, duchies, and principalities in the circles of *Lower Saxony* and *Westphalia*: he shall make a cession of *Jutland* to the elector of *Saxony*, until such time as that prince shall be reimbursed for the expences due to him from his imperial majesty, or until he shall receive some other sort of indemnification from the king of *Denmark*: he shall likewise defray all the charges of the war, to which the emperor and his allies have been exposed; repair all the damage he has done to the territories of the dukes of *Lunenbourg*, *Pomerania*, and *Holstein*; and exclude all the enemies of the empire and house of *Austria* from the passage of the *Sound*, which shall be free to the friends and allies of these powers, on payment of a fixed toll, which shall not be in his power to augment: finally, the crowns of *Spain* and *Poland*, the archduchess-governess of the *Low Countries*, the elector of *Bavaria*, and other princes of the empire, shall be included in this treaty."

rejected by the  
Danish mini-  
sters, and  
mitigated by  
means of *Wal-*  
*stein*,

THESE conditions appeared so unreasonable to the *Danish* ministers, that they threatened to retire without coming to any conclusion, unless they should be moderated; and the emperor's commissaries being confounded at this menace, repaired to *Gustrow* in order to confer with *Walstein*. That general, upon whom the emperor had bestowed the revenues of *Mecklenburg*, the duke of which he had put to the ban of the empire, being desirous of acquiring the friendship of his *Danish* majesty, by which he thought he could the better secure himself in his new possession, facilitated the conclusion of the peace, by procuring more favourable conditions to the king, which, after a series of conferences, were accepted, and the treaty was at length concluded on these terms: "The king of *Denmark* shall not intermeddle in the affairs of the empire, except in those that relate to the duchy of *Holstein*; and the princes his sons shall absolutely renounce the possession of the archbishoprics and bishoprics of the empire: neither the emperor nor king shall make any demand on account of the expences of the war: the provinces and towns taken from the king of *Denmark* shall be restored to him, together with the artillery: the prisoners on both sides shall be released without ransom; and his *Danish* majesty shall cede to the houses of *Sleswick* and *Holstein-Gottorp*, the isle of *Femeren*, and part of the isles of *Wardt* and *Suld*, devolved to them by hereditary right, reserving still the right of superiority which the crown of *Denmark* enjoyed over these provinces."

prejudicial to  
the dukes of  
*Mecklenburg*  
and the elector-  
palatine.

THIS treaty was published on the seventh of *June*, to the inexpressible joy of the people, who had been so long and so severely harrassed by the war, but to the infinite mortification of the dukes of *Mecklenburg*, who now saw *Walstein* in quiet possession of their dominions. The duke of *Bavaria* was acknowledged elector of the holy empire, by the congress of *Lubeck*, as well as in this pacification; but no mention was made of the elector-palatine, who was supposed to be lawfully proscribed, and divested of his dignity and dominions. Although the emperor, by dint of repeated victories and conquests, compelled the king of *Denmark*, and other princes his allies, to accept of this peace, he committed a fatal oversight in refusing to admit the ambassadors of *Sweden* to the congress of *Lubeck*, at which the differences that began to arise between *Ferdinand* and *Gustavus* might have been extinguished in their infancy: but at that time the strength of the king of *Sweden* seemed too inconsiderable to alarm the court of *Vienna*, which little thought it would one day be sufficient to shake the throne of *Ferdinand*, and humble the pride of the house of *Austria*.

A new diffi-  
culty arises  
between *Fer-*  
*dinand* and  
*Christian*.

THE conclusion of the treaty did not terminate the mutual resentment that glowed in the breasts of the emperor and king of *Denmark*. This last could not forgive the other for refusing to revoke the ban which was published against the dukes of *Mecklenburg*; and *Ferdinand* was offended at the conduct of *Christian*, in persisting to disturb the duke of *Holstein*, who had incurred the indignation of that king, by embracing the party of the emperor in the last war: for, instead of withdrawing his troops from *Holstein* at the peace, *Christian* sent a greater number in order to continue the ravages in that province. In consequence of these hostilities, the emperor sent monitorial letters to the king of *Denmark*, commanding him to evacuate that part of *Holstein* and *Sleswick* which belonged to duke *Fre-*

<sup>a</sup> PUFFENDORF, l. 1. sect. 54.

<sup>i</sup> BARRE, t. ix. p. 578.



a *deric*; and *Christian* relying upon the hope of a strong reinforcement from the king of *Sweden*, who had promised to assist him with troops and money, at first refused to obey this injunction, affirming, that *Sleswick* was not a fief of the empire, but intirely depended upon *Denmark*<sup>k</sup>: but to this asseveration the court of *Vienna* replied, that *Denmark* itself was a fief of the empire, and that *Sleswick*, as part of *Denmark*, must necessarily be in the same predicament (D). Nevertheless, finding *Christian* deaf to these remonstrances, *Ferdinand* issued other letters, conceived in such strong terms as roused his apprehension, and induced him to withdraw his troops from that duchy, and leave the duke in quiet; so that *Germany*, in general, began to enjoy a little respite from war and disorder.

Not but that the house of *Austria* was still occupied by the commotions of *Italy*, occasioned b by the pretenders to the succession of *Vincent* the second, duke of *Mantua* and *Montferrat*, who was lately dead without lawful issue<sup>1</sup>. He had foreseen the troubles that might arise after his death; and in order to prevent them as much as lay in his power, given his niece, the princess *Mary*, in marriage to the duke *de Retheleis*, son of *Charles de Gonzaga*, duke *de Nevers*, whom he declared sole heir of all his fortune: but *Cesar de Gonzaga*, duke of *Guaftalla*, had already received from the emperor the eventual investiture of *Mantua* and *Montferrat*. On the other hand, the duke of *Savoy* looking upon this as a proper occasion for availing himself of some pretensions he had to a part of *Montferrat* joined the duke of *Guaftalla* against his competitor, and prevailed upon *Ferdinand* to refuse the investiture to the duke *de Nevers*<sup>m</sup>. Nevertheless he would not declare openly against him, because he was respected by the pope c and the *Venetians*, who were unwilling to give umbrage to *France*, which patronized him; but, like an able politician, he ordered the revenues of the duchies to be put in sequestration, until the rights of the competitors should be examined and discussed; and *John* count of *Nassau* was charged with the execution of this decree. But before he arrived at *Mantua*, the king of *Spain* and the duke of *Savoy* had taken the field, in order to share the *Montferrat* between them; and the duke of *Mantua*, with the few troops he could assemble, exerted himself like a brave officer in opposing their progress<sup>n</sup>. At length the count *de Nassau* arrived in *Italy* as imperial commissary, and the duke, seeing himself threatened from so many quarters, demanded assistance from the *Venetians*, who amused him with distant hopes until he was reduced to extremity: for *Nassau* pressed him to admit *Austrian* garrisons into his d capital and other towns, and he was fain to appeal from the proceedings of this commissary to the emperor better informed, or in case he should refuse to hear his remonstrances, to the electors of the empire. Mean while, he sent the prince his son to *Vienna*, to demand the investiture of the emperor, and offered to put *Cazal* and all the *Montferrat* into the hands of a neutral prince, until the differences about that principality should be terminated: but *Ferdinand* openly declared his intention was, that the *German* troops in the *Spanish* service should garrison *Cazal* in the name of the emperor; that the towns already taken by the governor of *Milan* should remain as a pledge for the pretensions of the prince of *Guaftalla*; and that the duke of *Savoy* should keep what he had seized, until his demands should be regulated by a treaty or decisive determination. It was not doubted, that the courts of e *Vienna* and *Spain* were resolved to share *Cazal* and the *Montferrat* between them; and accordingly *Ferdinand* sent troops into the *Milanesse*, who extended their quarters along the rivers *Adda* and *Oglio*, so as to alarm the republic of *Venice*, which immediately reinforced its troops by new levies, sent four thousand men to the assistance of the duke of *Mantua*, and supplied him with money to make preparations for a vigorous defence. The imperial generals seeing their soldiers desert in great numbers, and being apprehensive, that before the end of the approaching winter, their army would be too much diminished to undertake any thing of importance, resolved to besiege *Mantua* without delay, and, in the mean time, obtained an edict of the emperor, in which all those noblemen, who held fiefs of the empire, were forbid to assist the duke of *Mantua*, on pain of being declared rebels. This edict was followed by an invasion of the duchy of *Mantua*, in which several important places were carried by assault, and many ravages committed: at length the *Germans* marched towards the city of *Mantua*, into which *Charles* had retired with his best troops, in order to defend it to the last extremity; and there the progress of the Imperialists had well nigh been effectually stopped; for they were fatigued with continual rains, and reduced to such extremity by want of provisions and disease, that they were obliged to quit the siege, and must have returned to their own country, had not the court of *Rome* permitted them to draw

*Troubles occasioned in Italy by the death of Vincent the second, duke of Mantua.*

*The Venetians espouse the cause of Charles duke of Mantua.*

*The Imperialists invade the duchy of Mantua.*

<sup>k</sup> PFEFFINGER, c. 1. p. 53. <sup>1</sup> SIRI. Memor. recond. t. vi. p. 302. <sup>m</sup> LUDOLPH. l. 28. c. 1. <sup>n</sup> NIGER. Disquisit. de Mant. Ducatu, in 4to.

(D) In the year 1526, the imperial chamber, by consent of *Charles* the fifth, acknowledged that *Sleswick* was not a fief of the empire; and, at the desire of the king of *Denmark*, permitted that article to be erased from the matricular book (1).

(1) *Mozamb. dis. 2. sc. 7.*



A. D. 1630.  
Mantua taken  
by the Imperialists,

supplies from the ecclesiastical state. For that year the city of *Mantua* was saved by the vigilance and activity of the *Venetians*, who loudly complained of pope *Urban* the eighth, reproaching him with having done his endeavour to sell the liberty of *Italy*, for the paltry consideration of the money he got from the Imperialists for his corn. Next year, however, the *Venetians* were defeated near *Villabona* by the *Germans*, who, at length, made themselves masters of *Mantua*, which was abandoned to the avarice and insolence of their soldiers. The pillage lasted three days, during which the *Austrians* committed all manner of violence and brutality, while the duke retired into the ecclesiastical state, deprived of every other hope but that of seeing his affairs established by some favourable treaty.

and Casal  
surrendered to  
the Spaniards.

In the midst of these transactions died the duke of *Savoy*; and his death was followed by that of the marquis *de Spinola*, to whom *Mazarini* had been sent from the pope to effect an accommodation between the *Spaniards*, who besieged *Casal*, and the *French*, by whom it had been for a long time defended. Accordingly these last consented to surrender the town and castle to the besiegers; who, on their side, obliged themselves to furnish the *French* with provisions, and even to evacuate the town again, in case the citadel should be relieved at a certain time.

The emperor  
publishes an  
edict for the  
restitution of  
ecclesiastical  
benefices.

DURING the progress of this war in *Italy*, the emperor published an edict at *Vienna*, commanding the Protestants to restore, without loss of time, the ecclesiastical benefices in their possession; particularly the archbishoprics, bishoprics, prelacies, hospitals, and all the other effects of the church, occupied by them since the treaty of *Passau*. The execution of this new edict was opposed by the elector of *Saxony*, and other princes of the *Augsburg* confession, who affirmed, that the emperor had no power to ordain such a restitution, which ought to be the object of determination in a general diet. But *Ferdinand*, without paying any regard to their remonstrances, nominated commissaries for the execution of his edict; and ordered his own troops, together with those of the Catholic league, to take the field, and to subdue all those who should fail in their obedience. Although this ordinance occasioned great commotion and clamour among the Protestants, several cities submitted quietly; the duke of *Wurtemberg*, and some other princes, restored their former acquisitions; the bishops retook possession of their old dioceses, and the monks returned to the monasteries from which they had been formerly expelled. The sentence or decisions of the imperial commissaries were executed by *Walstein*, at the head of an army, who acted with such rigour, and allowed his troops to behave with such licence, that the Protestants were inflamed to a degree of rancour and virulence; and even the Catholics so incensed against him, as to join in demanding justice of the emperor.

## C H A P. XVII.

*Containing a Detail of the Exploits and Death of Gustavus Adolphus.*

The Protestants enter  
into a secret  
alliance with  
Gustavus  
Adolphus.

THOSE of the confession of *Augsburg*, with the elector of *Saxony* at their head, assembled at *Heidelberg*, from whence they sent a deputation, soliciting the emperor to revoke his edict of restitution, and complaining of the outrages which had been committed by his troops that were under the command of *Walstein*; and at the same time they engaged in an association for their mutual defence. The elector of *Saxony*, who had amassed great sums of money, and possessed a number of strong places, with garrisons sufficient for their defence, proposed to the Protestant states an alliance with *Gustavus Adolphus*, king of *Sweden*, the professed enemy of the *Austrian* house; and accordingly this league was solicited and concluded with such industry, secrecy, and caution, that *Ferdinand* had not the least suspicion of their design until the war was ready to break out.

It was during these secret negotiations that the emperor convoked a diet at *Ratisbon*, where he was met by the three ecclesiastical electors and the duke of *Bavaria*; but the duke of *Saxony* and the marquis of *Brandenburg* excused themselves, on pretence of being so much impoverished by the imperial troops quartered in their towns, that they could not defray the expence of their journey. This, however, was no more than a pretext for avoiding a refusal to the emperor in person, provided he should propose his eldest son to be elected king of the *Romans* (E).

\* NIGER. Disquisit. de Mant. Ducatu, in 4to.  
PUFFENDORF, ubi supra.

P PUFFENDORF, l. i. sect. 56.

† PIACES. p. 410.

\* CARAFA, p. 347.

(E) The emperor was accompanied to *Ratisbon* by the empress, the king of *Hungary*, and the archduchess; and attended by the prince of *Anhalt*, count *Tilly*, and *Walstein* duke of *Fridland*, who surpassed *Ferdinand* himself in magnificence, for his train consisted of six hundred

horsemen richly clothed; a circumstance which, together with his immense riches and the insolence of his manners, attracted the jealousy and hatred of almost all the other princes (1).

(1) Barre, t. ix. p. 590.



- a THE propositions made at the opening of the diet were, that the electors should deliberate upon some means for establishing the peace of the empire upon a solid foundation ; or, if this could not be effected, for continuing the war to advantage : that they should consider whether or not *Frederic*, count-palatine, who still obstinately refused to implore his imperial majesty's clemency, and renounce his pretensions to the electorate, should be excluded from all hope of favour ; and what measures were to be taken, in case the states-general of the United Provinces, or other powers, should persist in their endeavours to re-establish him in the *Palatinate* : that the king of *Denmark* having offered to terminate, in a friendly manner, the difference between the emperor and the king of *Sweden*, touching the affair of *Stralsund*, plenipotentiaries had been sent to *Dantzick* for that purpose ; but, in case the treaty should not succeed, proper measures ought to be taken for defeating the designs of *Gustavus Adolphus* : that the emperor's sole intention, in his conduct concerning the succession of *Mantua*, was to maintain the authority of the empire in *Italy* ; but, as the king of *France* persisted in his resolution to support the duke *de Nevers* in his disobedience, they would find it necessary to empower his imperial majesty to preserve the rights of the empire, which the *French* king seemed bent upon invading ; and, lastly, that the emperor being touched with the misfortunes of several provinces, they, the electors, should establish proper regulations for the quarters and passage of soldiers, in case the war should be continued ; and endeavour to re-establish a good correspondence among the members of the empire, which was so necessary to the preservation and prosperity of the *Germanic* body <sup>1</sup>.

*Proceedings of the diet at Ratisbon.*

- FERDINAND* found more opposition in this diet than he had expected to encounter. The Protestants and Catholics seemed to have conspired together for the diminution of his power. The ministers of *Saxony* pressed him to repeal the edict, restore the city of *Augsburg* to the fruition of its antient liberty, and compel his officers to refund the contributions they had levied in almost all the provinces of the empire. The elector of *Bavaria*, in consequence of his secret connexions with *France*, and with the consent of the ecclesiastic electors, declared, that their deliberations could not be free, while the emperor had an army of one hundred and fifty thousand men at his devotion in *Germany* : and the greatest part of the Catholic princes exhorted the emperor to divert the Protestants from an union with the king of *Sweden*, by granting to them, for a term of forty years, the enjoyment of the ecclesiastical benefices which they had possessed since the treaty of *Passau*. This advice, however, was vigorously opposed by the ecclesiastic electors, who used such arguments as were more agreeable to the ideas of *Ferdinand* ; tho' he endeavoured to soften his refusal by promising to the deputies of *Saxony* and *Brandenburg*, that nothing should be determined touching the restitution in this diet ; but that affair be entirely referred to another meeting at *Frankfort*, which he would convoke for the ensuing year. He temporized in this manner with a view to engage the votes of those two electors in favour of his eldest son ; and founded the dispositions of others on the same subject ; when he was given to understand, that, as a previous step towards the accomplishment of his design, it would be necessary to disband the greatest part of his troops, and take the command of his army from *Walstein*, who was universally hated in the empire. *Ferdinand* yielded, though unwillingly, to these remonstrances, dismissed the duke of *Fridland* from his service, and of all his army retained but forty thousand veteran troops <sup>2</sup>.

*Opposition to the emperor.*

*Walstein is dismissed.*

- MAXIMILIAN*, duke of *Bavaria*, by whose means chiefly *Walstein* was removed from the councils of the emperor, now solicited the command of the army ; and his behaviour on this occasion rendered him suspected to *Ferdinand*, or rather served to confirm his suspicions ; for he had already discovered that the duke was engaged in private intrigues against the interest of the house of *Austria*, and actually aspired at the title of king of the *Romans*, in order to succeed to the imperial throne : he, therefore, saw the danger of putting him at the head of the troops ; but as he found it convenient to keep measures with *Maximilian*, whose pretensions were supported by the electors of *Saxony*, *Mentz*, and *Cologne*, he would not refuse his demand, but stipulated certain conditions with which he would not comply ; and afterwards bestowed the command of his army upon the count *de Tilly*, with the consent of the duke, to whose house that officer had been a faithful servant. Nevertheless, *Maximilian* relented the refusal in such a manner, as to disconcert all the measures that were taken for securing the succession to the son of *Ferdinand*, who reaped no other benefit from the diet of *Ratisbon* but the coronation of his empress, *Eleonora de Gonzaga* <sup>3</sup>.

*The command of the army is bestowed upon count Tilly.*

- CHARLES I.* king of *Great Britain*, had sent thither an ambassador, to treat of the re-establishment of the elector-palatine in his dominions ; and to hint, that, in case his remonstrances should be fruitless, he would assist his brother-in-law in a more effectual man-

<sup>1</sup> LONDORP. t. iv. p. 45. p. 594.

<sup>2</sup> PUFFENDORF, rer. Suec. l. i.

<sup>3</sup> BARRE, Hist. d'Allemagne, t. ix.



ner: but all he could obtain was abundance of personal respect, and an evasive promise, importing, that the palatine should be restored, and reconciled to the emperor, on certain conditions, to which he knew the elector would never submit <sup>y</sup>.

LEON BRULART, ambassador from *France*, had likewise a public audience at *Ratisbon*. He was ordered to explain to the electoral college, the reasons which had induced *France* to protect the duke of *Mantua*; and to propose a negotiation for terminating that affair. Ministers were accordingly appointed by the emperor for this purpose; and after much altercation and delay, a treaty was concluded on these terms: "The emperor and king of *France* shall give no assistance to the enemies of each other: the duke of *Savoy* shall possess in the *Montferrat* the town of *Trino*, and other lands, to the value of fifteen thousand crowns of yearly rent: the duke of *Gustalla* shall have six thousand crowns of landed rent, with all the rights of jurisdiction and superiority: the duke of *Mantua* shall be obliged to make a submission to his imperial majesty, according to a certain concerted form, in consideration of which *Ferdinand* shall bestow upon him the investiture of *Mantua* and *Montferrat*. These conditions being fulfilled, the *French* shall abandon *Savoy*, and the Imperialists and *Spaniards* shall evacuate the *Mantuan*, *Montferrat*, the country of the *Grisons*, the *Valtelline*, and restore to the *Venetians* what they had taken from that republic <sup>z</sup>."

Nor one of the powers concerned approved of these articles: the *French* generals, who commanded in *Italy*, were forbid to execute the treaty; and *Leon Brulart* was ordered to declare, in plain terms, to his imperial majesty, that the king of *France* would not ratify it, unless he should be at liberty to alter some of the articles, especially that which restricted him from assisting his allies, among whom the king of *Sweden* was the principal.

Substance of the manifesto published against the emperor by Gustavus Adolphus,

DURING the diet at *Ratisbon*, the emperor had received from *Gustavus Adolphus* a manifesto, explaining his reasons for declaring war against the house of *Austria*. He complained, that while he was at war with the *Poles*, *Ferdinand* had intercepted his letters to *Bethleem Gabor*, prince of *Transylvania*, and treated his courier as a criminal: that he had assisted the king of *Poland*, fomented the war against *Sweden*, stripped the dukes of *Mecklenburg*, the kinsmen of *Gustavus*, of their principality; seized upon several places of *Lower-Saxony* and *Pomerania*, and fitted out ships to make himself master of the *Baltic*, which had always belonged to the crown of *Sweden*; that he had taken and confiscated several *Swedish* vessels, besieged *Stralsund*, one of the hanse-towns, and affronted the *Swedish* ambassadors at *Lubeck*, when he was upon terms of peace with the king of *Denmark*; that he had declared *Gustavus* an enemy of the empire, and approved of injurious writings, tending to depreciate the *Swedish* government; and that when complaints were made of this outrage to the electors, no satisfaction was given, and the Catholic princes, in their answer, had even neglected to bestow upon him the title of king; and lastly, that when his *Danish* majesty employed his good offices to accommodate these differences, the emperor's deputies would not listen to any of the proposals that were made, but talked in the stile of sovereigns, being blinded by their master's prosperity <sup>a</sup>.

who secures the assistance of France and England,

SUCH were the motives that induced the king of *Sweden* to undertake a war against the house of *Austria*, which, by this time, had rendered itself formidable to all the Christian princes of *Europe*: nevertheless, he would not engage in such an important enterprize, until he had secured the alliance of *England* and *France*, which last power promised to defray one-third of the expence of the war; made peace with *Poland*, and obtained a declaration of neutrality from the king of *Denmark*, who could not, however, conceal his jealousy of the *Swede*, or see, without mortification, a garrison belonging to that prince, in possession of *Stralsund*. Indeed, his chagrin was not altogether without reason; for the king of *Sweden* having embarked in *June*, with an army of fifteen thousand men, in a few days arrived in the isle of *Rugen*, which colonel *Lesley* had already subjected to his power: then taking the isle of *Usedom* he returned to the continent, and made himself master of *Camin*, situated on the other side of the mouth of the *Oder*. These important posts facilitated the communication between *Germany* and *Sweden*; but as he still wanted a proper place, where he could form magazines of provision and ammunition, he fixed his eyes upon *Stetin*, a considerable town upon the *Oder*; and appeared unexpectedly before the place, notwithstanding the measures which were taken for preventing this enterprize, by count *Torquato*, who commanded the Imperial troops in *Pomerania* <sup>b</sup>.

makes himself master of the island of Rugen,

and concludes an alliance with Bogislaus, duke of Pomerania.

BOGISLAUS, duke of *Pomerania*, alarmed at this progress, waited upon the king of *Sweden*, and excused himself from admitting that prince into his capital, on pretence of remaining neuter in the war; but *Gustavus* endeavoured to convince him that such neutrality was unreasonable, and finding him obstinate, declared in plain terms, that he would enter

<sup>y</sup> RUSHWORTH, l. i. KHEVENHULLER, t. xi. p. 1180.  
DORF, rer. Succ. l. 2. <sup>z</sup> STRUV. per. 10. p. 3005.

<sup>a</sup> PLACES. p. 412, &c.

<sup>b</sup> PUFFEN-



a *Stetin* at the head of his army, if he should pretend to oppose the march of his troops. This declaration, together with a reinforcement of five thousand men, which *Gustavus* received at that time, operated so powerfully upon the duke, that he allowed his *German* garrison in *Stetin* to take the oath of fidelity to the king of *Sweden*, with whom he afterwards engaged in a treaty of alliance; in which it was stipulated, that the sovereignty of *Pomerania* should be preserved to the duke, to whom also should be restored all the places of this province, which the king already possessed, or might occupy in the sequel (F)<sup>c</sup>. To this agreement the states of *Pomerania* assented the more willingly, as they hoped to be delivered from the oppression of the Imperialists, and maintained in the free exercise of their religion.

b THE emperor being deceived by the flattery of his courtiers, and the insinuations of others who were his secret enemies, took no effectual steps to hinder *Gustavus* from establishing and fortifying himself in *Pomerania*. *Sturgart*, *Amelande*, *Ukermunde*, and *Wolgast*, received *Swedish* garrisons, and the army of that prince was reinforced by six *British* regiments, commanded by the marquis of *Hamilton*. *Ferdinand's* eyes, however, being at length opened, he sent an expostulatory letter to the king of *Sweden*, complaining of his irruption into the territories of the empire, and his intermeddling in the affairs of the *Germanic* body, with which he had no concern; and threatening to send his whole forces against him, if he would not immediately return to his own dominions. *Gustavus*, in answer to this letter, told the gentleman who brought it, that he would seriously consider the contents: then assuming an air of raillery, "I shall not fail to send a proper answer, (said he) c "as soon as I am cured of a wound which I received in the arm from an eagle;" alluding to the injury which *Ferdinand* had done him, in assisting *Sigismund*, king of *Poland*, with a considerable body of troops to drive the *Swedes* from *Prussia* (G)<sup>d</sup>.

He receives an expostulatory letter from the emperor.

NOTWITHSTANDING the repeated assurances of assistance which *Gustavus* had received from *France*, the conclusion of his treaty with *Lewis* the thirteenth had been retarded by some demands of *Charnace*, the *French* minister, with which the king of *Sweden* did not think proper to comply: at length, however, it was agreed, that this last should receive from *France* a yearly pension of twelve hundred thousand livres, during the continuation of the league; and *Gustavus*, on his part, obliged himself to grant a neutrality to the duke of *Bavaria*, and all the princes of the Catholic league, on condition they should not join the emperor against the *Swedes*, and to leave the *Roman* religion as he should find it, without infringing the exercise of it in any town or province of *Germany*. To these proposals he gladly subscribed, because the interest of the Catholic princes being thus secured, they would have the fairer pretence for refusing to engage with the emperor in an alliance against *Sweden*. He likewise obliged himself to maintain, at his own expence, an army of thirty thousand infantry and six thousand horse and the league, to be continued for the space of five years, was signed on the twentieth and third day of *January*, at *Berwald* in *Brandenburg*<sup>e</sup>.

and engages in a league with the king of France.

THIS important affair being settled, *Gustavus* endeavoured to renew some negotiations with the Protestant princes of the empire, which had been suspended; but finding it a difficult task to succeed with individuals, he sent secret agents to *Leipsick*, where they were assembled in a body with the deputies of the towns, in order to engage them in his interests. Here too he was disappointed: the assembly did not think proper as yet to take any public resolution in consequence of his proposals; for each prince was afraid of being oppressed by the emperor, before he could have any chance of being supported by the *Swedes*, or the troops of the Protestant union<sup>f</sup> (H).

A. D. 1631. He founds the Protestant princes assembled at Leipsick.

THE Protestant chiefs were assembled at *Leipsick*, by the invitation of *John-George* elector of *Saxony*, on pretence of concerting measures for an accommodation with the emperor.

<sup>c</sup> LONDORP. t. iv. p. 79. FENDORF, l. 3. sect. 12.

<sup>d</sup> KHEVENHULLER, t. xi. p. 1666.

<sup>e</sup> LONDORP. t. iv. p. 129.

<sup>f</sup> PUF-

(F) *George-William* elector of *Brandenburg*, was presumptive heir to *Bogislaus*, who had no male issue: but if the duke should die before the elector had entered into this new alliance with the king of *Sweden*, *Pomerania* was to remain in sequestration in the hands of *Gustavus*, until he should be reimbursed in the expences of the war, which he undertook for the deliverance of that province: nay, he reserved to himself the right of keeping it in trust, in case the property of it should be contested with the elector after the death of *Bogislaus* (1).

(G) About this time *Ferdinand*, king of *Hungary*, the emperor's son, was contracted to the infanta *Mary-Anne* of *Austria*, sister of *Philip* the fourth, king of *Spain*. She embarked at *Barcelona*, and, the plague being at *Genoa*, landed at *Naples*, from whence the Spaniards sent to demand from the *Venetians* a passage

for her through the *Adriatic* gulph: but this request was refused by the republic, which, however, offered to conduct the infanta to *Trieste* on board of their own galleys. This proposal was accepted, she arrived in safety at *Vienna*, and married prince *Ferdinand* on the twenty-first day of *January*, 1631 (2).

(H) This assembly was composed of the electors of *Saxony* and *Brandenburg*, with the princes of these two electoral houses, one palatine, the landgrave of *Hesse-Cassel*, and the marquis of *Baden*, the ministers of the dukes of *Brunswick*, *Lunenbourg*, and *Wurtemberg*, the most considerable among the Protestant counts and barons of the empire, and deputies from the towns of *Frankfort*, *Bremen*, *Strasburg*, *Lubeck*, and many others (3).

(1) *Barre*, t. ix. p. 601.

(2) *Barre*, t. ix. p. 602.

(3) *Helvic*. l. 19. p. 122.



The resolutions  
of that as-  
sembly.

or, touching his edict of restitution, though their real design was to contrive means for a moderating the authority of *Ferdinand*, in the general diet which he had summoned to meet at *Frankfort*. Accordingly their deliberations turned upon the maintenance of the laws and constitutions of the empire, the liberty of the *Germanic* body, the preservation of harmony between the Protestants and *Roman* Catholics, the relief of the people, who were overwhelmed with taxes, and finally, the assurance of a solid and lasting peace to the empire. After having duly considered the grievances under which they laboured, it was unanimously resolved to levy an army of forty thousand men, to form a kind of stable and permanent council; and a declaration was sent to the emperor, and Catholic league, importing, that notwithstanding their resolution to raise troops, they should be always perfectly well disposed to preserve the peace. *Ferdinand*, filled with indignation at these presumptuous steps, published a long manifesto, complaining of the Protestants, whom he accused of holding private intelligence with the king of *Sweden*. Nor was this conjecture void of foundation; inasmuch as they had not, in their remonstrance, mentioned the irruption of *Gustavus* into *Lower Saxony*, or promised the least assistance to the emperor in defeating the purposes of that invasion<sup>s</sup>; and, indeed, he had little reason to expect such a voluntary offer, from those whom he had been so long accustomed to mortify and oppress. Alarmed, however, at their proceedings, he condemned them as being contrary to the constitutions of the empire, and forbade the Catholic states to aid them in any shape, on pain of seeing their fiefs confiscated.

The progress  
of Gustavus  
Adolphus.

MEAN while, *Gustavus* being well assured of the favourable dispositions of the Protestant princes, and strengthened by the succours he had received from *England*, *France*, and *Holland*, continued the war with surprising success. The severity of winter could not put a stop to his conquests: he made himself master of *Colberg*, *Frankfort* upon the *Oder*, and *Dammin*, which was so ill defended, and so shamefully given up by *Savelli*, that the conqueror could not help saying to him, in the most bitter strain of raillery, "Sir, I would advise you to serve the emperor henceforth in the cabinet rather than in the field<sup>b</sup>." Count *Tilly* advanced from the neighbourhood of *Magdeburg*, in order to oppose this formidable invader, and even retook *Frankfort*, and some other places; but finding himself unequal to the strength and vigilance of *Gustavus*, he was fain to return to *Magdeburg*, which he besieged in form; while the king of *Sweden*, being refused a passage for his troops by *John-George*, elector of *Saxony*, could not march to the relief of that place, and therefore returned to besiege *Frankfort*, which he took by assault, and abandoned to pillage.

Accommoda-  
tion between  
the emperor  
and France,  
on the sub-  
ject of Man-  
tua.

THE affair of *Mantua* being still undetermined, and the Imperialists and *French* in possession of that dutchy and its dependencies, the pope sent the nuncio *Pancirole* and *Mazarini* to those two powers, in order to negotiate an accommodation, which should restore peace to *Italy*. These ministers acquitted themselves with such address, that the emperor and *French* king agreed to send plenipotentiaries to *Quicrasque* in *Piedmont*: *Ferdinand*, having occasion to withdraw his troops from *Italy*, for the service of the war against the king of *Sweden*, far from being difficult in his conditions, offered to confer the investiture upon the duke of *Mantua*, to restore his capital, and put the *Grisons* again in possession of the passage of the *Valtelline*. *France*, on the other hand, consented to redeliver to the duke of *Savoy*, *Chamberry*, *Pignecrol*, and all the other places she had wrested from him: and notwithstanding the remonstrances of the *Spaniards*, who opposed this accommodation, the treaty was signed by *Galas*, the emperor's plenipotentiary, and *Thoiras*, assisted by *Servien*, secretary of state and minister of *France*.

Gustavus  
makes himself  
master of Pots-  
dam, &c.

IN consequence of this treaty, the *Austrian* troops in *Italy* were ordered to return to the empire, under the command of *Egon de Furstemberg*, who compelled the Protestants of *Suabia* and *Franconia* to renounce the confederation of *Leipsic*, to disband their troops, and pay large contributions to the emperor. But, before these transactions, *Gustavus* seeing he could not march to the relief of *Magdeburg*, without giving umbrage to the elector of *Saxony*, whom he did not chuse to disoblige, he undertook the siege of *Potsdam*, which he carried, together with some other places which the Imperialists occupied upon the *Elbe*.

Magdeburg  
is taken,  
burnt, and  
pillaged by  
Tilly.

MEAN while, count *Tilly* prosecuted the siege of *Magdeburg* with equal vigour and perseverance, and at length took it by assault; upon which occasion unheard of cruelties were perpetrated by the Imperialists, who reduced the whole city to ashes, except the cathedral, and about one hundred and fifty fishing-huts upon the bank of the *Elbe*. Here was *Christian* of *Brandenburg* taken prisoner; and when the dukes of *Saxe-Lawemburg* and *Holstein* reproached him with his rashness, in having defended the city against the emperor, he affirmed, that his enterprize was just, and that heaven would punish the *Austrians* for the innocent blood they had shed. Indeed, the carnage was almost unexampled; for above thirty thousand of the inhabitants perished by water, fire, and sword<sup>c</sup>.

<sup>s</sup> DUMONT. t. vi. part 1. p. 6.

<sup>b</sup> SIRI Memor. recon. t. vii. p. 344.

<sup>c</sup> HEISS. t. iii. l. 3. p. 149.



- a THE fate of this unfortunate city having rendered the electors of *Saxony* and *Brandenburg* more timid and circumspect, *Gustavus* was tired of their irresolute conduct, and summoned the last to declare himself openly in three days; the elector's answer being ambiguous, he marched directly to *Berlin*, and by a trumpet demanded that the gates should be opened, otherwise he would enter the city by force. This menace had the desired effect upon *George-William*, who consented to the king's retaining *Spandow* while the war should continue, and allowed his army to pass through *Custrin*. The agreement had not been long concluded when the landgrave of *Hesse*, whose country had been threatened with destruction by count *Tilly* upon his refusing to declare against the *Swedes*, taking the advantage of the absence of that general, who was gone to oppose *Gustavus*; profiting, I say, by that opportunity, the landgrave put himself under the protection of his *Swedish* majesty, who promised to defend him, and procure restitution of the fiefs belonging to him, which the emperor had seized during the troubles of *Bohemia*. The landgrave, on his side, promised to enter heartily into the interests of *Gustavus*, and to engage in no treaty without his consent: but to admit the king's troops into his cities, without prejudice however to his right of sovereignty, and on condition that the places should be restored when the motives for retaining them should cease. It was likewise agreed, that the landgrave's troops should join the army of *Sweden*; that the king should have the chief command, which, in his absence, should be equally shared between *William* and one of his officers, to be named for that purpose; and, finally, that the *Hessians* should furnish a certain quantity of provisions to the *Swedish* troops; and that the king and the landgrave should have no after-demands upon each other for the succours which they should mutually give or take. This was the ordinary form of the treaties in which the king of *Sweden* engaged with the princes of the empire<sup>k</sup>.

*Gustavus threatens the elector of Brandenburg into a negotiation.*

*engages in a treaty with the landgrave of Hesse.*

- GUSTAVUS had by this time passed the *Elbe*; and *Tilly*, having in vain used all his efforts to oblige him to repass that river, resolved to detach the elector of *Saxony* from the league of *Leipsick* by dint of threats; and *John-George*, disturbed as well as incensed at his menaces, dispatched *Arnheim* his general to the king of *Sweden*, with an offer to admit *Swedish* garrisons into his electorate, and to come and fight at the head of his own troops under the auspices of his majesty. Nothing could be more agreeable to *Gustavus* than this proposal, in consequence of which a treaty was soon concluded, importing, that the king of *Sweden* should defend the elector, on condition of his having the command in chief, his being indulged with a free passage through all the places upon the *Elbe*, and his being furnished with provisions for his army, while it should be employed in the defence of the electorate. It was also stipulated, that neither party should treat with the emperor without the other's consent<sup>l</sup>.

*and with the elector of Saxony, who joins him with his forces at Wittemberg:*

- THIS treaty being signed, the elector assembled his troops at *Torgau*, to the number of fourteen or fifteen thousand, with eight and twenty pieces of cannon, and marched to *Wittemberg*; where being met by the king of *Sweden* and the marquis of *Brandenburg*, they began to concert measures for acting in concert against the emperor's general, who had taken *Hall* and *Leipsick*, where he was at that time encamped. *Gustavus*, unwilling to put the issue of the war upon the uncertain event of one battle, to be fought against an able and experienced enemy, was of opinion that no risque ought to be run; but the duke of *Saxony*, who longed to be rid of the *Swedes* as well as *Austrians*, represented, that his dominions were incapable of maintaining two great armies for any length of time, without being totally ruined; and protested, with great warmth, that he would march alone against the enemy, if the king of *Sweden* should refuse to second him in the enterprize. *Gustavus* was very well pleased with his spirit and disposition; and, in conformity with his remonstrance, agreed to prepare for their march towards *Leipsick*<sup>m</sup>.

*They agree to fight: Tilly, who is encamped at Leipsick.*

- THE king of *Sweden* commanded the right wing, consisting of four thousand horse; and in his rear was general *Bannier* with nine thousand men, divided into six equal battalions, in one line: at the head of each were eight pieces of cannon, made of boiled leather, of a new invention; and at each flank were five and thirty troops of horse. The main body, conducted by colonel *Tufeld*, was of six battalions, with six field-pieces in the front of each, sustained in the rear by several troops of horse and some infantry. The left wing, commanded by marechal *Horn*, was composed of four battalions, supported on the right and left by several companies of foot and troops of horse; and the elector of *Saxony* was upon the left with his new levies, which had never stood fire<sup>n</sup>.

TILLY no sooner perceived their intention than he called a council of war, and represented the necessity he was under to keep within his intrenchments until he should receive a reinforcement, which he expected from *Silesia*: but the count of *Papenheim* espousing the contrary opinion, which was likewise adopted by the majority of the officers, the Imperial army decamped from *Leipsick*, and advanced about a mile into the plain of *Breintensfeld*, where it was drawn up in order of battle. *Papenheim* had the command of the left wing;

<sup>k</sup> BARRE, t. ix. p. 610. <sup>l</sup> Id. ibid. <sup>m</sup> STRUV. per. 10. sect. 9. p. 3011. <sup>n</sup> PUFFENDORF, l. 3. sect. 28.



that of the right was given to the count of *Furstemburg*, and *Tilly* commanded in the center. The whole disposition consisted in one long front, without any body of reserve; the cavalry being upon the right and left, and the infantry with the cannon between the two wings. This order of battle was disagreeable to some officers, who complained of it to count *Tilly*; and that general no sooner recollected himself from the perplexity and concern with which he had been overwhelmed ever since his opinion in council was contradicted, than he changed the disposition (I), in order to have the advantage of the sun, wind, and dust; supported his right by the village of *Poldewitz*, his left by a wood, and placed his center upon a rising-ground between them. Each army is computed to have amounted to forty thousand men.

The Imperialists are defeated at Leipzick.

THE action began by the discharge of artillery on both sides; and the cannon of the Imperialists produced some disorder in the left wing of the *Swedes*, because at that time count *Hörn* made a motion to gain the wind of the *Austrians*. Count *Tilly* perceiving his design, extended his front to the right, so that his left wing was no longer supported, but intirely detached from the main body. *Gustavus* taking the advantage of this circumstance, advanced at the head of his battalions, and poured in such a brisk fire upon the Imperialists, that they were immediately broke; nevertheless they rallied twice, and being as often repulsed, betook themselves to flight. Mean while count *Tilly* descended into the plain; and leaving the *Swedes* under *Tufeld* upon the left, attacked the troops of the elector of *Saxony*, who were routed in a moment before the *Swedes* could come to their assistance. *Gustavus* understanding that the disorder was equal among the pursuers and the conquered, joined his own victorious troops to the body of *Tufeld*, which had not yet engaged, and fell with such impetuosity upon the *Austrian* cavalry, that they were soon put to flight, while the foot retired in good order into the wood on the left, abandoning their cannon to the enemy. There they were surrounded by the *Swedes*, and defended themselves to the last extremity, being animated by the example of *Tilly*, who fought at their head with equal prudence and intrepidity; till at last the *Swedes* having turned their own cannon upon them, they were obliged to yield to the fortune of the day: their general having received three musket-shots in his body, would have been taken prisoner, had not the duke of *Saxe-Lawenburg* come to his rescue, and conveyed him to *Hall* more dead than alive.

The city of Leipzick falls into the hands of the conqueror,

who extends his conquests with surprising rapidity,

making himself master of Mentz, and all the strong towns upon the Rhine.

In this battle, which was fought on the seventeenth day of *September*, seven thousand six hundred *Austrians* were left dead upon the spot, exclusive of those who fell in the route, and five thousand were made prisoners: their baggage and artillery, together with one hundred pair of colours and many standards, fell into the hands of the *Swedes*, who lost about seven hundred men, and remained all night upon the field. The immediate consequence of this victory was the taking of *Leipzick*, and other places, which the Imperialists had wrested from the elector of *Saxony*; while count *Tilly*, who had retired from *Hall* to *Halberstadt*, where he was joined by count *Papenheim*, marched towards the *Wefer*, and took the route to *Franconia*, with a view to join the troops commanded by *Aldringen* and *Fugger*, so as to form an army sufficient to check the progress of the king of *Sweden*, who, in person, entered *Franconia*, from whence he marched into the *Palatinate*, while the elector of *Saxony*, by his order, penetrated into *Silesia* and *Bohemia*. Count *Tilly* having passed the *Wefer*, marched into *Westphalia*, and from thence into *Hesse*, where he was joined by *Aldringen* and *Fugger*, and afterwards by the forces which the duke of *Lorrain* led to the assistance of the emperor, so that his army amounted to about forty thousand men; and altho' *Gustavus* had not much more than half that number, he would not venture to give him battle: on the contrary, he sat down quietly, and beheld that prince conquer cities and whole provinces, to the astonishment of the partizans of the house of *Austria*, a number of whom could not help thinking the emperor was betrayed. Indeed *Gustavus*, almost without opposition, made himself master of the whole country in his passage from the *Elbe* to the *Rhine*, comprehending a space of near one hundred leagues, full of fortified towns. *Erfort* in *Thuringia*, *Wirtzburg*, and all the strong places of *Franconia*, opened their gates to his victorious troops: the Imperial diet convened at *Frankfort*, in order to terminate the difference occasioned by the decree of *Restitution*, was dissolved: *Mentz* was surrendered to him in a few days: he extended his conquests into the *Palatinate*, then, in sight of a body of *Spanish* troops, crossed the *Rhine*, upon the banks of which he erected a pyramid, that posterity might know how far he had conducted his victorious army. The elector-palatine believing, that now the time approached that would see him restored to his dominions, followed *Gustavus* into the *Palatinate*, and solicited the assistance of his arms, which had already re-established the dukes of *Mecklenburg*, and several other noblemen; but whether

° Mercur. Franc. a l' An. 1631. STRUV. per. 10. sect. 9. P Mercur. Franc. a l' An. 1631.

(I) *Tilly* seeing the *Swedes* approach in good order, during which he did not seem to comprehend what was growing pale, and supported his head upon his hands in a said to him. musing posture for the space of a quarter of an hour,



a the king was doubtful of the elector's gratitude, or did not, as yet, think himself strong enough to engage in such an enterprize, he evaded his request with fair promises, on the strength of which *Frederic* resolved to follow in his train.

*GUSTAVUS* had no sooner passed the *Rhine*, than *Worms* was abandoned by *Offelaufe*, a colonel of *Lorrain*, who commanded in the place: *Heilbron* was surrendered to general *Horn*: *Spire* declared for the king of *Sweden*; and *Gersnerstheim* followed the example of that city: *Landau* and *Weisssemburg*, in submitting to his power, laid *Alsace* open to the *Swedish* army; and he sent *Belingöen* to *Strasburg* to manage his interest with the regency of that city, which he found zealously disposed in favour of a prince whom they regarded as the author of their freedom. His army being considerably reinforced by the troops of the b princes with whom he was in alliance, he detached a strong body to assist the dukes of *Mecklenburg* in the conquest of *Lower Saxony*, and in expelling the *Austrians* who were still in possession of *Rostock* and *Wisnar*: these two cities were subdued about the beginning of *November*; and in four months the king of *Sweden* saw himself possessed of the whole country extending from the *Baltic* to the frontiers of *Switzerland* and *Lorrain*. While the banks of the *Rhine* resounded with the success of *Gustavus*, the elector of *Saxony* conquered *Lusace*; and, penetrating into the heart of *Bohemia*, took *Prague* from the emperor. He might have extended his conquests a great deal farther, had not his troops, intoxicated with victory and enriched with booty, abandoned themselves to the most shameful excesses. These debauches were in some measure owing to the connivance of the elector, who began c to be jealous and afraid of the growing power of the *Swedes*, and, instead of prosecuting the war according to the repeated instances of *Gustavus*, allowed his soldiers to repose and divert themselves in *Prague*: a remissness of conduct that gave *Galas*, the *Austrian* general, time to assemble some troops, and throw himself into the strong town of *Pilsen*, which would have stopped the progress of the elector, even if he had been disposed to proceed in his military operations. However, the fate of *Prague*, and the conquests of *Gustavus*, produced a general revolution in the empire. The archbishop of *Bremen*, the states of *Lower Saxony*, the Protestant towns, the counts of *Weteravia* and *Westerwald*, together with the whole *Leipsick* confederation, now openly espoused the interest of the *Swede*®.

The elector of Saxony subdues Lusace, and takes Prague.

A general revolution in favour of Gustavus.

*FERDINAND*, humbled by so many disasters, to which he had been so little accustomed, now saw himself in danger of being besieged in his capital, or chased from his hereditary dominions: and in this unfortunate dilemma his ministers represented, that the most efficacious expedient for re-establishing his affairs would be to deprive *Tilly* of the command of his army, and bestow it upon a general of more experience, and less devoted to the duke of *Bavaria*, who was not very sorry to see the house of *Austria* in distress. In a word, they proposed that he should recal *Walstein*; and he complied with this advice, notwithstanding the opposition of the *Spanish* ministers, who were the inveterate enemies of that general. *Walstein* had retired to *Znaim* in *Moravia*, where he consoled himself for his disgrace by brewing the misfortunes of *Germany*; and there he was found by the emperor's deputies, who conjured him to sacrifice his private resentment to the safety of his country, and resume the command of the army, which he should enjoy upon his own terms. He was accordingly declared generalissimo, and invested with an absolute power, independent of the councils of *Vienna*, while count *Tilly* was sent with a body of troops to act in *Franconia* and the neighbouring provinces.

A. D 1632. Walstein is recalled by the emperor, and declared generalissimo of his troops.

At the same time the emperor sent *Walstein*'s brother-in-law, the cardinal *d'Harrach*, to implore the assistance of the pope; and the baron *Rabata* to solicit succours from the *Italian* princes, either in money or troops: but both negotiations miscarried. In vain did the cardinal press the pope to assist his master with a sum of money, to employ his influence in detaching the king of *France* from his alliance with *Gustavus*, and to publish a crusade against the *Swede*, who (he alleged) had threatened to march into *Italy* and sack the city of *Rome*: f his holiness excused himself with regard to the money, on account of the poverty of the apostolic chamber; and, instead of a crusade, promised to publish a general jubilee.

While the emperor thus endeavoured to strengthen himself with new allies, the friends of *Sweden* tampered with some princes of the empire, who had hitherto supported his cause. *Charnace* the *French* ambassador at *Munich*, represented to the duke of *Bavaria*, that his interest was incompatible with the house of *Austria*, and exerted all his efforts to bring him over to the party of *Gustavus*; but all his art was ineffectual: the duke as well as his brother *Ferdinand*, elector of *Cologne*, were apprehensive that the Catholics would be oppressed, in consequence of the emperor's disaster; and they took umbrage at the reception which *Frederic* count-palatine had met with from the king of *Sweden*, who, doubtless, intended g to re-establish him in his dominions, provided he could compel *Ferdinand* to sue for peace. The same reasons weighed with the elector of *Mentz*, who, though he wished for nothing more than a neutrality, resolved to run all the risks of war rather than abandon the house

® BARRE, t. ix. p. 616.

® HEISS, t. iii. l. iii. p. 152.



of *Austria*. As for *Philip Christopher*, elector of *Triers* and bishop of *Spire*, he found himself in a very uncomfortable situation: the *Spaniards* were in possession of *Coblentz*, and the most considerable part of his dominions; and he had incurred the displeasure of *Gustavus* by the assassination of the count *de Solms*, who was said to have been murdered by the direction of this prelate (K). Finding himself therefore threatened by the *Swedes*, who was already at his gates, he sued for the protection of *France*, which he obtained on condition of detaching himself intirely from the emperor, and putting *Hermenstein* in the hands of the *French*, as a pledge of his fidelity<sup>a</sup>.

Gustavus enters Franconia.

*GUSTAVUS ADOLPHUS* having employed ministers every where to form new alliances, demand succours, remove the jealousies occasioned by his success, and traverse the negotiations of the emperor, he in person advanced to *Franconia* at the head of his army, which every day increated. *Nuremberg* received him with open arms; and after he had, by means of his secret emissaries, engaged in his interest the majority of the *Franconian* gentlemen and nobles, he marched towards *Neumarck*, in order to reduce *Ingoldstadt*, with design to pass the *Danube*, enter the *Upper Palatinate*, and from thence penetrate into *Bavaria*. Count *Tilly*, being informed of his motions, hastened towards that city, to oppose the approach of the *Swedes*; but *Gustavus*, turning suddenly to the right, appeared before *Donawert*, which was immediately abandoned by the *Bavarian* garrison; and by the favour of the conqueror retrieved its antient liberty, of which it had been deprived by the dukes of *Bavaria*. The *Swedes* now made excursions on both sides of the *Danube* without molestation; and their parties, extending themselves into *Suabia*, raised contributions on the towns and castles that depended upon the houses of *Austria* and *Bavaria*. b

Takes Donawert, and makes excursions on both sides of the Danube.

Tilly disputes the passage of the Lech; is obliged to retreat, and is mortally wounded.

ALL that *Tilly* could do, in order to hinder the enemy from entering *Bavaria*, was to dispute the passage of the *Lech*, upon the bank of which he posted himself so advantageously, that, in a council of war assembled by his *Swedish* majesty, general *Horn* was of opinion, that they ought not to attack an army covered by a river, provided with every thing necessary for a vigorous defence, and commanded by a general of consummate experience and ability. But the king, being determined at all risques to open a passage into *Bavaria*, reconnoitred in person the enemy's camp, and formed a scheme of passing the river upon a bridge of rafts, to be constructed and used under the fire of cannon that he resolved to plant on the bank, which being high, favoured his design. c

Augsburg and other places are surrendered to the conqueror.

THIS project was actually executed on the fifth day of *April* with incredible diligence. Seventy-two pieces of cannon soon destroyed six imperial regiments that were posted in an opposite wood; and *Gustavus* fortified the head of his bridge with a work, which the *Bavarians* attacked three times without success. During these efforts the *Swedish* cavalry forded the river; and count *Tilly*, afraid of being surrounded, took advantage of the night to retire in good order, with his baggage and artillery, to *Newburg* and *Ingoldstadt*: but in this retreat he was wounded in the thigh by a cannon-shot, and in a few days died at *Ingoldstadt*, extremely regretted by the duke of *Bavaria* and the whole army<sup>d</sup> (L). After the passage of the *Lech*, and the defeat of the *Bavarian* troops, there was nothing to resist the arms of *Gustavus*, who soon convinced his enemies of their error in likening him to a king of snow, that would melt in the spring. This last victory was followed by the surrender of *Augsburg*, in which the king re-established the exercise of the Protestant religion, and exacted an oath of allegiance from the magistrates; a step which cooled the zeal of his allies, who now began to suspect that he extended his views farther than he at first pretended. e

IN the mean time, the duke of *Bavaria* complained to the Catholic states of their having broke their promises with him, inasmuch as he had demanded succours, and nobody came to his relief. He likewise represented at *Vienna* the danger to which he was exposed; and *Walsstein*, pleased to see his enemy's country on the verge of destruction, never wanted plausible excuses for withholding his assistance, when the emperor<sup>f</sup> pressed him to save *Bavaria*; so that the duke, despairing of succour, sent his most valuable effects to *Saltzburg*.

Gustavus undertakes the siege of Ingoldstadt without success.

AT that time the king of *Sweden* was employed in the siege of *Ingoldstadt*, which was so gallantly defended by the son of count *Tilly*, that after having suffered several repulses, he resolved to quit the enterprize; and entering *Bavaria*, where he found the gates of *Landshut*, *Merspurg*, and *Frisinghen*, laid open at his approach, he, on the seventh day of

<sup>a</sup> Mercur. Franc. a l'An. 1632.

<sup>b</sup> BARRE, t. ix. p. 622.

<sup>c</sup> Id. ibid.

(K) The elector sent an insolent letter to *Gustavus*, who said to the gentleman who brought it, "Your master talks big; but tell him to keep his purse well replenished, for he will have occasion for all his dollars to regale the guests that I shall send to him. If the elector will quit the party of my enemies, he shall not be molested; but if he continues to misbehave, I shall soon bring him to reason."

(L) Count *Tilly*, killed in the seventieth year of his

age, was a gentleman of *Liege*, who had raised himself to the rank of lieutenant-general of the Catholic league, under the duke of *Bavaria*, and after *Walsstein's* disgrace, he succeeded to the chief command of the imperial troops. He was always victorious until the battle of *Leipsick*, and might be compared to the most illustrious captains of antiquity, had not his glory been stained by the horrid cruelties which he permitted his troops to commit when he took the city of *Magdeburg*.



a May, appeared before *Munich*, and was met by *St. Etienne*, the French envoy at the *Bavarian* court, who intreated him to spare the city and the magnificent palace. Some *Swedes*, on the contrary, exhorted him to revenge upon *Munich* the cruelties which count *Tilly's* army had perpetrated at *Magdeburg*; but to this advice he replied, in a truly heroic strain: "Let us not imitate the barbarity of the *Goths*, our ancestors, who have rendered their memory detestable by destroying all the beauties of art." Fraught with such noble sentiments he entered the city, which was ransomed by the citizens for three hundred thousand rixdollars, and found above one hundred and forty pieces of cannon belonging to the duke, which he ordered to be transported to *Augsburg* <sup>2</sup>.

b DURING these transactions, *Walstein* duke of *Fridland* put himself at the head of the imperial army, and undertook the siege of *Prague*, which he took by assault. *Egra*, and other places of that kingdom, returned to their allegiance; and the emperor, in a very little time, retrieved the whole country of *Bohemia*, while the duke of *Saxony* was obliged to weaken his army, by sending several detachments to cover the frontiers of his dominions.

*Walstein reduces all Bohemia to the dominion of the emperor.*

c THE success of *Walstein*, together with some vigorous actions performed by *Papenheim*, in *Saxony* and *Thuringia*, raised the drooping spirits of the Imperialists; and *Ferdinand* flattered himself with the hope of seeing his authority in a little time re-established through the whole empire. This, however, was a pleasure which the duke of *Fridland* had no intention to indulge him with; for the design of that general was to enter *Saxony*, and to force the duke to an accommodation with himself in particular; but the duke of *Bavaria*, and the *Spaniards*, made such pressing instances at the court of *Vienna*, that *Walstein* could not, with any decency, refuse to join *Maximilian*, and march against the king of *Sweden*. Nevertheless, he industriously thwarted him in all the operations of the campaign; permitted his troops to ravage the *Upper Palatinate*, as if it had been an enemy's country, and, instead of assenting to the duke's proposal of attacking *Gustavus*, who was at that time greatly inferior to them in numbers, he formed the resolution of starving the *Swedes*, and for that purpose took possession of the neighbouring villages, and ordered his cavalry to scour the country, with a view to cut off their convoys, and interrupt their foraging parties <sup>1</sup>.

d MEAN while, the king of *Sweden* having received a reinforcement under the chancellor *Oxenstiern*, the prince palatine of *Berkenfeld*, the dukes of *Saxe-Weymar*, the landgrave of *Hesse-Cassel*, and general *Bannier*, saw himself at the head of sixty thousand fighting men, and resolved to give battle to the enemy: but *Walstein* declining the engagement, and intrenching himself in the front of a wood, *Gustavus* advanced from *Nuremberg* to *Furt*, and drew up his forces in order of battle, to attack the Imperialists, who, on their side, made all the necessary dispositions for giving them a warm reception.

*Gustavus having received a reinforcement, attacks the Imperialists in their camp.*

e THE attack was begun by the *German* troops, who being soon repulsed, *Gustavus* ordered the rear of his army to fire upon those who had turned their backs; and after having severely reproached the *Germans* for their dastardly behaviour, he commanded some *Swedish* regiments to renew the assault. While these were very roughly handled by the Imperialists in front, the *Austrian* cavalry sallied out from their intrenchments to the right and left, and taking the enemy in flank made great slaughter; notwithstanding which they were obliged to retreat, and the action continued with great obstinacy for the space of ten hours: every regiment in the *Swedish* army, not even excepting the body of reserve, having marched up to the attack in its turn. At length the king of *Sweden* despairing of being able to force the Imperial intrenchments, resolved to effectuate a retreat; and seeing no general officer near him, he addressed himself to an old *Scottish* colonel of the name of *Hepburn*, who had quitted his service upon some disgust, and protested he would never draw a sword again in his cause. *Gustavus* was not ignorant of his sentiments; but relying upon his known courage and generosity, he desired him to wave his resentment for once, and exert himself for the safety of the troops. The veteran, seeing such a favourable opportunity of acquiring fresh laurels, told the king, that this was the only occasion on which he would ever serve such an ungrateful prince, and rushing into the hottest part of the battle, delivered the orders of *Gustavus* to his army, and conducted the retreat with such order and ability, that the Imperialists durst not venture to give them the least disturbance. Having performed this glorious exploit he retired to his own country, in contempt of all the promises and efforts which the king of *Sweden* made, in order to retain him in his service <sup>2</sup>.

*and is obliged to retreat with loss.*

f THIS engagement cost the *Austrians* about eleven hundred men, who were killed upon the spot, including the counts *Fugger*, *Aldobranden*, and *Caraffa*; but the *Swedes*, who were more exposed, lost a much greater number, with several officers of distinction; and *Gustavus* himself narrowly escaped with his life, part of his boot being carried off by a cannon-ball <sup>3</sup>. This prince did not think proper to make any other attempt upon the *Austrians*; but leaving *Oxenstiern* with a body of troops in *Nuremberg*, he advanced into *Franconia*,

*He leaves a garrison at Nuremberg, and marches towards Bavaria.*

<sup>1</sup> HEISS, t. iii. l. iii. p. 154.

<sup>2</sup> BARRE, t. ix. p. 625.

<sup>3</sup> PUFFENDORF, t. i. l. iv.



and marched towards *Bavaria*, in order to encourage and support the peasants who had revolted in *Upper Austria*; while the elector of *Saxony* leaving his own country defenceless, sent his troops into *Silesia*, to make a powerful diversion in favour of his *Swedish* majesty.

*WALSTEIN*, taking advantage of this conjuncture, separated from the duke of *Bavaria*, and marched towards *Misnia* to join count *Papenheim*, general of the Catholic league, intending to make himself master of this province, where he meant to establish his winter-quarters: and this motion not a little concerted the duke of *Saxony*, who pressed *Gustavus* to hasten to his relief. Accordingly the *Swede* quitted *Bavaria*, where he left twelve thousand men, and traversing *Thuringia*, arrived at *Naumburg*, where he was received with great demonstrations of joy. Here he was informed that *Papenheim* was detached from the imperial army to conduct six regiments into the country of *Cologne*; and that *Walstein*, after having quitted *Weissenfels*, had retired to *Lutzen*, at the distance of two leagues from *Leipsick*<sup>b</sup>. He no sooner received this intelligence, than he resolved to march thither and engage the enemy, who had thus imprudently weakened himself. He accordingly set out on this expedition, contrary to the opinion of *Bernard* duke of *Weymar*, who advised him to grant some repose to his troops; and on the fifteenth of *November* he came in sight of the imperial army about two o'clock in the afternoon. The day being so far spent he passed the night in order of battle, and next morning was prevented from engaging by a thick fog, which did not vanish till eleven in the forenoon; then *Gustavus* advancing at the head of his guards, repulsed the enemy from the place where their cannon was mounted, and turned their artillery against themselves: but this post was retaken in half an hour by the Imperialists, who obliged the *Swedes* to give way in their turn. The king, perceiving the disorder of his troops alighted, and putting himself at the head of his regiments "If (said he) after having passed so many rivers, scaled so many walls, and reduced so many strong holds, you have not courage to defend me, at least make one effort to stand and see me fall." Penetrated by this reproach they exclaimed, that they had no fear but for his person, and returned to the charge with such resolution, as to gain the artillery, and force the intrenchments of *Walstein's* camp. *Gustavus* having so far carried his point, went to reconnoitre another post, attended only by two aids du camp, and falling among a party of cuirassiers, was unhappily slain. His death, however, did not depress the courage of the *Swedes*, or in any shape alter his plan of the attack; in consequence of which the duke of *Saxe-Weymar* pressed the Imperialists on all hands, with such vigour and intrepidity, that they were involved in universal disorder, which was increased by the accidental explosion of gunpowder. In this emergency they were relieved by the arrival of count *Papenheim*, with part of his cavalry, who renewed the fight with great fury, and bore down all before him, until he received a mortal wound, of which he died next day at *Leipsick*. This misfortune disheartened the *Austrians* to such a degree, that taking the advantage of the night, they retreated with great precipitation, leaving their cannon and the field of battle to the *Swedes*, who lost about three thousand men in this engagement; but it cost the Imperialists double that number. Next day, after a diligent search, the king's body was found stripped, mangled, and covered with gore, one of his attendants lying dead at his side, and the other just expiring, though he had strength enough left to relate the manner of his prince's death<sup>c</sup>. The body was carried to *Naumburg*, then to *Wolgast*, from whence it was conveyed to *Stockholm*, where it was interred with great funeral pomp (M).

Thus fell *Gustavus Adolphus*, surnamed *the Great*, in the thirty-eighth year of his age, than whom no prince was ever more esteemed, beloved, and regretted. All the world considered him as an hero; the Protestants of *Germany* revered him as their deliverer; and the elector palatine, whose sole hope of recovering his dominions depended upon the intention and power of his *Swedish* majesty, being indisposed at *Mentz*, no sooner heard of this monarch's death, than he relapsed into a fever, which, in a few days, deprived him of life. Nor was this prince devoid of good qualities, though they were tarnished by a spirit of vanity and ambition, to which all his misfortunes were owing. *Charles-Lewis*, his eldest son, being under age at his death, the administration of his affairs were undertaken by *Philip-Lewis* his uncle, until he should be of age according to the constitutions of the empire<sup>d</sup>. Both armies were so weakened by the battle of *Lutzen*, that the war languished all the rest of the campaign, especially on the side of the emperor; for *Walstein* being in no condition to undertake any other enterprize, retired into *Bohemia*, whither he was fol-

*Gustavus marches to Lutzen, where he attacks the Austrians, and is slain.*

*The battle is restored by the arrival of Papenheim; but he being mortally wounded, victory declares for the Swedes.*

*The death of the elector palatine.*

*Walstein retires into Bohemia, and is followed by the Swedes.*

<sup>a</sup> DU MAY *Etat de L'Empire*, 10th dialogue. p. 930. <sup>b</sup> HEISS, t. iii. l. iii. p. 157. <sup>c</sup> LUCEN *Hist. Suec.* l. viii. p. 604. <sup>d</sup> PIACES, p. 430. <sup>e</sup> de GUALDO PRIORATO, part. i. l. v.

<sup>b</sup> HEISS, t. ii. l. iii. p. 156.

<sup>c</sup> EARRÉ, t. ix.

<sup>d</sup> *Histoire de*

(M) *Francis Albert*, duke of *Saxe-Lauenburg*, is suspected of having assassinated the king of *Sweden* in the battle, and what seems to confirm this suspicion, he im-

mediately after the engagement, abandoned the *Swedes* and declared for the emperor, whose army he had left for this vile purpose.



lowed by the *Swedes*, with the body of their dead monarch. In a word, *Ferdinand*, whose troops were defeated, looked upon himself as a gainer by the death of his most formidable enemy, and the *Swedes*, though victorious, considered themselves as undone by the loss of their king. This misfortune fell still the heavier, as he left no son capable to assume the reins of government, his only daughter *Christina* being at that time in the sixth year of her age: nevertheless, under the command of duke *Bernard*, they drove the Imperialists out of *Saxony*, before the end of the year, contrary to the expectation of *Ferdinand*, who hoped that now the *Swedish* troops would separate of their own accord, and their allies be so much divided among themselves, that he should find no difficulty in subduing them one after another.

C H A P. XVIII.

Containing the Progress of the War to the Treaty of Prague.

*WALSTEIN*, indeed, advised him to publish a general amnesty, which he believed would have a great tendency towards an accommodation; but his imperial majesty, who had other designs, and wanted to render himself absolute in the empire, made new preparations for continuing the war. The same steps were taken by the duke of *Bavaria*; and the *Spaniards* sent considerable sums into *Italy* to levy troops for the emperor's service. On the other hand a general consternation prevailed among the Protestants, who had flattered themselves with the hope of seeing their religion and liberty secured by the arms of *Gustavus Adolphus*. Besides, distrust and misunderstanding began to arise among themselves, as well as between them and the *Swedish* nation, to which they were unwilling to yield the chief direction of such a capital confederacy, although, without their assistance, they foresaw the scheme must be ruined without resource.

The emperor resolves to continue the war.

*CARDINAL de Richlieu*, tho' he privately rejoiced at the death of the king, resolved to maintain the alliance with *Sweden*, lest that kingdom should make a separate accommodation with the emperor, who might, in such a case, pour in his whole force upon *France*: he was likewise apprehensive that the *Swedes*, if detached from their alliance with *Lewis*, would fall upon the Catholics in *Germany*, from whom they could have extorted a much greater sum than the subsidy they received from the *French* king: and lastly, his design was to profit by the troubles of the empire, in seizing the whole country on the other side of the *Rhine*, from *Basil* to the *Moselle*. Swayed by these motives, the king of *France* wrote to *Oxenstiern*, the *Swedish* chancellor, and all the generals of that army, exhorting them to prosecute the work they had so happily begun, and promising to assist them with all his power. They received the same assurances from the *English* and *Dutch*; and as for the king of *Denmark*, the jealousy which he had conceived of *Gustavus*, being now considerably diminished, he would no longer listen to the promises of the emperor, who would have engaged him to break with *Sweden*. He was far from wishing to contribute to the ruin of the *German* Protestants: he saw *Sweden* had so many affairs upon her hands, that he might one way or other take the advantage of her being involved; and he flattered himself with the expectation of a match, between his son prince *Ulric* and the young queen *Christina*.

THE education of this young princess was, by the states of the kingdom, committed to the chiefs of the five colleges (N); namely the grand bailie, the marechal, the admiral, the chancellor and the treasurer of the crown: but the principal direction of the affairs of *Germany* was conferred upon *Oxenstiern*, the chancellor of the kingdom, whom *Gustavus* before his death had sent to solicit the circles of *High Germany* to make preparations for maintaining the war<sup>f</sup>. In the execution of this office, bestowed upon him by the states of *Sweden*, he found great obstacles to surmount, in the pride and dignity of the electors, and other Protestant princes, who were very little disposed to obey the regulations of a stranger; and in the jealousy of the generals, who, for the most part, were originally *Germans*: and he foresaw the danger and disgrace that would attend the *Swedes*, should they abandon their conquests, without first having concluded a treaty with the emperor. He perceived, that, whatever might be the issue, it would be more creditable to stay until he should be expelled by force of arms, than to retreat without resistance; that the more vigorously he acted, he might expect the more honourable peace; that, should he entirely abandon the work which was begun, the affairs of the Protestants must in a little time be ruined beyond redemption, and *Sweden* itself, by necessary consequence, be exposed to the utmost hazard; and that,

A. D. 1633.

*Oxenstiern* is entrusted with the principal direction of the *Swedish* affairs.

<sup>e</sup> PUFFENDORF Introduction a L'Histoire d' l'Univers. liv. vi. monarchie Suedoise, l. vi.

<sup>f</sup> PUFFENDORF L'Histoire de la Mo-

(N) The tutorage of *Christina*, and administration of her dominions, was claimed by *John Casimir*, prince palatine of the *Rhine*, third son of *John* the first, duke of *Deux-ponts*. He was married in *Sweden* to *Catharine*,

daughter to *Charles* the ninth, by whom he had several children, and among the rest *Charles Gustavus*, who succeeded *Christina* upon the throne of *Sweden*.



although he should not be able to perform his undertakings with that glory which would have attended their enterprizes had the king been alive, he might nevertheless hinder the enemy from approaching the frontiers of *Sweden*, until a favourable peace could be obtained.

SUCH were the reflections *Oxenstiern* suggested to the circles of *Suabia*, *Franconia*, the *Upper* and *Lower Rhine*. In order to deliberate upon the affairs of the common cause, he convoked an assembly, which was transferred from *Ulm* to *Hailbron*; and understanding that the elector of *Saxony* endeavoured to thwart his purpose, and obtain for himself the principal direction of affairs, he repaired to *Dresden*, with a view to engage that prince in a firm concurrence with the common interest. But being amused with general answers, and perceiving that several of the elector's counsellors inclined towards the cause of the emperor, he left this court, very little satisfied with the issue of his negotiation, and visited the elector of *Brandenburg*; who not only expressed the most hearty inclination to contribute towards the success of the common cause, but even went to *Dresden*, in order to reinforce the representations of the chancellor <sup>g</sup>.

ALL his remonstrances, however, made no impression upon the elector of *Saxony*, who complained that *Oxenstiern* arrogated to himself too much authority in the empire; and in particular inveighed against him, because he had hindered *Frederic-Ulric*, duke of *Brunswick*, from assembling the circle of *Lower-Saxony*, on pretence that the right of convoking belonged to the archbishop of *Magdeburg*, of which the crown of *Sweden* was then in possession. The ambassador of *France*, who arrived at *Dresden* in the midst of these transactions, employed his whole address to corroborate the arguments used by the elector of *Brandenburg*; but the *Saxon* remained inflexible, and, what aggravated the misfortune, *George* landgrave of *Hesse* communicated all that passed on this occasion to the emperor <sup>h</sup>.

NOTWITHSTANDING these obstacles, *Oxenstiern* neglected nothing to preserve the *Swedish* conquests: from the main army, which was then in *Misnia*, he detached fourteen thousand men, under the command of *George* duke of *Lunenbourg*, to drive the Imperialists from *Lower Saxony* and *Westphalia*: duke *Bernard* marched with the rest of the troops into *Franconia*, from whence he had orders to go and act in *Oberland* in concert with *Gustavus Horn*, who likewise had a considerable command; while the count *de Thurn* was sent to retrieve the *Swedish* affairs in *Silesia*, and to succour *Pomerania*, in case the Imperialists should make an irruption into that province. In consequence of this disposition, *Gustavus Horn* entered *Suabia*, where he defeated the *Bavarian* cavalry near *Kimpten*, and hindered them from taking up their quarters in the country of *Wirtemberg*. In *Westphalia*, *George* duke of *Lunenbourg* made himself master of several places; and after having beaten count *de Mansfeld*, near *Rhintilem*, laid siege to *Hamel*; and the landgrave *William* subdued great part of the country of *Munster*: but no progress was made in *Silesia*, because the *Swedish* and *Saxon* generals disagreed <sup>i</sup>.

The circles  
assemble at  
Hailbron.

IN the mean time the four cities assembled at *Hailbron* (O), notwithstanding the endeavours of the *Saxon*, who attempted to frustrate the convention by letters importing, that, in consequence of the treaty of *Leipsick*, he was invested with the direction of the Protestant affairs: and here the chancellor exerted himself with such success, that a league was formed with the crown of *Sweden*; and he, as plenipotentiary of that crown, entrusted with the conduct of affairs relating to the common cause, though he was restricted by a council chosen by the consent of all the allies, under the appellation of *consilium formatum* <sup>k</sup>. It was not without infinite pains that he gained his point, on this occasion, against the intrigues of the emperor and the court of *Saxony*, and in the midst of so many jarring interests, which he was obliged to unite: after all, he was limited by several troublesome clauses, suggested in private by *Feuquieres*, the *French* ambassador; who, while he openly exhorted the members to join with *Sweden*, was afraid of seeing the power of that crown and the Protestant interest too much strengthened in the empire.

THE king of *Denmark*, at length dazzled by the magnificent promises of the emperor, employed all his address in drawing the *Swedes* from *Germany*; and with this view offered his mediation for a peace to the elector of *Saxony*. *Oxenstiern*, on the other hand, who would not openly refuse the proposal, desired that the mediation of *France* and *Holland* might be joined to the good offices of his *Danish* majesty, well knowing that the em-

<sup>g</sup> BARRE, t. ix. p. 635.  
t. vii. p. 607.

<sup>h</sup> PUFFENDORF ubi supra.

<sup>i</sup> Id. ibid.

<sup>k</sup> SIKI. Memor. recond.

(O) This assembly was composed of deputies from the circles of the *Upper Rhine*, *Suabia*, and *Franconia*, the minister of the elector of *Brandenburg*, two dukes of the house of *Wirtemberg*, *Frederic* marquis of *Baden* and his two sons, the rhingrave, *Orto* and *Philip* the counts *Nassau*, *Selms*, *Hanau*, and several other princes; the marquises of *Anspach*, *Culmbach*, and *Branden-*

*burg*; the towns of *Nuremberg*, *Frankfort*, *Ulm*, and *Strasbourg*, sent deputies to this convention: the chancellor of *Sweden* was there with two counsellors, a secretary of state and several officers of the army: and finally, *Feuquieres*, *Anstruther*, and *Paw*, ambassadors from *France*, *England*, and *Holland*, attended at this assembly.



- a peror would never consent to such a conjunction, and that therefore the scheme must prove abortive. He had already observed, that a separate peace was on the carpet at *Dresden*, and opposed it with all his power; but, in order to provide for the worst, he, at the assembly of *Hailbron*, reinstated the children of *Frederic* count-palatine, in their territories and electoral dignity<sup>1</sup>; hoping by this measure to engage *England*, *Brandenburg*, and *Holland*, with the whole palatine house, to concur more seriously in the execution of his designs. At the same time he renewed the alliance between *France* and *Sweden*<sup>m</sup>, and took every step which he thought could induce the *Dutch* to act with vigour for the common cause. The duke of *Bavaria*, and other princes of the Catholic league, were left at liberty to remain neuter, on the conditions formerly proposed to them by *Gustavus*; and the confederates engaged to
- b guaranty one another in the articles which should be stipulated in any general peace.

*FEUQUIERES*, immediately after this assembly broke up, went to the courts of *Dresden* and *Berlin*, in order to persuade the electors of *Saxony* and *Brandenburg* to ratify the resolutions of *Hailbron*, and accept the mediation of the *French* king, as proposed by *Oxenstiern*; but the first rejected both these propositions, though he assured him he would never abandon his allies, or conclude a separate peace; and the other approved of the mediation, but declined ratifying the treaty of *Hailbron*, until he should confer with the elector of *Saxony*, whose assent to it he would endeavour to procure<sup>n</sup>.

- FERDINAND*, whose aim was to detach these electors from their alliance with *Sweden*, had, after the death of *Gustavus*, in a letter desired the landgrave of *Hesse-Darmstadt* to repair to *Leutmeritz*, where he would find the bishop of *Vienna* and *Questenberg*, who would communicate to him proposals for accommodation. He accordingly went to the place appointed, after having received directions from the electors, to whom he imparted the letter; but their demands seemed so extravagant to the emperor's ministers, that they refused to proceed in the negotiation.
- c *The emperor tampers with the electors of Saxony and Brandenburg for a separate peace.*

- MEAN while the war was carried on for some time with pretty equal success on both sides. Towns were taken and lost, the people ruined by large contributions, few provinces of the empire being exempted from pillage and destruction. *George* duke of *Lunenbourg* undertook the siege of *Hamelen* in *Lower Saxony*, which was defended by an *Austrian* garrison, in hope of being relieved by *Gronfeldt* and *Merode*, who actually advanced with design to
- d attack the enemy; but *George*, hearing of their approach, changed the siege into a blockade, and marched to meet them in the plain of *Oldendorp*, where they were utterly defeated, leaving three thousand dead on the field of battle, together with their cannon and baggage; whereas the *Swedes* did not lose above three hundred men. The count *de Merode*, to whom the vanquished attributed the loss of the day, died of the wounds he received in this battle, which was fought on the eighth of *July*; and in ten days after the engagement, the duke made himself master of *Hamelen*, where he found plenty of ammunition, with a numerous train of artillery<sup>o</sup>.
- George duke of Lunenbourg defeats the Imperialists at Oldendorp, and takes Hamelen.

- THE *Austrians* were not so unfortunate in *Silesia*, where *Walstein* surprised and defeated *Duval*, who commanded a body of *Swedish* troops in that province<sup>p</sup>: then he drove the Protestants from several posts, marched down along the *Oder* as far as *Frankfort*, which he took, and *Landsberg* surrendered without having made the least resistance. The *Swedes* were already under apprehensions of being totally expelled from *Pomerania*, when *Walstein* returned as he came, and gave duke *Bernard* an opportunity of joining his troops with those of marechal *Horn*, so as to render the *Swedes* stronger than the Imperialists. Indeed this general had no intention to retrieve the affairs of his master. Being intirely engrossed by the project of usurping the crown of *Bohemia*, he abandoned the dominions of the duke of *Bavaria* to the *Swedes*, and employed all his address to traverse the design of the duke of *Feria*, the *Spanish* general, who was in his passage from *Italy* into the empire, with a body of thirty thousand men, and in a fair way of eclipsing, or at least of rivalling, the power and
- e Walstein defeats Duval, and takes Frankfort upon the Oder.
- f reputation of *Walstein*. Accordingly this officer being pressed by *Ferdinand*, to favour the march of the duke of *Feria*, sent a detachment under *Aldringhen*, who was entirely devoted to his interest, with private instructions to thwart the *Spanish* general, and take such measures for harrassing and starving his troops, as should compel them to desert and disperse: nor were his expectations frustrated in this particular, as we shall see in the sequel.

- IN the midst of these intrigues of *Walstein*, a difference happened in *Switzerland* between the Protestant and Roman Catholic cantons. *Oxenstiern* had ordered the rhingrave *Otho*, *Swedish* governor of the two circles of the *Rhine*, to make himself master of the forest towns belonging to the house of *Austria* (P); and the Protestants, far from opposing, seemed rather to assist in the execution of this enterprize. The Catholics, on the contrary, in a diet which at that time they held at *Baden*, declared against the *Swedes*, and threatened to
- g

<sup>1</sup> BARRE, t. ix. p. 639.

<sup>m</sup> HEISS, l. iii.

<sup>n</sup> BARRE, t. ix. p. 641.

<sup>o</sup> ADLZREITTER, part iii. l. xviii,

<sup>p</sup> PUFFENDORF Introd. l. vi.

(P) These are *Reinfeld*, *Lauffemburg*, *Seckingen*, and *Waldbut*, situated in the neighbourhood of *Switzerland*.



repel them by force of arms. In these sentiments they were supported by the count *de Furstemberg*, the emperor's commissary, who represented, that by virtue of the alliance subsisting between the thirteen cantons and the house of *Austria*, the *Swiss* ought to compel the *Swedes* to relinquish their design upon the forest towns <sup>a</sup>. In consequence of this remonstrance, the diet of *Baden* required the rhingrave to remove from *Suabia*; but that general gave them to understand, that he could not dispense with the execution of the order he had received from *Oxenstiern*, who was director-general in the affairs of the Protestant union. This *Swedish* chancellor, and his assembly, hearing the great noise that was made by the *Austrian* ministers on this subject among the cantons, sent the count *de Stulingen* to the diet at *Baden*, to represent, that the hereditary alliance so loudly trumpeted by the Imperial commissary, far from obliging the cantons to defend the forest towns, did not even hinder them from engaging in the confederation of *Hailbron*, against the enemies of the empire. The speech that *Stulingen* made on this occasion perplexed the diet, and the *Swiss* afterwards assembling at *Lucerne*, came to a resolution of observing a perfect neutrality. <sup>b</sup>

Marechal  
Horn takes  
Stein, and  
makes an at-  
tempt upon  
Constance.

BUT the taking of *Stein*, and siege of *Constance*, by marechal *Horn*, were matters much more interesting to the *Swiss* than the conquest of the forest towns. That general, with a body of twelve thousand men, directed his march, all of a sudden, towards *Constance*, which being pretty well fortified on the side of *Germany*, he resolved to attack it from the *Switzerland* quarter, where it was very weak and defenceless; but in order to achieve this enterprise, it was necessary to pass the *Rhine* over the bridge of *Stein*, a town under the dominion of the *Swiss*, which he therefore took by surprise. Nevertheless, he was baffled in his attempt upon *Constance*, which was gallantly defended by *Wolfeg*, who continually received fresh supplies of soldiers and provision, and bravely repulsed the besiegers in a general assault <sup>c</sup>. Not even a reinforcement sent by prince *Christian* of *Birkenfeld*, and the junction of *Bernard* duke of *Saxe-Weymar*, could enable the marechal to accomplish his aim. The garrison of the place increased every day; and he found himself obliged to retire, though he pretended that this retreat was the effect of his complaisance for his most Christian majesty, who interposed in behalf of his allies of *Switzerland*.

Bernard duke  
of Saxe-Wey-  
mar marches  
into Bavaria,  
and takes Ra-  
tisbon, Strau-  
bingen, &c.

SOME time after this fruitless attempt, *Bernard*, in obedience to the chancellor's order, separated from *Horn*, and marching into *Bavaria*, appeared before *Ratisbon*, which he besieged with such industry and vigour, notwithstanding the brave opposition of *Teubreze*, who commanded in the place, that the inhabitants dreading an assault, obliged the governor to capitulate. From hence he marched towards *Passau*, with design to surprise that place, and afterwards to enter *Austria* on the side of the *Ems*, and favour the revolt of the peasants, who had promised to declare in favour of the *Swedes*. In his route he actually took *Straubingen*, and some other places; but the season being too far advanced for the execution of his scheme, he returned to *Ratisbon*, and put his troops in winter quarters <sup>d</sup>.

The duke de  
Feria obliges  
the rhingrave  
to abandon the  
siege of Bri-  
sack; but is  
thwarted by  
Aldringen.

DURING this progress of the duke of *Saxe-Weymar*, marechal *Horn* being joined by the duke of *Wirtemberg*, harrassed without ceasing the *Spaniards* commanded by the duke of *Feria*, who, after having passed the *Rhine* near *Basil*, marched with great diligence to the relief of *Brisack*, which was besieged by the rhingrave *John-Philip*; and this prince, finding himself unable to cope with such an antagonist, abandoned the siege, and retreated to *Colmar*, after having set his camp on fire. The duke of *Feria* having thus raised the siege of *Brisack*, resolved likewise to deliver *Philipsburg*, which was blockaded by *Schmeidberg*; and the rhingrave and the *Swedes* encamped near *Colmar*, were too weak to traverse the design of the *Spanish* general; when they were joined by marechal *Horn* and the prince of *Birkenfeld*, and enabled to meet the duke *de Feria*, to whose camp they forthwith marched in order of battle. The *Spaniard*, mortified to see himself defied in this manner, pressed *Aldringen* to give battle to the *Swedes*; but this officer, adhering to the private directions he had received from *Walstein*, would not consent to a general action, but repassed the *Rhine* at *Brisack*, on pretence of going to raise the blockade of *Philipsburg*; so that the duke of *Feria* seeing his troops greatly reduced by distempers, and this retreat, marched towards *Thau*, in order to meet a reinforcement from *Franché-comté*, which however was very inconsiderable. In the mean time, *Horn* and the prince of *Birkenfeld* pursued *Aldringen*, and several times defeated his rear with great slaughter; so that he was forced to retire as far as *Brisack*, where he was again joined by the duke of *Feria*, whom necessity compelled to forget the affront he had received <sup>e</sup>. This junction stopped the progress of the *Swedes*, until the rhingrave united his forces with those of marechal *Horn*, who then drove the enemy back to *Bavaria*, with the loss of five thousand men. The bad success of this campaign affected the *Spanish* general so deeply, that he died of grief; and *Aldringen*, who is accused of having been the cause of his misfortunes, was killed on his march to the relief of *Landshut* <sup>f</sup>.

Marechal  
Horn pursues  
Aldringen,  
and the duke  
de Feria dies  
of grief.

OXENSTIERN had resolved to send *Bannier* into *Silesia* with the army which he commanded on the *Elbe*, while *Arnheim*, with his *Saxons*, should march towards *Bohemia*, and

<sup>a</sup> LOTYCHUS rer. German. part ii. l. v. c. iv. <sup>b</sup> PIACES. p. 465. <sup>c</sup> BARRE, t. ix. p. 647. <sup>d</sup> ADLZREIT. part iii. l. xviii. <sup>e</sup> PUFENDORF Introd. 2 l'Histoire, l. vi.



a oblige the *Austrians* to divide their forces; but this project was rendered ineffectual by the practices of the *Saxon* general, who attempted to stop the progress of the *Swedes* by all the means in his power; and instead of taking the route to *Bohemia*, turned towards *La Marche*, and consumed his time to no purpose in besieging *Frankfort* upon the *Oder*.

ALTHOUGH the arms of *Sweden* had hitherto been pretty successful, except in *Silesia*, the war became every day more and more burthensome and disagreeable to that nation. The four circles of *Upper Germany* were heartily tired of its continuance, by which they had been exposed to so many ravages; for, notwithstanding the utmost precautions, it was impossible to restrain the soldiers within the rules of exact discipline, because they could not be regularly paid. The landgrave acted for himself alone, and insisted upon keeping all the conquests he had made. The *French* pretended to claim all the country from *Basil* to the *Moselle*, and took umbrage at *Oxenstiern*, who refused to act in all things according to their pleasure. *Holland* beheld the conquests of *Sweden* with a jealous eye; and *England*, far from engaging heartily in the affairs of the empire, seemed rather to incline a little towards the interests of *Spain*: but the elector of *Saxony* did infinitely more mischief than service to the common cause. As he could not bear to see *Oxenstiern* at the head of affairs, he precipitately engaged in a negotiation for a peace, which could serve no other purpose than that of producing a new war; besides, by means of *Arnheim*, he did all that lay in his power to traverse the designs of *Sweden*. Dependence could no longer be placed upon the elector of *Brandenburg*, because there was no longer any prospect of concluding the match between his son and queen *Christina*; and finally, *Pomerania* was an enemy to *Sweden*.

The different  
views and dis-  
positions among  
the confede-  
rates.

NOTWITHSTANDING these discouragements, *Oxenstiern* employed all his efforts in supporting the common cause. In an assembly of the circles of *Lower Saxony*, convened at *Halberstadt*, he exerted his whole address to retain the confederates in their union, and induce them to make vigorous preparations for war: he afterwards convoked an assembly at *Frankfort* upon the *Maine*, to which he invited all the Protestants, to deliberate, whether the war should be continued, or an accommodation effected\*.

IN the midst of all these difficulties, the *Swedes* conceived great hopes when they learned that *Wallstein* was in disgrace with the emperor, and resolved to join the Protestants. We have already observed, that this general, when he was first divested of his command, thought himself extremely ill requited for the services he had done the emperor; and, during his retreat, laid plans for raising himself again to such a pitch of power, as would enable him not only to revenge, but repay himself to his own wish: for he aspired at nothing less than the kingdom of *Bohemia*, and the possession of *Moravia*, as the reward of his toils, and an equivalent for the duchy of *Mecklenburg*, which he had lost. His re-establishment in the rank of generalissimo of the emperor's forces seemed a favourable occasion for the execution of his projects; and since his elevation to this post, he had spared neither money nor caresses to conciliate the affection of the officers, so as that he might be formidable to the emperor, and obtain from his fear what he could never expect from his goodwill. He had likewise set on foot a secret correspondence with the Protestant party, and *France*, whom he promised to join with the army under his command, provided they would consent to his ascending the throne of *Bohemia*, and assist him to conquer that kingdom; and, lastly, he had exacted an oath of fidelity from his officers, in which the emperor's name was not mentioned. These however were steps, which, in all probability, he did not take, until he found his enemies had succeeded in ruining him with the emperor. The jesuits, and other priests, were his inveterate foes, because he had always declared them perturbators of the public repose, who had no title to intermeddle in affairs of state; the duke of *Bavaria* bore him an old grudge; and the *Spaniards* were extremely incensed against him, because he treated their schemes and advice with contempt, and affected to ridicule their nation. These therefore, joining together, let slip no opportunity of blackening his character at the court of *Vienna*; and, unhappily for him, their accusations were rendered plausible by his own insolence and misconduct. They taxed him with having spent the summer in vain negotiation, when he might have easily invaded *Pomerania* and *Mecklenburg*; with having lost *Ratisbon* by his negligence; and exhausted the hereditary provinces of the house of *Austria*, by making them winter quarters for his troops, which might have been subsisted elsewhere. In a word, they represented him in such a light, that the emperor no longer doubted his treachery; and, perhaps, it was not till after he understood this triumph of his enemies (Q), that he seriously thought of betraying his trust. Certain it is, he made over-

A. D. 1634,  
Wallstein falls  
into disgrace  
with the em-  
peror.

\* PUFFENDORF Introd. a l'Histoire, l. vi.

(Q) Puffendorf is of opinion, that *Wallstein* at first had no other view in his secret negotiation with the *Swedes* and *Saxons*, than that of amusing them to their own destruction: and that the freedoms he publicly took in speaking of the emperor, were in consequence of a secret

permission he had from the court of *Vienna*, for the more effectual deception of the confederates. Certain it is, *Bernard* duke of *Saxe-Weimar* neglected his proposals, by the advice of *Oxenstiern*, who from the beginning believed he acted in concert with the emperor.

tures



tures to the *Swedes*, who suspected his sincerity; and afterwards, assembling his principal officers at *Pilsen*, pretended that he would relinquish the command of the army, rather than be longer exposed to the venomous shafts of his private foes. Having made this declaration, he retired; and his confidants, *Tertski*, *Illo*, and *Kinsky*, took this opportunity to represent the prejudice which would result from his retreat, to religion, to the empire, and to the officers of the army, whose fortune was attached to the fate of their general: they therefore proposed, that he should be obliged to retain the command; but at the same time observed, it would be no more than justice in them to take effectual measures for protecting him from the malice of his enemies. The proposal was received with applause; and, in consequence of their insinuations, two and fifty officers subscribed an association upon oath, by which they engaged to follow his fortune, and defend his life.<sup>y</sup>

Fifty-two officers take an oath to follow his fortune and defend his life.

He is put to the ban of the empire,

THIS combination was no sooner formed, than *Picolomini*, one of the subscribers, revealed it to *Francis* and *Matthias de Medicis*, the nephews of *Ferdinand*, who were then at *Pilsen*; and they immediately dispatched a messenger to the emperor, with an account of what they had learned touching this conspiracy. In consequence of this information, *Ferdinand* assembled the Imperial council, in which *Walstein* was declared a rebel, and, with three or four of his accomplices, put to the ban of the empire. *Picolomini*, being charged with the execution of this decree, put himself at the head of a body of troops, and advanced towards *Pilsen*, with intent to seize the duke of *Fridland* and his partizans; while *Balthazar de Marades* had orders to repair to *Prague*, and exact from the garrison and inhabitants a new oath of allegiance to the emperor, so as that the outlaw should find no shelter in that place.<sup>c</sup>

and retires to Egra,

*WALSTEIN* was not ignorant of these transactions, which gave him but little disturbance, because he thought he had made his party good among the Protestants, among whom he would be sure of finding protection, when every other resource should have failed: but in the mean time, as his scheme was not yet ripe, he resolved to try some expedients for removing the suspicion of the emperor; and, to shew that he was under no apprehension, he repaired to *Egra*, with no other attendants than the counts of *Tertski* and *Kinsky*, with two or three other officers. He looked upon this as the most secure and commodious place of retreat, because it was garrisoned by the *Irish* troops, who he imagined were intirely devoted to his interest, and at hand for carrying on his negotiation with the *Swedes*. Accordingly he was no sooner arrived in this place than he received a courier, with letters from the duke of *Saxony*, pressing him to a conference with the duke of *Weymar*, in order to settle the junction of their forces; and he was actually resolved to comply with his request. But *Lesley*, a *Scotch* officer, who admitted the courier, as captain of the guard, having dived into the substance of his dispatches, communicated his discovery to *Gordon* and *Butler*, who were colonels in the Imperial service; and, as *Walstein* was a proclaimed outlaw, they determined to prevent the execution of his purpose, by depriving him of life without loss of time: his followers were likewise destined to the same fate, lest they should excite some disturbance on the death of their general. It was therefore agreed, that *Gordon* should invite the counts of *Tertski* and *Kinsky*, together with the other three officers, to supper; and that, upon a certain signal, they should be assassinated by a number of soldiers, who were instructed to rush in and sacrifice the guests. This barbarous scene was accordingly acted, to the disgrace of hospitality and the infamy of the perpetrators; who afterwards went to the apartment of *Walstein*, and broke open the door. At the noise, occasioned by their entering, he had started up from bed, and run towards a window, where *Butler* thrust a portuisan into his body, and he fell dead upon the spot, without having uttered one word.<sup>d</sup> Thus died, at the age of fifty, the famous *Walstein* duke of *Fridland*, who had even shaken the fortune of the great *Gustavus*. Nothing could exceed his courage but his ambition; for the gratification of which he would have renounced all obligations, human and divine. His death was a loss to the *Swedes*, whose party he would certainly have embraced; and, for that reason, an advantage to the Imperialists, whom he was on the point of betraying.<sup>e</sup>

where he and his friends are assassinated by Gordon, Lesley, and Butler.

The duke of Saxe-Lauemburg is arrested and sent prisoner to Vienna.

*FRANCIS ALBERT*, duke of *Saxe-Lauemburg*, who enjoyed the confidence of *Walstein*, having next day entered *Egra*, without knowing what had happened, was arrested, and sent prisoner to *Vienna*; and *Bernard*, duke of *Saxe-Weymar*, going to the same place, had well nigh shared the same fate: but he was advised upon the road to retire with all expedition, and he did not neglect the intimation. The colonels *Spar* and *Ulefelt*, together with sixteen other officers, lost their heads, for having engaged in *Walstein's* conspiracy.

It was believed that the death of this general would produce great disturbance in the Imperial army, because he was so much beloved by the soldiers; but the emperor had taken such precautions as prevented any consequence of this kind, except the revolt of the *Silesians*, who took up arms at the instigation of *Freiberg*, the lieutenant of *Walstein*; but they were soon reduced, and their chief sent prisoner to *Vienna*.<sup>b</sup> True it is, duke *Bernard* sur-

<sup>y</sup> STRUV. per. x. sect. ix. p. 3024.

<sup>z</sup> BARRE, t. ix. p. 655.

<sup>a</sup> HEISS, l. iii. c. ix.

<sup>b</sup> BARRE, t. ix. p.



a prised and cut in pieces one regiment of *Austrians*; but the Imperialists, in revenge, drove part of his forces out of the *Upper Palatinate*, and another body was dislodged from *Straubingen* by the *Bavarians*. However, *Gustavus Horn* made considerable progress in *Upper Suabia*, where he took the towns of *Kempten*, *Biberach*, and *Memmingen*, and gained some other considerable advantages over the enemy. About the same time the rhingrave defeated a body of Imperialists and *Lorrainers*, in an obstinate battle fought near *Watweiler*, and made himself master of divers places in *Upper Alsace*, and in the *Suntgaw*: while *Lewis Schmeidberg* took *Philipsburg* by famine, and *Alexander Lesly* drove the *Austrians* from *Landsherg* c.

The rhingrave defeats a body of Imperialists and Lorrainers,

b THE elector of *Saxony* had been a long time amused by the house of *Austria* with the hope of giving peace to the empire; but was at length undeceived, and ordered his troops to enter *Lusace*. In obedience to this order, *Frederic-William* of *Saxony*, duke of *Altemburg*, being joined by *Arnheim*, invested *Bauzen*, the garrison of which was commanded by colonel *Goltz*, who, finding himself besieged, ordered the suburbs to be set on fire. This proved a very unhappy step; for the flames being by an high wind conveyed to the town, it was reduced to ashes, seven hundred men lost their lives, and all the wealth and provisions of the place were consumed: so that the governor was obliged to capitulate d.

Bauzen is reduced to ashes

c THEN *Arnheim* undertook the siege of *Sittau* on the river *Neiss*; and, hearing the Imperialists were in full march to attack him in his lines, he resolved to be before-hand with them, and meet them half-way: their van being defeated, they were obliged to retreat, and re-join the main body of their army, commanded by general *Colorado*, which, though advantageously posted and intrenched, *Arnheim* determined to attack. His success was equal to the boldness of the enterprize: after an action that lasted five hours, they were forced on all hands, and betook themselves to flight, some to *Lignitz*, and others towards *Glatz* in *Bohemia*, leaving six and thirty pair of colours, seven and twenty standards, nine pieces of cannon, two mortars, all their baggage and ammunition, and four thousand men upon the field, besides fourteen hundred who were taken prisoners; while the loss of the *Saxons* was altogether inconsiderable e.

Arnheim forces the intrenchments of the Imperialists.

d ARNHEIM, having obtained this victory, passed the *Oder*, took *Stenau*, and made himself master of *Glogaw*, after a siege of fifteen days. Mean while, the *Swedes* proceeded with their operations in *Pomerania* and *Mecklenburg*. General *Bannier* invested *Frankfort* upon the *Oder*, which was surrendered, after a gallant defence, and put into the hands of the elector of *Brandenburg*. Then he advanced, at the head of seventeen thousand men, through *Silesia*, towards *Bohemia*; defeated a body of *Croats*, conquered *Fridland*, took possession of *Leutmeritz*, made himself master of *Melnick*, crossed the *Elbe* on a bridge of boats, and encamped at the foot of the *White Mountain* before *Prague*: here he was joined by the elector of *Saxony* and *Arnheim*, who had marched through *Misnia*, in order to make a diversion in favour of *Ratisbon*, at that time besieged by the *Austrians*. In their way they had taken *Sittau* by assault, and abandoned it to pillage. The *Austrians* having possessed themselves of the rising-grounds in the neighbourhood of the *Saxon* army, nothing passed on either e side but smart skirmishes for several days; when the elector, seeing it was impracticable to force the enemy from their post, and beginning to be in want of provision, thought proper to retire towards *Melnick*, near which place he fixed his camp.

f THE affairs of the *Swedes* declined daily in *Bavaria*, where the siege of *Ratisbon* was still carried on by the king of *Hungary*, whom the emperor had declared generalissimo of his troops: here he was reinforced by the duke of *Bavaria*, and battered the place with one hundred pieces of cannon. In a word, this being the first enterprize of the new general, every step was taken to render it successful. On the other hand, the city was defended with incredible bravery and resolution by the *Swedish* commandant *Larsz Kogge*, who repulsed the Imperialists in divers desperate assaults, and at last obtained a very honourable capitulation. *Bernard* duke of *Weymar* and *Gustavus Horn* had actually joined their forces, and were marching to the relief of the place, when they heard the disagreeable news of its being surrendered: they, at the same time, had the mortification to see their army harrassed by the bad roads, without being able to indulge it with proper refreshment and repose; because the *Austrians* were posted before *Nordlingen*, and had received a powerful reinforcement of *Spanish* troops from *Italy*, so that they threatened to strike some stroke of importance before they should be obliged to part; for these troops of *Spain* were destined for the *Low Countries*, and could only act in their passage thither.

The city of Ratisbon is taken by the king of Hungary.

g THE *Swedes* took post near *Ropfingen* in a very commodious situation, having behind them the whole country of *Wirtemberg*, from whence they could be supplied with necessaries and refreshments. Here they might have securely waited until the *Spaniards* should have proceeded on their march, and then ventured a battle with the Imperialists, thus weakened; the worst consequence of this step would have been the loss of *Nordlingen*, which could not

c PUFFENDORF Introd. l. vi.

d PIACES. p. 470.

e KHEVENHULLER, t. xii. p. 1260.



have been a matter of great consequence, especially as their affairs were in a prosperous condition in other countries. They had the upper hand in *Westphalia*: *Hildesheim* had surrendered to *George* duke of *Lunenburg*, after he had defeated the enemy at *Sarsfeldt*. We have already mentioned the success of *Arnheim* and *Bannier*; and the rhingrave had reduced *Brisac* and *Rbinsfeld* to the last extremity. *Horn* was therefore of opinion, that no unnecessary risque ought to be run, at least until the arrival of *Cratz* and the rhingrave, who were actually on the march to join them with ten thousand men: but he was over-ruled by the other generals, who proposed that they should approach nearer to *Nordlingen*, and occupy the mountain *Arensberg*, from whence they might with more convenience succour the besieged<sup>f</sup>. While this motion was agreed upon in the *Swedish* council of war, the Imperialists eagerly waited for an opportunity to engage; for their army was very numerous, and they were inspired with uncommon courage and alacrity by the presence of four princes; namely, the king of *Hungary*, the cardinal-infant, governor of the *Low Countries*, and the dukes of *Bavaria* and *Lorraine*.

The Swedes are defeated by the Imperialists before Nordlingen,

On the fifteenth day of *September*, about five in the evening, the *Swedes* began the action, by charging eight squadrons of the Imperial cavalry, who, after their general *Aldobrandin* was slain, retreated to a hill, where they were supported by the *Spanish* infantry. As this was an advantageous post, the duke of *Weymar* ordered it to be attacked; and, after a dispute which lasted till midnight, it was carried by the impetuosity of the *Swedes*, before whom the *Spaniards* retired to another hill, on which the Imperial army was encamped. At break of day the *Swedish* army marched in order of battle, to force the intrenchments of the Imperialists, which they charged with such fury, that the *Austrians* were put into disorder, and would, in all probability, have been routed, had not they been sustained by the *Spaniards* under *Martin D'Itraques*, who attacked the *Swedes* in their turn, and regained the ground which the *Germans* had lost. The duke of *Weymar*, who could not bear to see the victory so long in suspense, charged at the head of the left wing, a post defended by *Galas*, and the marquis *de Leganez*, who were driven backwards as far as the station of the king of *Hungary*, where they were supported by *Gambacorta*, with his *Neapolitan* and *Hungarian* horse, and rallying their troops, retrieved their loss, and broke that wing of the *Swedish* army. But the hottest of the battle was upon an hill, where *Charles* duke of *Lorraine*, and *John de Wert*, signalized themselves in very extraordinary acts of valour. Nor did the *Swedes* belie the reputation they had formerly acquired. *Bernard de Weymar* came to their assistance; and his presence inspired them with fresh courage; they redoubled their efforts, and though fatigued by the long duration of the battle, fought with incredible fury and perseverance, until, at length, they were obliged to yield to the number and fortune of the foe. The duke of *Lorraine* had the glory to win the duke of *Weymar's* standard with his own hand, and to break the hitherto invincible troops of that general. His cavalry pursued those who fled; and the generals *Horn*, *Cratz*, *Hoffkirk*, *Rostock*, and several other officers of distinction, were taken prisoners: but the duke *de Weymar* had the good fortune to escape to *Wirtemberg*, with the greatest part of the *Swedish* cavalry; for the rhingrave, who was within three miles of the field, put himself in motion, and checked the pursuit of the Imperialists. Nevertheless, the *Swedes* lost eight thousand men, who were slain on the field; nine thousand were killed in their flight, and four thousand were taken prisoners; and they left behind them about fourscore pieces of cannon, all their ammunition and baggage, and an infinite number of standards and colours, while the loss of the victors did not exceed two thousand men who fell in battle<sup>g</sup> (R).

which surrenders to the victors, who reduce Suabia and Franconia.

NEXT day the garrison of *Nordlingen* surrendered at discretion; and the Imperialists profiting by their good fortune, subdued the greatest part of *Franconia*, and the whole circle of *Suabia*. *Hailbron* and *Heidelberg* opened their gates to the conquerors; the whole country of *Wirtemberg* was ravaged, and the duke obliged to take refuge in *Strasburg*, while *Charles* of *Lorraine* entered the *Brissgaw*, in conjunction with the *Bavarian* troops<sup>h</sup>.

THE news of this defeat overwhelmed *Oxenstiern* with chagrin, especially as the league of *Hailbron* had, in a manner, vanished in smoke. The confederates were now reduced to despair, and loudly exclaimed against the *Swedes*, as the authors of those calamities they were destined to undergo. The chancellor, however, would not suffer himself to be totally dejected, but resolved to repair this misfortune by all the means in his power: for this purpose he endeavoured to gain time, and engage the *French* in the war; foreseeing, that should he be so lucky as to accomplish this aim, he might be able to obtain a tolerable peace from the emperor. For this reason he would not retire and abandon *Upper Germany*

<sup>f</sup> PUFFENDORF Introd. l. vi. p. 666.

<sup>g</sup> STRUV. per. x. sect. ix. p. 3026. HEISS, l. iii. c. ix.

<sup>h</sup> BARRE, t. ix.

(R) Puffendorf attributes the loss of the battle to the Polish and Hungarian cavalry and Croats, who rushed down by mere weight of men and horse, so that the main body of the Imperial army charged them while they were yet in confusion.



a to the Imperialists, according to the advice of some who pretended to be his friends; nor indeed was he as yet without resource. The troops commanded by *George* duke of *Lunenburg*, *William* landgrave of *Hesse*, as well as those under the conduct of *Bannier*, and the rhingrave, had hitherto received no check, and were sufficient to cope with the enemy; had the confederates been firmly united: besides, the cavalry, which did not suffer much in the last battle, had rallied in the neighbourhood of *Frankfort* upon the *Maine*.

NOTWITHSTANDING these sources of encouragement, it must be owned their affairs were in a very melancholy situation. The elector of *Saxony*, far from bestirring himself for the common interest, employed his whole attention in obtaining an exclusive peace. The other confederates acted so coldly and so slowly, as to allow the Imperialists to penetrate into the heart of *Germany*, and hinder the junction of the allies; and those members of the league who were more remote, gave but little heed to the exhortations of the chancellor. To crown the misfortune, the troops began to clamour for their pay, which could not be raised; and the *Austrians*, passing the *Rhine* at *Mentz*, cantoned themselves in that neighbourhood, where they soon consumed all the forage and provisions.

IN this emergency their only support was the king of *France*, whose interest was certainly concerned in this affair: for had the *Swedes* been oppressed, the Imperialists would not have failed to invade that kingdom with all their forces. With a view therefore to render that monarch the more propitious, the *Swedish* chancellor put him in possession of *Philipsburg*, and earnestly solicited the marechal *de la Force*, to advance with his army, in order to facilitate the re-union and disposition of the *Swedish* troops which had been defeated and dispersed. At the same time ambassadors were sent into *France*, to induce the king, by the most pressing instances, to declare war against the emperor <sup>1</sup>.

THE rhingrave, who knew the condition of *Alsace*, proposed that *Colmar* and *Schelestadt* should likewise be ceded to the *French*, that he might draw from these places sixteen companies of infantry, and two troops of horse, which, when joined to his little army, would enable him to keep the field; and this scheme was actually put in execution, by an agreement between the *Swedes* and *de la Force* <sup>2</sup>; but death surprised the rhingrave, while he was employed in measures for putting *Alsace* in a posture of defence, and in him the Protestant party lost a very brave and fortunate general.

d IMMEDIATELY after this event, a treaty was concluded at *Paris* between *France* and *Sweden*; in consequence of which the whole province of *Alsace* was put as a deposit under the protection of his most Christian majesty, who engaged to maintain a considerable army on that side the *Rhine*, to advance money for the pay and accoutrements of the *Swedish* cavalry, and to break with the emperor, as soon as he should be assured that the electors of *Saxony* and *Brandenburg*, with the princes and states of the Protestant league, would not conclude either treaty or truce with the common enemy, except in concert with him and his confederates <sup>3</sup>.

THIS convention being made, the king of *France* sent fresh troops into *Alsace*, with the marechal *de Breze*, to act in concert with *de la Force*; and these two generals posted ten thousand men in the mountains of *Voge*, to line the skirts of that province: but notwithstanding this precaution, the *Lorrainers* surprised the *Swedish* garrison at *Tbau*, though the marquis *de la Force* soon obliged them to retreat with the loss of their cannon. But this small dawn of success did not indemnify the *French* for the loss of *Philipsburg*, which *Galas*, general of the Imperial troops, took by surprise, and found in it a well-furnished magazine of cannon and ammunition, a prize of such importance, as even equalled a victory in the field <sup>m</sup>. He afterwards made himself master of *Spire*, in which he placed a strong garrison, under the command of the baron *de Metternich*: but notwithstanding the rigour of the winter season, the *French* marechals, with a reinforcement of the duke of *Weymar*'s troops, invested the place, which was surrendered upon capitulation. The governor and principal officers were made prisoners, and the garrison enlisted under the banners of the duke of *Weymar*, who was created governor of the place, and, for his greater convenience, allowed to quarter his troops in *Landau*, *Weissemburg*, and *Germerheim*.

g By these precautions, *Lower Alsace* was secured, though the upper part of that province was very much harassed by the duke of *Lorraine*, who had passed the *Rhine* at *Brisack*, and threatened to take *Strasbourg* and *Rhinfeld* by surprise or assault. His schemes, however, were baffled by the vigilance and activity of the duke *de Rohan*, who compelled him three times to repass the *Rhine*, and took such measures as absolutely secured *Upper Alsace* from all his attempts. Hitherto *France* had only employed her arms for the defence of her allies, without having directly committed any acts of hostility upon the house of *Austria*: but now she had interested herself so far in the concerns of the *Swedes* and Protestants, that she waited for nothing but a pretence to declare openly against the emperor, and at this period

The elector of Saxony negotiates a separate peace.

The death of Otho the rhingrave.

A. D. 1635.

<sup>1</sup> PUFFENDORF, rer. Succ. l. vi. cur. Franc. t. xv. a l' An. 1635.

<sup>2</sup> Recueil de Traités, t. iii. p. 359.

<sup>3</sup> BARRE, t. ix. p. 668.

<sup>m</sup> Merg-



Cause of the  
war between  
France and  
the house of-  
Austria.

a  
a favourable opportunity occurred. This was no other than the violent seizure of *Philip-Christopher de Soetern*, elector of *Triers*, who was by the emperor and the infant *Ferdinand* committed prisoner to the castle of *Teuves* near *Brussels*, after they had taken possession of his city". *Lewis* loudly complained of this outrage offered to his ally, and ordered his resident at *Brussels* to demand of the infant-cardinal, the elector's liberty, and the restitution of his dominions: when he received for answer, that the cardinal could not comply with his desire, until he should have first of all consulted the court of *Vienna*. The king of *France* considered this as a refusal; and having other reasons to be disgusted at the *Spaniards*, who had in several articles infringed the peace of *Verwins*, he took the present opportunity of declaring war against *Spain*, by an herald sent to *Brussels* for that purpose. Yet he did not involve himself in such an important quarrel, before he had concluded an offensive and defensive league with the states-general of the United Provinces<sup>o</sup>; and sent *Feuquieres* to treat with the deputies of the circles of *Suabia*, *Franconia*, the *Upper* and *Lower Rhine*, who were assembled at *Worms*; where, after mature deliberation, they engaged to the most Christian king to act with all possible vigour for the interest of the common cause; and they intreated his majesty to take into his pay the army of the circles, consisting of seven thousand foot and four thousand horse, under the command of the duke of *Weymar*. b

The duke of  
Saxony con-  
cludes the  
treaty of  
Prague with  
the emperor.

ON the other hand, the court of *Vienna* still continued to negotiate with the elector of *Saxony*, who had some time ago resolved to effect an accommodation with the house of *Austria*. The deputies were actually assembled at *Pirn* in *Misnia*, together with those of *George* landgrave of *Hesse-Darmstadt*; and the conferences spun out to a considerable length of time, by disputes touching the restitution of ecclesiastical effects and dignities, which had been seized by the Protestants. At length, after much altercation, they agreed to assemble at *Prague*, where the treaty was concluded, and signed on the thirtieth day of *May*; and the articles were to this effect: "That the mediate ecclesiastical benefices, or those which did not immediately depend upon the empire, and were seized before the pacification of *Passau*, should continue for ever the property of those Protestants who at present enjoyed them; and that for the space of forty years the Protestants should remain possessed of the immediate ecclesiastical benefices, of which they had made themselves masters before or after the said transaction at *Passau*, and actually enjoyed before the twelfth day of *November*, in the year one thousand six hundred and twenty-seven. That the exercise of the Catholic and Protestant religion should be freely permitted in all the dominions of the empire, except the kingdom of *Bohemia* and the provinces subject to the house of *Austria*. That the duke of *Bavaria* should be maintained in possession of the *Palatinate*, on condition of paying the jointure of *Frederic's* widow, and a proper subsistence for his son, whenever he should return to his duty. That there should be between the emperor and the confederates of the *Augsburg* confession, who would sign this treaty, a mutual restitution of every thing which had been taken on both sides since the irruption of *Gustavus* into the empire. That the duke of *Lorraine* should retrieve what he had lost; and if the king of *France*, or any other prince, should persist in retaining his fiefs, the house of *Austria* and the princes acceding to this treaty should join their forces to do him justice. That the fortres of *Philipsburg* should remain in the hands of the emperor, for the service of the *Germanic* body. And, finally, that the states subscribing the present treaty should enjoy a general amnesty<sup>p</sup>." c d

THIS is the substance of the peace of *Prague*, which was proposed as a sure expedient for re-uniting all the states of *Germany*, and was actually signed by *William* duke of *Saxe-Weymar*, the dukes of *Lunenburg* and *Mecklenburg*, the princes of *Anhalt*, the cities of *Nuremberg*, *Ulm*, *Donawert*, *Frankfort* upon the *Maine*, and some other states of the empire, won by the insinuations of the court of *Vienna*. In consequence of this accommodation, the archbishopric of *Magdeburg*, with the domains of *Juesfurt*, *Guttembock*, *Trama*, and *Borgium*, were restored to *Augustus*, son of the elector of *Saxony*, on condition that he should pay annually a certain sum to *John-William* marquis of *Brandenburg*. The dukes of *Mecklenburg* were re-established in their dominions: *Wolfembuttel*, *Nienburg*, and their dependencies, were given back to the duke of *Lunenburg*: *Donawert* had the promise of being reinstated in the enjoyment of its former liberty, as soon as it should have paid to the elector of *Bavaria* the expences of the war, as stipulated in the treaty. The hereditary pacts subsisting between the houses of *Saxony*, *Brandenburg*, and *Hesse*, were confirmed: his Imperial majesty engaged to withdraw his troops from the places belonging to those who should sign the treaty, and by a particular deed, ceded to the duke of *Saxony* the sovereignty of *Upper* and *Lower Lusace*. e f

<sup>a</sup> ADLZREIT. part iii. l. xx. num. xxvi.  
<sup>1</sup> LUNIG. part. Spec. p. 127.

<sup>o</sup> SIRI Mem. recon. t. viii. p. 224.

<sup>p</sup> LONDORF, t. iv. p. 458.



C H A P. XIX.

*Progress of the War till the Renewal of the Treaty between France and Sweden.*

<sup>a</sup> **B**Y these measures the emperor thought he had placed such bounds to the power of the states in *Germany*, that they would never be able to oppose his authority for the future; but as this act was no other than a compulsive submission, which necessity obliged them to make, they did not think themselves bound to observe it when they recovered their strength; and accordingly in the treaties of *Westphalia*, concluded in the reign of *Ferdinand* the third, we find them insisting upon an alteration in several articles, and obtaining privileges which this emperor would never have granted.

THE town of *Strasburg*, dreading the resentment of *France*, excused itself from submitting to the peace of *Prague*; and, notwithstanding the menaces of the king of *Hungary*, determined to observe a neutrality until it should see to what side fortune would incline: but <sup>Strasburg refuses to sign the treaty, and Colmar receives a French garrison.</sup> <sup>b</sup> the regency of *Colmar* openly espoused the articles of *Hailbron*, and admitted a *French* garrison, after *Lewis* had obliged himself by treaty to maintain its privileges, on condition that the Catholics should enjoy the free exercise of their religion.

THE treaty of *Prague* would have certainly completed the destruction of the *Swedish* forces in *Germany*, if *France* had not made great efforts to support them. *Lewis* the thirteenth began to levy forces with great diligence, so as to compose several considerable armies; the first and greatest of which he sent into the *Low Countries*, under the marshals *de Chatillon* and *Breze*; the second marched into *Lorraine* with *la Force*; the third took the route of the *Milanese*, under the command of the marshal *de Crequy*; the duke *de Rohan* led the fourth into the *Valtelline*; and the fifth acted upon the *Rhine*, under the orders of the duke *de Weymar*. <sup>c</sup> *mar*, until the king should appoint another general (S).

THE emperor, in order to oppose the operations of the *French*, sent thither general *Galas*, at the head of a powerful army, with orders to join the duke of *Lorraine*, who intended to besiege *Colmar*, and had already made himself master of almost all the towns in the neighbourhood of that place; but the severity of the season, and the orders which *John de Wert* and *Merci* received to act on the other side of the *Rhine*, defeated the duke's projects, and obliged him to repass that river. In the month of *May*, however, he appeared at the head of twelve thousand men, with design to enter *Burgundy*, and march to *Montbelliard*, which he invested; but he was obliged to raise the siege on the approach of the duke *de la Force*, who fell upon him in his retreat, and defeated his rear: so that this check, and the fatigues <sup>d</sup> he underwent in retiring towards *Besfort*, reduced his army to four thousand men, and disabled him from attempting any new enterprize.

MEAN while *Galas*, the imperial general, fixed his head quarters at *Worms*, from whence he sent detachments to ravage the country, and surprise the towns that were garrisoned by the *Swedes*. *Mentz* was blocked up by the count *de Mansfeld*; and though the preservation of this place was of the utmost importance to the *Swedes*, by securing their communication with both sides of the *Rhine*, *Bernard* was in no condition to raise the blockade. He was still more interested in preserving *Kaiser-Louter*, where he had deposited all the booty he had taken since the beginning of the war; but this place, though defended with great obstinacy in several assaults, until the greatest part of the garrison fell in the breach, was at length taken by storm by the Imperialists, who put every soul to the sword, and indemnified themselves for the loss they had sustained, with the riches of the duke *de Weymar*. <sup>e</sup>

*GALAS* afterwards undertook the siege of *Deux-ponts*; but in the month of *August*, the cardinal *de Valette*, at the head of eighteen thousand *French*, entered *Germany*, and joining the duke of *Weymar* near *Binghen*, these two generals made themselves masters of this place, then marched to the relief of *Mentz*, which they revictualled, after having forced the lines of the count *de Mansfeld* (T); and lastly, compelled *Galas* to abandon the siege of *Deux-ponts*.

<sup>f</sup> THE *French* having no other obstacles to surmount, marched towards *Frankfort*, in order to prevent the regency from acceding to the treaty of *Prague*; but, failing in their attempt, they put a strong garrison in *Saxenhausen*, and returning encamped under the cannon of *Mentz*. While they remained in this situation, *Galas* having assembled an ar-

<sup>a</sup> BARRE, t. ix. p. 676.

<sup>b</sup> BARRE Hist. t. ix. p. 678.

(S) This was *Bernard* duke of *Saxe Weymar*, younger brother of *William*, who had signed the treaty of *Prague*, to which *Bernard* would never accede.

(T) This count *de Mansfeld* was called *Maximilian-*

*Philip*, major-general of the imperial troops, and must not be confounded with *Ernest* count *de Mansfeld*, who died in 1626.

*Kaiser-louter is taken by the Imperialists.*



The French and Swedes are in great distress for want of provisions.

They repulse the Imperialists after an obstinate engagement.

The king of France concludes a treaty with the duke de Weymar,

A. D. 1636.

He takes the city of Saverne.

my of thirty thousand men in the neighbourhood of *Worms*, ordered the marquis *de Gonzague* to occupy *Sarbruck*, and several other places, so as to hinder all convoys from arriving in the camp of the allies; by which means they were reduced to such extremity, and provisions sold at such an excessive price, that the imperial soldiers went thither to sell bread, though at the hazard of their lives<sup>1</sup>. In this emergency the generals resolved to decamp, and leaving four thousand men in *Mentz*, repassed the *Rhine* at *Binghen* on a bridge of boats, as if their route had been to *Coblentz*. This step, however, was not taken until the duke *de Weymar* had ordered his cannon to be buried, and all his superfluous baggage to be burnt. As the intention of the confederates was to retire into the three bishoprics of *Lorraine*, they marched night and day without refreshment or repose, with a view to reach *Vaudervange*, where there was a *French* garrison. *Galas*, who had crossed the river at *Worms*, in order to pursue them in their retreat, overtook them with his cavalry on the river *Glann*, between *Odernheim* and *Messenheim*, where the *French* and *Swedes* facing about, repulsed the Imperialists. *Galas*, not at all discouraged by this check, put himself at the head of nine thousand horse, traversed the duchy of *Deux-ponts*, passed the *Sarre*, entered *Lorraine*, and waited for the allies in a defile between *Vaudervange* and *Boulai*, where a very obstinate engagement ensued, in which the imperial cavalry was routed. The *French* retired to *Pont-a-Mousson*, and the *Swedes* to *Vie* and *Moyenvie*, with the wreck of their armies, which were now greatly reduced. Mean while *Galas*, who was still at the head of a strong body, made himself master of *Vaudervange*, and encamped near *Zagermunde*, between the *Sarre* and the *Wilde*, that he might be at hand to join the duke of *Lorraine*.

DURING these transactions, the marquis *de Saint Chaumont*, who had been sent by the king of *France* into *Germany*, exerted himself with such address, as prevented several states of the empire from signing the peace of *Prague*. He made an agreement with the circles of *Suabia*, *Franconia*, and the *Rhine*, importing, that his most Christian majesty, over and above the sums payable to the confederates, should maintain on this side of the *Rhine* an army of twelve thousand men, to be joined by the troops belonging to the Protestant states, in order to subdue the cities on the other side of the *Rhine* as far as *Constance*, and reduce *Alsace*, with all the towns of that province, under the protection of *France*<sup>2</sup>.

IN the month of *October* the duke *de Weymar*, by his agent at *Paris*, concluded a treaty with cardinal *Richelieu*, in which it was stipulated, that, in consideration of a certain yearly sum, the duke should maintain an army of eighteen thousand men, which he should command in person, as general of the troops belonging to the *German* princes in alliance with the *French* king, to whom he should take the oath of allegiance: that *Lewis* should cede in his favour all his pretensions upon *Alsace*; and, in case of a treaty with the emperor, use all his influence to obtain for the duke the title of landgrave of that province, or some equivalent, and engage to indulge him for life with a pension of fifty thousand crowns, payable at the commencement of the peace<sup>3</sup>. This convention being ratified by the duke, who went to *Paris* for that purpose, and measures being taken with cardinal *Richelieu* for the ensuing campaign, he, in the beginning of summer, repaired to *Lorraine*, where his army was; and having surprised the castle of *Hohenbaar*, joined *La Valette*, in order to besiege *Saverne*, which the marquis *de Grana* had taken towards the end of the last year. They accordingly invested the place, which made a gallant defence, in hope of being relieved by *Galas*, who promised to march against the besiegers; but he halted at *Drusenheim*, perceiving that it would be impracticable to succour the town, which surrendered about the beginning of *July*<sup>4</sup>. Immediately after this conquest, the duke and the cardinal took measures for preventing an irruption into *Franche-compte*, which was threatened by the duke of *Lorraine*, the imperial general, and the *Spaniards*, who were already joined for that purpose, to the number of forty thousand men. The cardinal and the duke omitted nothing that could obstruct and harass them in their march; and their efforts were so successful, that *Galas* lost above seven thousand men before he entered *Burgundy*: nevertheless, he arrived at *Mirabeau*, and about the end of *October* undertook the siege of *St. Jean de Laone*, which he was fain to abandon, in consequence of the overflowing of the waters, and continual rains, which rendered the approaches to the place quite inaccessible. He therefore retired into *Franche-compte*, whither he was close followed by the viscount *de Turenne* and the count *de Rantzau*; and towards the end of *November* arrived at *Besançon*, after having lost above five thousand men, and the greatest part of his baggage, in this retreat.

WHILE the duke of *Weymar* carried on his operations in *Franche-compte*, general *Bannier*, whose army was augmented by twelve thousand *Prussians*, being ordered by *Oxenstiern* to attack the *Saxons*, surprised their quarters near *Parkein* in *Mecklenburg*, cut in pieces five regiments of horse, and took a number of officers, together with a great quantity of bag-

<sup>1</sup> PUFFENDORF. l. viii. sect. lxxxviii. MEMOIRES DE MONGLAT. t. i. Memor. second. t. viii. p. 340.

<sup>2</sup> PUFFENDORF. l. viii. n. xlv.

<sup>3</sup> Recueil de Traités di Paix.

<sup>4</sup> SIRI.



- a gage; so that the elector was fain to relinquish his camp, and go and join *Maracini*, who commanded the imperial troops in *Pomerania*<sup>2</sup>. He was, however, close pursued by the *Swedes*, who took *Laubelsberg* in sight of both armies, and gained several other considerable advantages over them while he encamped in their neighbourhood; but these small checks did not hinder the elector from besieging *Magdeburg*, after he was reinforced by a body of *Austrian* troops, commanded by *Hasfeld*. The place was defended with great resolution until the breach was practicable, and the horn-work actually taken by assault; when the garrison, despairing of relief, obtained an honourable capitulation, and were escorted to *Werden*, where *Bannier* lay encamped; while the regency took the oath of allegiance to the elector, who promised to maintain them in the enjoyment of their antient privileges<sup>3</sup>.
- b Elated with this success, the *Saxon* resolved to attack the *Swedish* army; but receiving intelligence that it was reinforced, he changed his design, and detached general *Hasfeld*, with a body of troops, to surprise *Tangermunde*, the territory of which was plundered with great barbarity.

The elector of Saxony besieges and takes *Magdeburg*.

and surprise & plunder *Tangermunde*.

- Being afterwards joined by *Maracini*, and a reinforcement under *George* duke of *Lunenburg*, he approached the *Swedish* camp, in order to provoke *Bannier* to a general action; but the two armies having faced one another for a long time, that general retired to the duchy of *Mecklenburg*, and encamped at *Parkeim*, whither he was followed by the *Saxons*, who intrenched themselves in a forest within a league of the enemy. While they continued in this situation, *Maracini* returned to the siege of *Stargard*, which he had before undertaken without success, and took it by assault, notwithstanding the vigorous defence of the *Swedes*, who lost a number of soldiers and officers on this occasion.

- The war between this nation and the house of *Austria* was likewise maintained with great spirit and obstinacy in *Gerawerlend*. The *Swedes*, under general *Lesly*, over-ran the country of *Darmstadt*; from whence, however, they were obliged to retire on the arrival of the marquis *de Grana* and general *Goentz*. Nevertheless, with the help of the *Hessians* their allies, they took *Anneburg*, belonging to the elector of *Mentz*, and besieged *Stadberg*, in the dominions of the archbishop of *Cologne*. On the other hand, the *Austrian* generals made themselves masters of *Homburg*, though they in vain attempted to subdue the citadel; and ravaged the whole country of *Hesse-Cassel*, except *Zegenheim* and the capital; while the landgrave, to revenge these outrages, joined *Lesly*, and, entering *Westphalia*, subdued *Paderborn*<sup>b</sup>.

- The Imperialists, commanded by the elector of *Saxony* and *Hasfeld*, and the *Swedes* under *Bannier*, were not long in the neighbourhood of each other, without coming to a general action. After having watched the motions of one another for some time, they halted at length in the plain of *Wislock*, where both were drawn up in order of battle. The imperial camp was upon an hill, fortified with fourteen redoubts, under which the army stood in battalia; and *Bannier*, being desirous of drawing them from this advantageous post, ordered part of his cavalry to advance and skirmish. At the approach of the *Swedes*, the *Austrians* changed their order; their infantry retiring upon the hill, being flanked on both sides by their cavalry, while the rear was closed up with waggons. Then *Bannier* ordered colonel *Gun*, who commanded the right wing, to march and attack the enemy; and he himself, at the head of five brigades, advanced to support him; while general *Stalans* with the left wing wheeled round the hill, in order to charge the Imperialists in flank. These attacks were performed with such fury, that almost all the *Austrian* and *Saxon* infantry were either slain or taken; and *Stalans*, who pursued their cavalry for three days, returned with a considerable number of prisoners: so that of twenty thousand men, that composed the imperial army, scarce three thousand escaped to *Magdeburg*. Five or six thousand men fell in the field, or in the flight; seven thousand were taken; and three or four thousand, having dispersed themselves, would never engage again in the service: as for the elector of *Saxony*, he escaped by the way of *Mecklenburg* to *Leipsick*. In this battle, which was fought on the fourth day of *October*, the *Swedes* gained a considerable booty, over and above thirty pieces of cannon and eighteen thousand waggons, the greatest part of which were loaded with provision, ammunition, and baggage. The fortress of *Werben* opened its gates to the conquerors, and the garrison, consisting of two thousand men, enlisted in the service of *Sweden*<sup>c</sup>.

The elector of Saxony and general *Hasfeld* are defeated by the *Swedes* in the plain of *Wislock*.

While the *Austrian* generals thus prosecuted the war in *Saxony*, *Westphalia*, *Hesse*, and *Alsace*, the emperor, in person, held a diet in *Ratisbon*, which was opened on the fifteenth day of *August*, and at which were present the electors of *Mentz*, *Cologne*, and *Bavaria*, with the deputies of *Saxony* and *Brandenburg*: as for the elector of *Triers*, he was still detained a prisoner. *Ferdinand's* chief aim in this assembly being to secure the imperial throne to his son, he sent four articles to the diet, as the subject of its deliberations, importing, that

The emperor convokes a diet at *Ratisbon*.

<sup>2</sup> CREMNITZ, l. iv. p. 957.  
<sup>c</sup> Id. ibid.

<sup>2</sup> KHEVENHULLER, t. xii. p. 1989.

<sup>b</sup> PUFFENDORF, l. viii. sect. xxxvii.



as he was now well stricken in years, and felt his strength sensibly decay, he wished they <sup>a</sup> would proceed to the election of a new king of the *Romans*; that they would determine the fate of the elector of *Triers*; that they would take measures for a vigorous continuation of the war, in order to re-establish the peace of the empire; and that, as the states of *Germany* were not present at this meeting, they would consider whether or not it would be necessary to convoke a general diet next year at *Nuremberg*.

ALTHOUGH the emperor had secured the suffrages of *Bavaria*, *Saxony*, *Brandenburg*, *Bohemia*, and *Mentz*, and signified that they should begin with the election, and postpone the pacification of the empire to another assembly, the deputies of the Protestant electors refused to proceed to the election, until the emperor should promise to give peace to *Germany*, as soon as it should be in his power: and they even wanted to stipulate, that, notwithstanding *Ferdinand's* being chosen king of the *Romans*, he should not be crowned before that desirable event. <sup>b</sup> It was in consequence of these remonstrances that the emperor summoned an assembly at *Cologne*, in order to deliberate upon the preliminaries; and actually nominated his commissaries for that purpose, while the Catholic electors, princes, and states, promised to send thither their deputies to facilitate the work. At the same time he called another assembly at *Hamburg*, where the Protestants and their allies might freely revolve and debate upon the same subject; on condition that neither convention should come to any conclusion, without having first communicated their resolution to the other: for, should this correspondence fail, he would not ratify their transactions <sup>d</sup>.

*Ferdinand is elected king of the Romans.*

THESE points being settled, *Ferdinand* king of *Hungary* was elected king of the *Romans* <sup>c</sup> on the twelfth day of *December*, and crowned on the twentieth of the same month, together with his wife *Maria*, the infanta of *Spain*<sup>e</sup>. But this new dignity was not immediately acknowledged by all the princes of *Germany* and foreign powers: the king of *France*, in particular, maintained, that an election performed without the concurrence of the elector of *Triers*, against whom no criminal process had been instituted, was contrary to the Golden Bull and the fundamental laws of the empire. Nevertheless, it was in a little time received and held as good and lawful through every part of *Germany*.

A. D. 1637.  
Charles I.  
king of England demands the re-establishment of the count-palatine, who publishes a manifesto against the emperor.

CHARLES the first, king of *England*, had sent the earl of *Arundel* as his ambassador to the emperor, with pressing solicitations in favour of his nephew, *Lewis* count palatine; but this affair being referred to the future assembly at *Cologne*, the earl returned to *London*, <sup>d</sup> and *Charles* resolved to go more politically to work. He was persuaded, that the house of *Austria* eagerly longed to wrest *Lorraine* from the king of *France*, and was extremely apprehensive of *England's* engaging in a league with his most Christian majesty and the states-general of the United Provinces. In this conviction, he sent the earl of *Leicester* to the court of *Vienna*, with orders to threaten the emperor with this projected alliance, in case he should still refuse to do justice to the young count-palatine; but he was still amused with general promises, because indeed *Ferdinand* saw it would be impracticable to satisfy both the palatine and the duke of *Bavaria*. *Charles-Lewis* published a manifesto and protestation dated at *London*; the first containing an ample refutation of the proceedings against *Frederic* king of *Bohemia*; and the other implying a juridical act and protest against every <sup>e</sup> step which had been taken to the prejudice of that prince and his family, as well as against the election of the king of the *Romans*, to which he ought to have been called as an elector <sup>f</sup>.

The death of Ferdinand II.

IN all probability these papers were never seen by *Ferdinand* the second, who, after a troublesome reign of eighteen years, died at *Vienna* on the fifteenth day of *February*, in the fiftieth and ninth year of his age <sup>g</sup>. Notwithstanding the eulogiums which have been so lavishly bestowed upon this prince by Roman Catholic historians, he seems to have been born for the misfortune of his country; as it cannot be denied that the empire was involved in all the calamities of civil war by his pride, ambition, and bigotted attachment to the religion of *Rome*, which indeed seems to have been the only distinguishing part of his character (U). <sup>f</sup> In other respects his personal talents were mean and contemptible; and all

<sup>a</sup> BARRE, t. ix. p. 690.

<sup>c</sup> STRUV. per. x. sect. x.

<sup>d</sup> KHEVENHULLER, t. xii. p. 2264.

<sup>e</sup> Ibid. p. 2361.

(U) At the age of twenty, *Ferdinand* made a vow before the image of the Virgin at *Loretto*, to drive the Protestants from *Styria*, *Carinthia*, and *Carniola*, at the hazard of his life. He afterwards, when turned of forty, repeated this vow at *Marienzell*, against the Protestants of *Bohemia* and the depending provinces. About eight years before his death, he took a solemn oath to protect the Roman Catholic religion, and invited his prime minister to lay himself under the same obligation. All these vows he performed with the utmost zeal, by which he acquired the appellation of the apostolic em-

peror. He married first *Anne-Maria*, daughter of *William* duke of *Bavaria*; and afterwards *Leonora*, daughter of *Vincent* duke of *Mantua*, by whom he had no children. By the first, however, he had six, four of whom survived him; namely, *Ferdinand* the third, his successor; *Leopold William*, who was bishop of *Passau*, *Strasbourg*, *Halberstadt*, *Olmütz*, and *Breslau*, grand-master of the *Teutonic* order, and afterwards governor of the *Low-Countries*; *Mary-Ann*, wife of *Maximilian* duke of *Bavaria*; and *Cecilia-Renée*, married to *Uladislaus* king of *Poland*.



a the success of his arms was intirely owing to the capacity of his generals, some of whom were very ill requited for their services.

THE death of *Ferdinand* was soon followed by that of *George Bogislaus*, duke of *Pomerania*, the last prince of that family, which had subsisted about seven hundred years successively in the male line; so that the duchy devolved to the elector of *Brandenburg*, by virtue of a treaty in force between the two houses: but the *Swedes* having, before the duke's decease, made themselves masters of the greatest part of *Pomerania*, he could not enjoy it on account of the war, and his pretensions were not regulated until the treaties of *Westphalia* took place<sup>h</sup>.

b F E R D I N A N D III.

WAR had desolated *Germany* during the whole reign of *Ferdinand* the second, whereas that of his successor was mostly consumed in intrigue and negotiation.

Ferdinand III. ascends the imperial throne.

THE conferences at *Hamburg* were productive of no solid consequence, as neither the *French*, *Swedes*, nor *Dutch*, would send deputies thither; for they firmly believed that nothing could be determined without the consent of the Catholic league; and, in the mean time, both sides made vigorous preparations for continuing the war.

c AT the solicitation of the archbishops of *Mentz* and *Cologne*, who were incommoded by the neighbourhood of a *French* garrison, *John de Wert* invested *Hermenstein*, upon which the Imperialists had more than once made fruitless attempts; and *Saludie*, who commanded in the place, took all the necessary precautions of holding out as long as possible, that the duke of *Saxe-Weymar* might have time to march to his relief: but this general being otherwise employed by cardinal *Richelieu*, who was this year obliged to neglect the affairs of *Germany*, in some measure, in order to oppose the *Spaniards*; and *William* landgrave of *Hesse-Cassel* being kept in awe by the marquis *de Grana*, so that he durst not abandon his own dominions; for these reasons, I say, *Saludie*, despairing of succour, and being reduced to great extremity, demanded a capitulation. It was agreed, that the elector of *Cologne* should be put in possession of the place, and keep it until the archbishop of *Triers* should be set at liberty; and that the *French* garrison should be conducted to *Orsoy*, a town belonging to the states-general.

The Imperialists take Hermenstein.

d DURING this transaction, the duke of *Weymar* advanced into *Franche-compte*: and the passage of the *Saone* being disputed by the duke of *Lorraine*, who had detached *Merci* with his whole cavalry on that service, *Weymar* gave him battle on the thirteenth day of *June*, put him to flight, after having slain eight hundred of his men, and took one thousand prisoners, with twice the number of horses, and the whole baggage and standards of the detachment. *Merci*, having rallied his troops, was resolved to retrieve his honour in another action; when the rhingrave *John-Philip* falling upon him, cut in pieces one half of his forces, and pursued the rest as far as *Vezoul*<sup>i</sup>.

The duke of Weymar routs Merci.

e AFTER this action, duke *Bernard* reduced the castle of *Leure*, entered *Alsace*, and, building a bridge of boats, passed the *Rhine* about six leagues above *Straßburg*. Then he ordered *Schoembeck* to take possession of a large island in that river, opposite to *Rhinaw*, and raise a kind of fort for the security of his men: there he was attacked by general *de Wert*, who nevertheless abandoned his enterprize, finding that this body had received a considerable reinforcement. Though the duke was now master of the banks of the *Rhine*, which he passed on a bridge of boats, and encamped between that river and the *Eltz*, a whole month elapsed without his being able to make any considerable progress, because *de Wert* would never risque a general action; and then, understanding that the duke of *Lorraine* had entered *Alsace*, and that the *Bavarian* army was reinforced by the duke *de Savelli*, he resolved to repass the *Rhine*: but, in order to preserve his bridge, he raised several forts in the island of *Weittenweyer*, where he left colonel *Manicamp* and the *French* troops, whom, after his departure, *de Wert* intirely defeated, and compelled to surrender at discretion. This check, however, was not of consequence enough to disconcert the duke of *Weymar*, who was about this time much more embarrassed by the death of his friend *William* landgrave of *Hesse-Cassel*, who had actually formed the design of re-establishing the Palatine family, by means of the league between *France*, *Sweden*, and the United Provinces: he had repaired to *Holland*, in order to engage the states-general in the interests of the young elector; and, having finished his negotiation, set out from the *Hague* for *Vesel*, where he signed a treaty of confederation with *Saint Chaumont*, minister of *France*. But he was seized with a fever at *Leer* near *Embsen*, where he died, to the infinite regret of the Protestants, who in him lost their firmest support and most zealous defender<sup>k</sup>.

The death of the landgrave of Hesse-Cassel.

<sup>h</sup> BARRE, t. ix. p. 696.

<sup>i</sup> Mercur. Franc. t. xxii.

<sup>k</sup> DUMONT. t. ix. part i. p. 128.



A. D. 1638.

The duke de  
Weymar de-  
feats the Im-  
perialists.

THE duke of *Weymar* was sensibly afflicted by his death, which he was afraid would discourage the Protestants that were attached to the family of *Hesse*; but by his singular address he soon confirmed those that began to waver; and, without staying till the winter should be past, quitted his quarters about the latter end of *January*, in order to take advantage of the enemy's inaction. Having loaded a waggon with two fishing-boats, he marched to *Stein*, a little town at a league's distance from *Basil*, and, crossing the *Rhine* with some troops, attacked and reduced *Seckingen*, one of the forest-towns: then he detached colonel *Schoembech* with a part of the army towards *Lauffemburg*, which made no resistance: *Waldshut* submitted; and *Rhinfeld* being now the only forest-town that remained untaken<sup>1</sup>, the duke resolved to besiege it in form. It was accordingly invested; and the trenches being opened on the seventh day of *February*, the works were carried on with such vigour, that it was supposed the place could not long hold out: nevertheless, it was so resolutely defended by the governor, that the Imperialists had time to come to its relief. *Savelli* quitted *Besançon*, and, being joined by *John de Wert*, appeared before *Rhinfeld* on the twenty-eighth day of *February*, with nine regiments of cavalry, two of *Croats*, and about four thousand infantry. Both armies were immediately ranged in order of battle, when the duke de *Weymar*'s right wing fell with such fury upon the left of the enemy, commanded by *de Wert*, that it was broke in a very little time, the general being wounded in the cheek, and colonel *Wolf*, with some imperial officers, taken prisoners. *Weymar*'s left wing did not meet with the same success; but, on the contrary, was at first repulsed: however, he rallied his cavalry, and returned to the charge; but the enemy retired in good order by favour of the night. The rhingrave *Philip* was slain in the action, and the duke de *Roban* died in a little time of the wounds he received upon this occasion. *Weymar* retreated to *Lauffemburg*, where he passed the night; and next day, having joined *Tapadel*, he put his army in order of battle, and advanced to attack the duke de *Savelli* and *John de Wert*, whose troops, being dispersed among the villages in search of provision, were with great difficulty re-assembled: they could not withstand the shock of this second engagement, but were intirely defeated, the two generals themselves being taken, together with a great number of officers<sup>m</sup>.

AFTER this victory, *Hunningen* submitted to *Tapadel*, and the duke returned to the siege of *Rhinfeld*, which, after having made a gallant defence, surrendered upon a very honourable capitulation; and the conqueror found a great quantity of provision and ammunition in the place. This conquest was followed by that of *Newburg* and *Rottelen*; immediately after which the duke advanced towards *Friburg*, the capital of *Brisgaw*, garrisoned by nine hundred men, under the command of colonel *Escher*, who defended the town until a breach was made, and an assault given, and then evacuated the place upon very favourable terms<sup>n</sup>.

Brisack sur-  
renders, after  
an obstinate  
defence.

THE next siege he undertook was that of *Brisack*, in which the duke of *Lorrain* and general *Goetz* attempted to interrupt him by attacking his intrenchments, but they always found him upon his guard; and the town was at last obliged to surrender, after having been reduced to such extremity of famine, that the governor was obliged to set a guard upon the burying places, to prevent the inhabitants from digging up and devouring the dead. The news of this important success no sooner arrived at *Paris*, than *Lewis XIII.* dispatched one of his gentlemen, on pretence of congratulating *Weymar*, but in reality, to communicate private instructions to *Guébriant*, who was ordered to employ his whole address, in order to induce the duke to cede *Brisack* to the crown of *France*. This could not but be a very difficult negotiation, as *Weymar* had set his heart upon the county of *Brisgaw*, which he meant to keep in his own possession, as a thorn in the side of the house of *Austria*, which had divested *John-Frederic*, his great grandfather, of his dominions and dignity. He thought the conquest of *Brisack* would secure *Brisgaw*, of which he intended to make a settlement that should not be easily shaken, *Brisack* being situated between *Strasburg*, *Benfeld*, and *Basil*, in the neighbourhood of *France*, and the princes of *Germany*, who were his allies; so that he could not be attacked from behind, and would, with the assistance of his friends, be able to counteract the designs of the emperor in *Germany*. In a word, he had now re-established his family, and believed himself equal to the elector of *Saxony*, against whom he entertained such resentment, that he resolved to strip him of his dominions, and with that view had, for a long time, formed a scheme upon *Thuringia*.

ON the other hand, *Lewis* wished to be master of *Brisack*, the possession of which would secure to him a passage to the other side of the *Rhine*, and at the same time exclude the Imperialists from *Alsace* and *Lorrain*. He therefore spared no pains to obtain it from the duke de *Weymar*, to whom *Guébriant* made very advantageous proposals on the

<sup>1</sup> PIACES. p. 612.      <sup>m</sup> WASSENBERG, p. 427.      <sup>n</sup> *Memor. recond.* t. viii. p. 767.

<sup>a</sup> *Mercur Franc.* t. xxii. a l'An. 1638.

<sup>o</sup> *SIRI.*



a subject : to which he answered, that, after he should have put his troops in good winter quarters in *Franché-compte*, he would go, and, in person, pay his respects to the king, whose orders he should receive touching *Brisack*, as well as the operations of the ensuing campaign. This, however, was a mere evasion ; for when he was afterwards pressed by *Guébriant* to explain his intentions on this head, he replied, “ To part with my conquest “ would be to sacrifice my honour.” Nevertheless, in order to amuse the court of *France*, he sent thither *Erlach* with a limited power of negotiation, who managed his master’s interest with such dexterity, that *Lewis* promised to furnish the duke with a reinforcement of eight thousand men, although nothing was concluded in the affair of *Brisack* <sup>a</sup> (X).

b WHILE the duke *de Weymar* triumphed over the *Austrians* in *Alsace*, the *Swedish* general *Bannier* carried on his conquests in *Pomerania*. After the victory obtained at *Wistock*, he reduced *Gartz*, *Loßz*, *Demmin*, and *Wolgast* ; and, understanding that *Galas* had extended his army, sent *Stalans* and *Torsten*son to reconnoitre with a detachment, that surprised and cut in pieces two regiments of their horse. *Bannier* reduces several places in Pomerania.

c CHARLES-LEWIS, prince palatine, and his brother *Robert*, were not so fortunate in *Westphalia* : they had several times attacked the *Spanish* garrison of *Gueldre* with various success ; and all their motions were narrowly watched by the count *de Hasfeld*, the emperor’s lieutenant-general in *Westphalia*, who having discovered that *Charles Lewis* had abandoned the village of *Embsburen*, in order to besiege *Lemgau*, the capital of the county of *Lippe*, assembled all his troops, with a view to frustrate his design. Accordingly prince *Lewis*, finding himself in no condition to defend his lines against such an army, retreated towards *Minden* ; but the count having overtaken his rear in the valley of *Aßheim*, brought him to an action, which continued very obstinate on both sides for the space of two hours, and then victory declared in favour of the Imperialists, who made themselves masters of the palatine’s artillery. Prince *Robert*, and the count *de Ferents*, were made prisoners, with a great number of officers, and *Charles-Lewis* escaped with great difficulty to *Minden* <sup>c</sup>.

d IN the beginning of the year, *Thau* was invested by *Guébriant* ; but as the siege did not advance to the satisfaction of the duke *de Weymar*, he went thither in person, and ordered it to be battered with red-hot balls, which threw the inhabitants into such consternation, that they surrendered without further opposition, and the duke’s character became so formidable to the emperor, that about this time he made some underhand attempts to engage him in his interest. *Sigismund Huesner* was the person intrusted with this negotiation ; but the duke would not listen to the proposals of *Ferdinand*, persuaded that he neither could with safety or honour depend upon the bare promises of his greatest enemy : he, therefore, far from allowing himself to be intrapped in the snare, or slackening in his operations, redoubled his industry in making preparations for passing the *Rhine* : however, in the midst of these occupations, he fell sick at *Hunningen*, from whence he was transported by water to *Newburg*, where, his distemper gaining ground, he made his will, which was put into the hands of his secretary *Relingen*, and died on the eighteenth day of *July*, in the thirty and fifth year of his age <sup>d</sup> (Y). By his will he ordained, that his conquests should be enjoyed by the eldest of his brothers ; but in case none of them should chuse to take possession, they should devolve to *Lewis XIII.* on condition that the garrison should consist of an equal number of *French* and *Germans*, and that the places of strength should be restored to the empire at the general peace. He bequeathed the command of his army to major-general *d’Erlach*, and in his default, to colonel *Obem* and count *Nassau*, or the eldest colonel in succession : and he left legacies to his officers and domestics, to the amount of three hundred thousand crowns <sup>e</sup>.

f THE duke’s death was no sooner known, than the *Swedish* agent at *Bensfeld* endeavoured to engage the soldiers and officers to go and join *Bannier* : the emperor took every measure in his power to draw them into his service, and regain possession of the places they had conquered : the dukes of *Bavaria*, *Lauenburg*, and *Lunenbourg*, pretended to the succession ; and *William* of *Saxony* demanded, by virtue of his brother’s will, that he should possess the conquered places till the peace ; but *Lewis XIII.* prevailed over all these pretenders, by concluding, at *Brisack*, a treaty with the *Weymarian* officers on the following terms : That the troops of the duke *de Weymar* should constitute a separate body, under the direction <sup>f</sup> A treaty is concluded between the king of France and the Weymarian forces.

<sup>p</sup> BARRE, t. ix. p. 708.  
part iii. l. xxiii. n. xxxviii.

<sup>q</sup> STRUV. per. x. p. 3050.  
<sup>t</sup> Memor. de Guébriant, p. 125.

<sup>r</sup> PIACES. p. 512.  
<sup>u</sup> Memor. d’Auberi. t. ii. p. 419.

(X) It was believed in *France* and *Germany*, that cardinal *de Richelieu* had, by means of a round sum, obtained a promise of *Erlach*, that in case the duke *de Weymar* should die, he would deliver up *Brisack* to *France* (1).

(Y) The death of this gallant prince is said to have been hastened by the *French*, who longed to be in possession of *Brisack*, to such a degree, that by their agents they administered a certain soup to the duke, in consequence of which he expired (2).

(1) Barre, t. ix. p. 710.

(2) Puffendorf Introd. l. vi.



of the officers named in the will for that purpose; that the king of *France* should keep a this body always effective, by the payment of a certain yearly sum for raising recruits; that he should continue to the general officers the same appointments which they had received from the duke, furnish them with bread, ammunition, and all other necessaries of war, and ratify all the donations which the duke had made to his officers and soldiers: that the troops should receive their orders from the duke *de Longueville*, by the medium of their own directors, who should be summoned to all councils held for the service of the common cause: that the conquered places should be put into the hands of his most Christian majesty, who might at pleasure appoint governors for *Brisack* and *Friburg*, to command the garrisons which should consist equally of *French* and *Germans*; but with regard to other places, the governors should be chosen from the *Weymarian* army, and b all the officers and garrisons bind themselves by oath, to preserve the places for the service of the king, without whose express order they should not be delivered to any person or power whatever \*.

IN consequence of this treaty the duke *de Longueville* was acknowledged general, and a resolution taken to march towards the *Lower Palatinate*. The count *de Guébriant* put *Brisack*, *Friburg*, and the forest towns, in a proper posture of defence. *John-Lewis d'Erlach* was continued in the government of *Brisack*; colonel *Kanoski*, a *Pole*, had that of *Friburg*; and *Philip Bernold*, a gentleman of *Alsace*, was invested with the command of *Rhinfeld*. Thus ended this important negotiation, which rendered the king of *France* sovereign of almost all *Alsace*, and a great part of *Brisgau*. c

MEAN while conferences were held at *Hamburg*, to pave the way for a general peace; but the powers who sent their ministers thither seemed to despise and distrust one another. *France* fell out with the count-palatine about the ceremonial of addressing letters to each other; or, rather, *Lewis* made a pretence of the young count's having failed in some expression of respect, to act coldly in his interest. There was likewise a grudge between the *French* and *English* nations, which rendered them averse to the conclusion of a treaty; and the *Dutch*, who were ill effected to both, openly refused to renounce the neutrality which they had agreed with the emperor to observe v.

BESIDES the contending parties in the empire, there was a third which remained neuter, composed of the landgrave of *Hesse-Cassel*, some princes and free cities, the hanse-towns, d and other states, which had some grievance to be redressed. *William* landgrave of *Hesse-Cassel*, had left the administration of his dominions, and the tutorage of his children, to his widow *Amelia*, whom, in his will, he recommended to the kings of *France* and *England*, and the states-general, in full persuasion that *George*, landgrave of *Hesse-Darmstadt*, who was his declared enemy, as well as a zealous partizan of the emperor, would take advantage of the troubles that distracted *Germany*, in order to enrich himself with the spoils of his children. Nor was he mistaken in this conjecture, inasmuch as *George* did not fail to avail himself of an act, by which *Ferdinand II.* had put *William* to the ban of the empire; and although this decree had never been published, he obtained of the present emperor letters patent, establishing him administrator of *Lower Hesse*. Nevertheless, the discreet e princess managed the inhabitants of *Cassel*, and the other towns, with such prudence, that they excused themselves from obeying the repeated orders of the emperor. Though she was not in a condition to withstand the Imperialists and *Bavarians*, she gained time by a truce, and afterwards by a treaty of peace, effected by the mediation of the elector of *Mentz*; which treaty, however, she refused to ratify, unless the emperor would grant the free exercise of the Protestant religion through all the dominions of the empire. This demand being, according to her expectation, refused, she renounced the other articles, and threw herself into the arms of *France*, by which she could be enabled to support the war to advantage z. By her agreement with *France*, concluded at *Dorsten*, she engaged to maintain a body of horse and foot to act against the common enemies of the empire; f to cede no part of the conquests she should make, or come to any accommodation with the king of *Hungary*, or his allies, without the consent and approbation of his most Christian majesty, who, in consideration of these engagements, promised to supply her with the yearly sum of two hundred thousand rixdollars; to make no truce or treaty with the king of *Hungary*, or his allies, without comprehending the landgrave and his interests; to engage the states-general to admit her into their alliance; to continue to her son the pension which had been granted to his father; and finally, to guarantee, for the space of ten years after the re-establishment of peace, all the dominions of the landgrave.

THESE different negotiations did not disturb the house of *Austria* so much as did the progress of *Bannier* in *Saxony* and *Bohemia*. In the beginning of *February* this general had g passed the *Elbe* with eighteen thousand men, though his military chest was quite empty:

The widow of the landgrave of Hesse concludes a treaty with Lewis in Westphalia.

\* MEYER. LONDORP. Sup. t. iv. p. 170.

† BARRE, t. ix. p. 716.

z DUMONT, t. vi. part i:

never;



a nevertheless he was cheerfully followed by his soldiers, who knew he would provide for all their necessities. Accordingly he obliged the duke of *Lunenburg* to furnish the troops with every thing they wanted. Colonel *Ulric Wrangle*, who had quitted the *Swedish* service, and entered that of the emperor, now surrendered the town of *Carlsben*, rejoined his own countrymen with eight hundred horse and three hundred musketeers, and supplied them with plenty of provisions: *Halberstadt* purchased their forbearance with a large sum of money; and *Augustus* of *Saxony*, archbishop of *Magdeburg*, expected to buy the same favour at the same price: but *Bannier* gave his deputies to understand, that the archbishop's father, the elector of *Saxony*, having abandoned the party of the *Swedes*, he could not help looking upon him as an enemy; he therefore would order his vanguard to march towards *Thuringia*, in order to lay that country under contribution, and open their route to *Magdeburg* and *Leipsick*. His army being now considerably augmented by recruits, he detached general *King* into *Westphalia* with five thousand men, to interrupt the levies of the Imperialists in that province, and carry off the provisions which were amassed for the use of the *Austrian* troops, who possessed part of the duchies of *Juliers* and *Cleves*. *Bannier* himself, entering *Misnia* at the head of five and twenty thousand men, reduced *Kemnitz*, *Scheneberg*, *Hanneberg*, and *Marienberg*, without having met with the smallest opposition; but the siege of *Frieberg* in some measure checked the rapidity of his conquests. Colonel *Hungar*, who commanded the garrison, made several successful sallies; and at length *Bannier*, having received information that the *Saxons* were coming to the relief of the place, quitted the siege, and advanced to give them battle.

*Bannier makes great progress in Saxony and Bohemia.*

*MARACINI*, the *Saxon* general, no sooner perceived his design than he crossed the river *Wezevita*, and divided his cavalry into squadrons, with which he charged, routed, and pursued *Bannier's* vanguard, even to the main body of their army. However, the *Swedish* troops were soon rallied, so as to repulse *Maracini*; and, advancing into a plain, attacked the *Saxons*, who had by this time retired into a very advantageous situation, flanked by a wood, in which they planted their artillery: after a very obstinate and bloody engagement they were put in disorder, routed, and pursued to the very gates of *Dresden*, which the victorious *Swedes* would certainly have entered, had not they been prevented by the approach of night. They therefore contented themselves with the honour, and other advantages they had acquired by the battle, in which four thousand *Saxons* were slain, and almost all their officers killed or taken. This defeat, however, did not so much discourage *Maracini* but that he assembled a fresh army, in order to make another effort in favour of *Frieberg*; to the siege of which *Bannier* had returned after his victory, and even given an assault, in which he sustained great loss. Hearing of *Maracini's* second approach, he sent major-general *Pfuehl* to reconnoitre; but he chancing to take the wrong road, the *Saxons* suddenly appeared, to the number of eighteen thousand; so that *Bannier* had scarce time to retire to an eminence, where he intrenched himself, while the enemy threw into *Frieberg* a reinforcement of men, provisions, and ammunition. The *Swedish* general sent orders to *Torstenfon* to join him with all possible dispatch; and being informed that *Maracini* waited for a reinforcement of six thousand *Croats*, and that general *Hasfeld* was upon his march to hem in the *Swedes* on all hands, he resolved to try the fortune of another battle, and attack *Maracini* in his lines. With this design he departed from *Zeitz* on the thirteenth day of *April*; and receiving intimation that the *Saxons* had abandoned their lines, he followed them with great expedition, and pursued their rear to the main body of their army, which being inaccessible, except by a narrow passage between two morasses, he ordered *Pfuehl* to dismount his dragoons, and attack it on foot. This service being performed, the *Swedes* were drawn up in order of battle as they arrived; and *Bannier*, at the head of his own regiment, charging the left wing of the enemy, a furious contest ensued, and the issue continued long doubtful, until *Torstenfon* arriving with his horse, determined the victory in favour of the *Swedes*; for the left wing of the *Saxons* giving way, the right was overwhelmed with such consternation, that the greatest part of it laid down their arms without fighting, and their whole army was pursued with great slaughter. Above two thousand were slain in the action; by which *Bannier*, whose loss did not exceed four hundred, made himself master of five and forty pair of colours, sixty standards, together with all their cannon, baggage, and ammunition.

*He defeats Maracini.*

*Bannier gains another complete victory over Maracini.*

By this victory *Thuringia*, *Weteravia*, *Saxony*, *Misnia*, and the neighbouring provinces, were left under the dominion of the *Swedes*: for the wreck of the *Saxon* army was destroyed by major-general *Pfuehl*, who, falling suddenly upon a body of troops rallied by *Maracini* near *Kemnitz*, cut them in pieces, and took their general prisoner. *Torstenfon* was ordered to renew the siege of *Frieberg*; but, perceiving the breaches were well repaired, he contented himself with blocking up the place, and went to join the *Swedish* army, which by this time had reduced *Pirna*.

\* PUFFEND. l. xi. sect. vi. &c.



WHILE *Bannier* and his generals thus filled *Saxony* and *Bohemia* with terror and dismay, a general *Koningsmarck* acted the same part in *Franconia*; and *Axel-Cili* made great progress in *Mecklenburg* and *Brandenburg*, where many places surrendered without opposition, and a good number secured themselves from the tempest by demanding a neutrality. As for the circle of *Lower Saxony*, and the hans-towns, they promised to the regency of *Sweden*, that they would neither furnish the emperor or his allies with troops or money.

Hasfeld surprised Marienberg, but is obliged to retire by Bannier,

*HASFELD*, the imperial general, taking the advantage of *Bannier's* being at a distance, surprised *Marienberg*, blocked up *Kemnitz*, and marched towards *Pirna*, in order to make himself master of that place. *Bannier*, being apprised of these motions, quitted *Brandeck*, where he was encamped, and passing the *Elbe*, seemed to have a design upon *Prague*; but all of a sudden he turned towards *Misnia*, in order to meet *Hasfeld*, and relieve the towns b that were threatened by that general. He accordingly drove the *Creats*, who blocked up *Kemnitz*, under the cannon of *Dresden*: then marched towards *Pirn*, in quest of the elector of *Brandenburg*, who had joined *Hasfeld*; but they did not think proper to hazard a battle against such victorious troops; so that all he could do was to harass them in their retreat. He afterwards re-entered *Bohemia*, with intent to attack the Imperialists, who were encamped upon the *White Mountain*, at some distance from *Prague*; but they wisely retired into the town, and the *Swedes* undertook the siege of *Konigsaal*, in which they succeeded without much difficulty b.

who takes Konigsaal.

THE emperor, finding his arms ineffectual to stop the progress of *Bannier*, had recourse to other arts, by which that general had like to have been amused to his own destruction. c His wife, who had a great ascendancy over him, was tampered with by the count *de Schlitt*, president of the council of war in *Bohemia*, to whom she was allied; and she listened to his instigations so far as to dispose her husband to a pacification with the house of *Austria*, in whose name the count promised, that *Bannier* should be created a prince of the empire, and be gratified with the possession of two duchies in *Silesia*. These splendid offers actually began to dazzle the eyes of the *Swede*, who could not think of neglecting so glorious an opportunity of putting an end to his fatigues: the negotiation was begun by a physician of *Prague*, whom *Schlitt* sent on pretence of visiting the marechal's lady, who was indisposed; and proceeded so far, that *Beauregard*, the *French* minister, who attended *Bannier*, got an inkling of the design, which he immediately communicated to the count *d'Avaux* at *Ham-* d *burgh*, who exerted himself with such address on this occasion, that the council of *Stockholm* would not invest *Bannier* with the full powers which he demanded.

*FRANCE* was very much alarmed at this secret correspondence between the Imperialists and the *Swedish* general, and took every measure she could devise to break off the negotiation, which was no other than a political stratagem of the imperial court to amuse *Bannier* until the arrival of *Picolomini*, who was ordered to march from the *Low Countries* with an army to retrieve the *Austrian* affairs in *Bohemia*. The scheme succeeded to their wish; for the marechal was not undeceived until he saw the archduke *Leopold* arrive in *Prague*, with a body of five thousand men, which were soon followed by general *Picolomini* at the head of another, consisting of twelve thousand. e

THE departure of this officer left the duke *de Longueville* at liberty to advance along the *Rhine*, and reduce *Altzey*, *Oppenheim*, *Bingen*, and *Creutznach*. Indeed the *Bavarian* army, which had thrown itself into the *Rhinegau*, hindered him at first from extending his quarters; but, for want of provisions, it was soon constrained to retire into *Wurtemberg*, so that all this side of the *Rhine* was left to the discretion of the *Weymarian* troops. However, as this country could not long furnish them with subsistence, the duke assembled the chiefs at *Creutznach*, in order to deliberate upon their next motion. Here it was determined to cross the *Rhine*; and this enterprize being effected by the conduct and invention of the count f *de Guébriant*, they found very good quarters in *Weteravia*, and *High Hesse*.

A. D. 1640. Charles-Lewis, count-palatine, pretends to the succession of the duke de Weymar.

AMONG the other pretenders to the succession of the duke *de Weymar*, *Charles-Lewis*, prince-palatine, was strongly recommended by the prince of *Orange*, the states-general, and the king of *England*; and this last was so impolitic as to suppose, that *France* would concur in supporting his pretensions. With this opinion he spoke to *Bellievre*, the *French* ambassador at the *British* court, in order to procure a safe-conduct for the Palatine, that he might pass through *France*, and wait upon *Lewis* in person, before he should set out for the *Rhine* a. But this project was not at all relished by cardinal *Richelieu*, who deferred the grant of this passport so long, that *Charles-Lewis*, in the impatience of youth, resolved to go *incognito*; and actually arrived at *Paris*, from whence he set out for the *Weymarian* army. The cardinal, being perfectly aware of all his motions, allowed him to advance into the heart of the kingdom: then he was arrested at *Moulins* in the *Bourbonnois*, and carried prisoner to the castle of *Vincennes*; and his two brothers, who learned their exercises at *Paris*, were secured g

<sup>b</sup> BARRE, t. ix. p. 722. ad ann. 1640.

<sup>c</sup> Memor. de Guébriant, p. 221.

<sup>d</sup> Theatrum European, t. iv.



a at the same time. The count, for some time, refused to own his rank and quality; and this refusal furnished the cardinal with a pretence for saying, that *France* had good reason to suspect he was engaged in some enterprize to her prejudice; while *Lewis XIII.* who was at that time absent from his capital, gave out, that this arrest was executed without his order; in consequence of the sage precaution of the ministers whom he had left at *Paris*.

His detention was no sooner known, than the kings of *England* and *Denmark*, together with the young queen of *Sweden*, interested themselves in his cause, and solicited his release in the most pressing terms; and, in consequence of their repeated requests and remonstrances, he was set at liberty, though not before he had entered into an engagement, by which he was restricted from making any attempt to put himself at the head of the *Weymarian* troops, and from embarking in any enterprize to the prejudice of *France*.

b GENERAL *Bannier* having received a reinforcement of troops from *Thuringia*, marched towards *Picolomini*, in order to give him battle; but he avoided an encounter, and abandoning the passages of the *Elb* which he occupied, retired to *Heneberg*; where he learned, that the Imperialists were on their march to *Egra*, that they might be at hand to succour the *Bavarians*, in case of necessity. *Bannier* took the opportunity of this conjuncture to demand of the duke *de Longueville* the junction of the two armies, threatening, in case of a refusal, to consult his own safety for the future, and to think no more of acting in concert with the *French*.<sup>c</sup> Understanding that the *Bavarians* were advanced to the frontiers of *Franconia* and *Voigtland*, in their approach to the Imperialists, he resolved to compel the

c dukes of *Brunswick* and *Lunenburg* to renounce their neutrality, and detached a colonel, with orders to declare to them, that the only expedient for removing the Imperialists from their neighbourhood, would be to follow the example of the landgraves of *Hesse*, and join the crowns of *Sweden* and *France*. This remonstrance had weight with duke *George*, who, in the name of the whole *Brunswick* house, concluded a treaty with the *Swedish* general, by which he obliged himself to furnish three thousand foot, and five hundred horse<sup>e</sup>; which, with the troops of *Hesse*, marched to the duke of *Longueville*: and these three bodies having joined the *Swedish* army, *Bannier* advanced to *Saltzfed*, where *Picolomini* was posted; but the Imperialists were so advantageously encamped, that it was impossible to attack them with any prospect of success: so that, after the two armies had remained in sight of one another for the space of six weeks, the confederates began to be in want of provisions, and decamped.

d Having passed through *Franconia*, they marched to *Neustadt*, and chose a situation near the river *Virra*, in the country of *Hesse-Cassel*, whither they were followed by *Picolomini*. Here they were strengthened by a reinforcement from the duke of *Lunenburg*; in consequence of which they marched up to the Imperialists, but found them so strongly intrenched, that they would not venture to attack them<sup>e</sup>. Then they retired to *Hoker* upon the *Weser*, with a view to put their troops into winter-quarters in *Franconia*, and upon the *Danube*. *Picolomini* likewise decamped, and took the road to *Westphalia*, with design to throw a bridge over the *Weser*, and enter the dominions of *Brunswick*; but this project was disconcerted by the diligence of *Bannier*. This was the fourth time that the confederates had been in fight e of the whole imperial forces, without engaging in a general battle: nevertheless both armies were miserably reduced; for the scarcity of provisions, and the fatigue of marches and encampments, produced such mortality, that the number of the Imperialists was diminished by nine thousand; and the *Swedes*, who died, were pretty much in the same proportion to their army: but whatever the loss might be on either side this campaign, it was certainly very glorious to *Picolomini*, who not only obliged *Bannier* to quit the hereditary countries of the house of *Austria*, but also drove the confederates from *Franconia*, and reduced them to the necessity of defending the dominions of their allies, instead of forming enterprizes, as usual, against the army of the emperor<sup>h</sup> (Z).

f MEAN while the electors had assembled at *Nuremberg*, in order to deliberate upon the means for restoring peace to the empire, or for continuing the war, in case they should not be able to reconcile the interests of the princes. Here the deputies of *Lunenburg* complained of the injustice that was done to their master, in obliging him to withdraw the protection he had granted to the town of *Hildesheim*; and this grievance, together with the pretensions of the elector of *Brandenburg* to *Pomerania*, were examined, and referred to the diet of *Ratisbon*, which the emperor had convoked for the month of *September*. As no effectual steps could be taken towards a general peace, without the consent of the powers which

General Bannier is joined by the troops under the duke de Longueville.

The confederates march into Hesse-Cassel, whither they are followed by Picolomini.

The electors assemble at Nuremberg.

<sup>c</sup> PUFFENDORF, l. xi. sect. xxxii. p. 812.

<sup>h</sup> BARRE, t. ix. p. 731.

<sup>e</sup> ADLZREIT. p. iii, l. xxxv.

<sup>e</sup> SIRI. Memor. recond. t. viii.

(Z) The end of this year was rendered memorable by an event, which greatly diminished the power of the house of *Austria*. The Portuguese shook off the Spanish

yoke, which they had bore for sixty years, and proclaimed *John*, duke of *Braganza*, king of *Portugal* (1).

(1) *Berago. Hist. della disumione del regno di Portogallo. &c. l. v.*

were



were at war, a proposal was made to invite their plenipotentiaries to this diet; and tho' the emperor and his allies did not much relish this proposal, because they were afraid that the treaty of *Prague* would be abolished by the intrigues and remonstrances of the *French* and *Swedish* ministers; yet, in order to avoid the suspicion of an intention to perpetuate the war, they consented to expedite safe-conducts for the ambassadors of foreign princes, to come into the empire to treat of the preliminaries of the peace. *Cologne* was the place assigned to the *French*, and *Lubeck* or *Hamburg* to the *Swedes*, whither the emperor engaged to send his ministers. This article being discussed, they proceeded to consider that of winter-quarters for the troops of the empire; and these were left to the choice of the emperor, who was likewise enabled to recruit and augment his army by a subsidy of one hundred and fifty *Roman* months, granted by the circles of *Austria* and *Bavaria*, another of sixty by the rest, which pleaded poverty in consequence of the war<sup>1</sup>.

A. D. 1641.

Negotiations  
at Hamburg,  
where an  
agreement is  
concluded.

THE diet made these concessions, in hope of obtaining with more facility of the emperor a general amnesty in favour of those places that were enemies to the house of *Austria*: but the Catholics and Protestants could not agree upon the year from which it should take effect; the last desiring that it should commence from the time when *Frederic* was crowned king of *Bohemia*; and the others insisting on its being dated from the year in which *Gustavus Adolphus* undertook the war against the emperor.

DURING these deliberations at *Ratisbon*, *Lutzow*, one of *Ferdinand's* aulic counsellors, was employed in negotiating the preliminaries at *Hamburg* with the count *d'Avaux* and *Salvius*, the plenipotentiaries of *France* and *Sweden*, though he at first made some scruple of treating with the former, because, in the safe-conduct granted to that minister, *Cologne* was the place assigned for his negotiation: however, the king of *Denmark*, who acted as mediator in the treaty, prevailed upon *Ferdinand* to overlook that objection. This difficulty, and some others, being removed, the conferences began, and an agreement was concluded to this effect:

THAT a congress for a general peace should be held at *Munster* and *Osnabrug*, the garrisons of which should march out, the inhabitants be released from their oath to either party, and observe a neutrality during the time of negotiation: that both cities should, for that time, be guarded by their own burghers and soldiers, commanded by the magistrates, who should be accountable for the effects, persons, and followers of the negotiators: that the two congresses should be considered as one only; and the roads between the two cities be safe for all goers and comers, together with the intermediate places where the negotiators might think proper to confer with each other: that in case the neighbours should be interrupted before a treaty could be concluded, *Munster* and *Osnabrug* should return to the same situation in which they were before the congress; but that the neutrality should be observed six weeks after the rupture of the negotiations: that all the safe-conducts on each side should be exchanged at *Hamburg*, by the mediation of the *Danish* ambassadors, in the space of two months, reckoning from the date of this agreement: that the emperor and king of *Spain* should grant safe-conducts to the ministers of *France* and *Sweden*, and their allies in *Germany* and elsewhere, and receive the same security from his most Christian majesty; and that *Sweden* should give safe-conducts to the emperor's plenipotentiaries, and to those of the electors of *Mentz* and *Brandenburg*. It was afterwards agreed, that *France* should treat at *Munster*, and *Sweden* at *Osnabrug*; and that each crown should have a resident where the other's plenipotentiary was, in order to communicate their mutual resolutions<sup>2</sup>.

The emperor  
refuses to ratify  
these preliminaries.

THE emperor refused to ratify this previous treaty or convention, which he said was prejudicial to his honour, as well as to the interest of the *Germanick* body; for these could never suffer the towns of *Munster* and *Osnabrug* to be released from the oath they had taken; or consider the treaties with *France* and *Sweden* as one, inasmuch as he had never approved of the alliance between these crowns. He therefore recalled *Lutzow*, and sent in his room the count *d'Aversberg*, with orders to make these objections, and propose the negotiation of a new treaty; but his proposal was not accepted, and the plenipotentiaries of the two crowns would no longer confer with his minister<sup>3</sup>.

BESIDES the subjects we have already mentioned to have employed the deliberations of the diet, it was agreed that the war against *France* and *Sweden* should be considered as a war of the empire; that fifteen commissaries should be appointed to examine the grievances of the Protestants; and that the affair of the palatine princes should be discussed at *Vienna* in an amicable manner (A).

<sup>1</sup> PUFFENDORF, l. xii. xiii.<sup>2</sup> DUMONT. Corps Diplom. t. vi. p. 231.<sup>3</sup> BARRE, t. ix. p. 736.

(A) Towards the end of this assembly, the emperor created three princes of the empire; namely, *Frederic* of *Hohenzollern*, *John-Anthony d'Eggemberg*, and *Winceslaus de Lobkowitz*, who were admitted in that quality in the register of the *Germanic* body (1).

(1) Barre, t. ix. p. 736.



<sup>a</sup> WHILE the diet thus seemed to conspire with the house of *Austria*, in order to prolong the war, *Bannier* formed the design of dispersing the assembly, and even of surprising the town. Having joined the *French* under *Guébriant* at *Erfort*, he arrived at *Hoff* on the sixth day of *January*, and sending five régiments of cavalry to *Egra*, under the command of major-general *Wittenberg*, who had orders to rejoin the army at *Porcu*, he advanced to *Awerback*. On the nineteenth the confederates marched to *Schwendorf*; and next day the count of *Nassau* and *Wittenberg*, being detached with six régiments of cavalry to reconnoitre the country between *Ratisbon* and *Straubingen*, crossed the *Danube* upon the ice, and took above fifteen hundred of the enemy's horse. The emperor himself ran a very great risque of being surprised; for that very day he intended to hunt, thinking himself secure in an advanced guard, which was actually carried off by the *Swedes*, who likewise took his litter, hawks, and equipage. The approach of these armies filled *Ratisbon* with consternation: the bridge was immediately burned; but the country was covered with enemies, the villages set on fire, and the town defenceless, unprovided, full of strangers, malcontents, and suspected persons <sup>m</sup>.

*Bannier joins the French troops under Guébriant.*

<sup>b</sup> THE design of the allies was to take the advantage of the frost, to block up and starve the town; but the weather becoming more mild, the count *de Nassau* and *Wittenberg* were obliged to repass the river before it should be thawed, and rejoin the army, which had arrived at *Regenstauff*, about two leagues from *Ratisbon*. Nevertheless, *Bannier*, who would not retire until he should have made another attempt to dissolve the diet, approached that city on the twenty-sixth day of *February*; and *Guébriant*, who commanded the van, placing his artillery on the banks of the *Regen*, which was between the town and the confederates, saluted the emperor and diet with five hundred shot; an affront that stung *Ferdinand* so severely, that he seemed bereft of his usual constancy and fortitude <sup>n</sup>.

<sup>c</sup> AFTER this ineffectual expedition, the *French* troops separated themselves from the army of *Sweden*, and marched towards *Bamberg*, while *Bannier* took the route to *Chamb*, to penetrate into *Misnia* through *Bohemia*. As for the emperor, he was no sooner rid of such troublesome neighbours, than he issued out orders for assembling a body of troops with all possible dispatch, in order to revenge the insult he had undergone. His army being soon formed by the activity of the archduke *Leopold* and *Picolomini*, one part of it under <sup>d</sup> *marechal Gleen*, went in pursuit of *Bannier*, while the other, commanded by *Picolomini*, besieged *Newmarck*, which was defended by a *Swedish* officer called *Schlang*, who, after having sustained five assaults, was obliged to surrender prisoner of war. Immediately after the reduction of this place, the imperial general rejoined *Gleen*, in order to pursue *Bannier*, who retreated across the forest of *Bohemia*; on the other side of which, finding himself impeded by the river *Pleiss*, he collected a number of boats with such expedition, that he had transported his men when *Picolomini* appeared upon the bank. This obstruction, however, did not retard the progress of the enemy; the *Austrian* cavalry swam across the river, and the *Swedes* being now hemmed in between the *Pleiss* and the *Moldaw*, *Bannier's* ruin seemed inevitable, when he extricated himself by one of those efforts of military genius, which redound more to the honour of a general, than does the acquisition of a victory, because fortune has no share in the success. Finding himself thus severely pressed, he posted some troops in a mill below *Presnitz*, which made such a long and gallant resistance, when attacked by *Picolomini*, that his army had time to retire to *Zuickaw* on the *Moldaw*, whither his baggage and artillery were conveyed in the night: here likewise he was joined by *Guébriant*, who, after the siege of *Newmarck*, had put himself in motion, and by surprising marches arrived at this place, without having been attacked by the *Austrians*. All *Germany* admired this march, and *Bannier's* retreat, which indeed were scarce credible. *Gleen* and *Picolomini* accused one another of neglect, and were ordered to repair to *Ratisbon* to give an account of their conduct, which satisfied the emperor's son, <sup>e</sup> *Ferdinand* king of *Hungary*, who sent them back to their posts. *Gleen*, at the head of nine *Bavarian* régiments, advanced towards the *Rhine*; and *Picolomini*, with the rest of the army, followed the *Swedes* towards *Zeitz* <sup>o</sup>. Mean while *Bannier*, in consequence of the fatigues he had undergone, fell sick at *Zuickaw*, and ordered himself to be conveyed to *Halberstadt*, where he died on the twentieth day of *May*, in the forty-first year of his age, to the infinite loss and inexpressible regret of his party. This great officer had learned the art of war under *Gustavus Adolphus*, whom he had well nigh rivalled in reputation and success. He was remarkable for his moderation and humanity towards those whom he conquered: he always avoided the effusion of blood, as much as the nature of his occupation would permit: he was robust, patient, laborious, and active; adored by his soldiers, who cheerfully underwent all sorts of toil and danger under his command; and all

*The emperor assembles his troops and takes Newmarck.*

*Bannier retreats into Bohemia.*

*Dies at Halberstadt.*

<sup>m</sup> LOTYCH. rer. German. l. xiv. a l'An. 1641.

<sup>n</sup> Hist. de Guébriant, l. iv. c. ii.

<sup>o</sup> Mercur. Franc. t. xxiv.



*Europe* acknowledged him to be the most able general of his time, especially in the knowledge of encampment, of drawing up an army in order of battle, and of making a retreat in the face of an enemy of superior strength <sup>p</sup>.

Christian duke of Brunswick renews the alliance with France and Sweden.

*FRANCE* and *Sweden* had been alarmed at the death of *George* duke of *Brunswick-Lunenburg*, which happened in *April*, because they apprehended that the elector of *Saxony* would induce *Christian*, his successor, to make an accommodation with the house of *Austria*; but, in spite of the intrigues of the court of *Dresden*, and the menaces of *Piccolomini*, the dutchess-dowager and her son concluded at *Hildesheim*, a new treaty with the two crowns, and engaged to join her forces to those of *France* and *Sweden*. Nevertheless, this alliance was not of consequence enough to prevent the disquiet of *Sweden*, which was overwhelmed with grief and consternation at the death of *Bannier*, seemingly productive of such troublesome consequences; for his army was almost wholly composed of *Germans*, who were retained in the service by the single authority of the general; and now he was dead, they would be exposed to the arts and temptations of those princes, who were lying in wait for such an opportunity of inveigling them into their own services. Accordingly they were tampered with by the elector of *Saxony*, and even by *Christian* duke of *Lunenburg*, whose aim was to be at the head of an independent army, that would act against the emperor for his interest only: but the young prince was dissuaded by *Guébriant* from the execution of his scheme, which was altogether extravagant; and the army, which at first seemed inclinable to mutiny, laid aside all thoughts of declaring for themselves, and resolved to receive any general that the *Swedish* regency should think proper to appoint <sup>q</sup>.

The elector of Saxony retakes *Zuickaw*.

THE elector of *Saxony* seeing the *Swedish* army without a general, resolved to seize this opportunity of retaking *Zuickaw*, which was invested by general *Borri*, and, after a siege of five weeks, surrendered upon capitulation, though he did not keep his word with the garrison, which he disarmed on pretence of their having used iron and tin balls, contrary to the laws of war; and, in order to avoid captivity, they were constrained to enlist in the elector's service <sup>r</sup>.

The Imperialists are defeated near *Wolfembuttel*.

THE reduction of *Zuickaw*, and the death of *Bannier*, elevated the hopes of the emperor and duke of *Bavaria* to such a degree, that they breathed nothing but total destruction to the army of the confederates. The archduke *Leopold* joined *Piccolomini* in *Saxony*, when, trusting to the superiority of their numbers, they resolved to compel the forces of *George* duke of *Lunenburg* to abandon the blockade of *Wolfembuttel*, and to reduce the princes of *Brunswick*, and the landgrave of *Hesse*, to the necessity of suing for an accommodation. But these projects were soon frustrated by the *Swedes* and *French*, who, under the command of *Guébriant*, met and defeated them near *Wolfembuttel*. Four thousand Imperialists were slain upon the spot, and a great number taken prisoners, who received quarter, contrary to the resolutions taken on both sides before the battle began. The greatest part of those who survived, being favoured by the night, fled for refuge under the cannon of *Wolfembuttel*, and the rest reached the forest of *Fimelsen*. No other event of any consequence happened in the course of this year; and the winter approaching, the *Hessian* troops and those of *Lunenburg* went into winter-quarters near the *Rhine*; while the *French* and *Swedes* remained in their camp near *Sastadt*, waiting the arrival of general *Torsten*son, who had begun his march with eight thousand *Swedes*, and was the person whom the regency had chosen as the successor of *Bannier*. This officer, upon his junction with *Guébriant*, proposed to go together and take winter-quarters in *Bohemia*; but in this proposal the count could not acquiesce, because cardinal *de Richelieu*, who was bent upon the conquest of *Roussillon*, had ordered him to lead the *French* troops back to the *Rhine*, on pretence of making a powerful diversion next year, or of defending that frontier against any attempts of the Imperialists. In consequence of this scheme the armies were parted, *Guébriant* entered *Westphalia*, and *Torsten*son penetrated into *Bohemia*, in order to try their fortunes separately, as soon as the season should permit <sup>s</sup>.

The king of England solicits the emperor in favour of the young count-palatine.

THE princes of *Germany*, whose country had been so long ravaged by so many different armies, longed eagerly for peace; but no one expressed more impatience than the young count-palatine, in whose favour the *English* resident at *Vienna* had orders to repeat the most pressing solicitations. The duke of *Bavaria* consented to restore the *Lower Palatinate* to the count, and even to quit the *Upper*, as soon as he should be reimbursed of the thirteen millions that were due to him <sup>t</sup>: but the *Spaniards* could not be prevailed upon to relinquish the places which they possessed in the *Lower Palatinate*; and the archdutchess *Claudia* affirmed, that the prefecture of *Germerheim* made no part of it, but belonged to her children the archdukes of *Austria*: to support this assertion, she alledged, that the palatine princes had never possessed it in any other way than as a mortgage; that the

<sup>p</sup> PUFFENDORF, rer. Suec. l. xiii.

<sup>q</sup> BARRE, t. ix. p. 743.

<sup>r</sup> Mercur. Franc. t. xxiv. 2 l'An. 1641.

<sup>s</sup> LOTYCH, rer. German. part ii. l. xxviii.

<sup>t</sup> ADLZREIT, l. xxvii. n. i.



a emperor had made a grant of it to the archduke *Leopold*, to whom the subjects of it had taken the oath of allegiance; and that it was but a very slight recompence for the services which her husband had done the emperor and common cause of *Germany*.

*FERDINAND*, that he might not seem averse to peace, which was so eagerly desired by the whole empire, promised to restore the *Lower Palatinate* to the Palatine princes, and reimburse them of the sums which their ancestors had lent upon the mortgage of this prefecture, provided they would renounce all the alliances in which they had engaged against the house of *Austria*; but this offer, which was not made till next year, they rejected, because he refused to re-establish the count in the electorate, and the dominions thereto annexed.

*Ferdinand proposes an expedient for satisfying that young prince.*

b ABOUT this time the ministers of *France* and *Sweden* were employed at *Hamburg*, in renewing the treaty of alliance between these crowns, which was on the point of expiring. The count *d'Avaux*, and *Adler Salvius*, who were the two negotiators, exerted all their dexterity in obtaining their separate aims. The former affirmed, that the duration of the treaty was not limited to a certain number of years, so as that they should be put to the trouble of renewing it from time to time, while the *Swedes* were loth to tie up their own hands, and deprive themselves of the liberty of concluding a separate peace with the emperor, in case favourable conditions should be offered. However, the regency reflecting that they could never be secure in a separate peace, without the guarantee of *France*, gave up that point, and restricted themselves to the demand of an augmentation of the sub-

*France and Sweden renew their treaty of alliance.*

c sidy from *France*, together with a powerful diversion upon the *Rhine*, and in the hereditary countries of the house of *Austria*, or at least in *Bavaria*. They disputed a long time on these two articles: the count *d'Avaux* alledged, that *France* was too much exhausted to bear so great an expence: that in the course of four or five years she had given immense sums to the *Swedes* and *Dutch*, from which she had reaped no advantage; for the allies had converted their money to their own private occasions. With regard to the diversion he observed, that it would be impolitic in the *French* to send their troops into remote provinces, without any prospect of emolument, while, by acting upon the *Rhine*, they might extend the conquests, and aggrandize the power of their country. Notwithstanding these objections, it was agreed, that in case of a truce the treaty should be in force

d until a peace could be concluded; but during that interval, *France* should not pay to *Sweden* more than seven hundred and fifty thousand livres yearly: that the landgrave of *Hesse*, the dukes of *Brunswick*, and other allies of the two crowns, should be comprehended in the treaty; and that if a truce could not be effected with the enemy, *France* should grant a yearly subsidy to *Sweden* of twelve hundred thousand livres during the continuation of the war.

<sup>a</sup> PUFFENDORF. lib. xiv. pag. 189.

<sup>x</sup> VITTORIO SIRI, tom. i. lib. ii.

<sup>y</sup> LUNIG. Part. Gener. Contin. II.

e

## C H A P. XX.

### Continuation of the War to the Peace of Munster and Osnabrug.

*GEORGE-WILLIAM*, elector of *Brandenburg*, having died in the month of *November* of the preceding year, his son and successor *Frederic-William* sent *Wintersfeld* to *Hamburg*, to negotiate a truce with *Salvius*; and at the same time dispatched another minister to *Stockholm*, in order to forward the treaty, which he desired to conclude rather from a motive of private interest, than an inclination to give peace to his dominions. This was no other than the view of securing to himself the dutchy of *Jagendorf*, after the death of the present duke *Ernest*, who had no children. Though this appenage of right belonged to the elector, he foresaw a difficulty in obtaining it from the house of *Austria* by fair means; and therefore he had recourse to the alliance of *France* and *Sweden*, by which his claim might be supported. But his conduct on this occasion was influenced by another consideration. By an article of the treaty of truce, concluded between *Sweden* and *Poland*, it was stipulated, that the fort of *Puילau* should remain in the hands of the elector of *Brandenburg*: nevertheless, *Ladislaus* king of *Poland* pretended that this was nothing but an incidental article, upon the execution of which the treaty did not at all depend, and therefore he refused to grant the investiture of *Prussia* to the elector, unless he would restore the fort. In order to preserve the possession of *Puילau*, *Frederick* had now recourse to the authority of the *French* king, who had been mediator in the treaty of *Stumsdorf*, and for that reason ought to interest himself in the execution of its articles. The count *d'Avaux*, to whom the elector wrote upon this subject, promised that *Lewis XIII.* should employ

*Frederic-William, elector of Brandenburg, solicits an alliance with Sweden.*



employ his good offices with *Ladislaus* in his behalf; but in the mean time gave him <sup>a</sup> to understand, that he ought to merit the king's protection by taking some step that would be advantageous to the party of the allies. Over and above these considerations, he had other reasons to cultivate the friendship of the *Swedes*. Under pretence of treating with them concerning the interests of his aunt, who was dowager of *Sweden*, he endeavoured to pave the way to the throne of that kingdom, which he was ambitious of mounting, by marrying the young queen, who was now in the fifteenth year of her age. This match, which had been projected by her father *Gustavus*, with a view of uniting *Pomerania* and *Prussia* to the kingdom of *Sweden*, was now countenanced by *England* and *Holland*, as an event that would tend to the support of the Protestant religion, and the balance of power in *Germany*, where the house of *Austria* preponderated to such a formidable <sup>b</sup> degree: but the *Swedish* regency had other views, and took such measures as effectually disappointed the aim of the elector, though the negotiation was serviceable to the allies; for, while it remained upon the carpet, he made but very feeble efforts in favour of the contrary party <sup>c</sup>.

A. D. 1642.  
The dukes of  
Lunenbourg  
negotiate with  
the emperor.

THE disposition of the dukes of *Lunenbourg* with regard to the allies, became every day more and more equivocal. They demanded of *France* the same subsidy of money which that crown granted to the landgrave of *Hesse*; and of the *Swedes*, the restitution of some places which they had possessed for many years. Being disappointed in this quarter, they attempted to effect an accommodation with the emperor, who had long solicited them to re-unite with his interests: but they would not enter into any negotiation with his imperial majesty, until he should put them in possession of *Wolfenbüttele*; and the conferences which were held at *Goslar* upon this affair, being protracted to a great length of time, the allies reaped the advantage of their uncertainty and suspense, for they still continued to treat the Imperialists as enemies, and at last the convention proved ineffectual.

NOR was the emperor more successful with the thirteen *Swiss* cantons, which the diet of *Ratisbon* had required to recal the troops of their nation, that were in the service of *France*, and to hinder the forces of that kingdom from passing through the *Helvetic* territory into the empire; but neither the letters of the diet, nor the promises of the Catholic cantons, produced any effects in favour of *Ferdinand*, who did not much consult his dignity in trying such feeble resources, and who now sustained an irreparable loss, by the reconciliation of *France* with *Charles* duke of *Lorraine*, the first step towards which was his relinquishing his correspondence with the house of *Austria*; yet even this misfortune was not of such consequence to the emperor, as the progress made by the arms of *France* and *Sweden*.

The count de  
Guébriant de-  
feats the Impe-  
rialists near  
Kempen.

THE count de *Guébriant* having crossed the *Rhine* in *January*, upon a bridge which he built at *Wesel*, marched to *Ordinguen*, which surrendered at discretion; and understanding that *Hasfeld* was on his march to join *Lamboy*, whose quarters were near *Kempen*, he resolved to hinder this junction by attacking the last in his intrenchments. With this view he left his baggage at *Ordinguen*, advanced towards the enemy, drew up his army in order of battle, and proceeded to the attack. After an obstinate opposition, the *Austrian* infantry was forced and put to flight: *Lamboy*, who rallied his troops, and returned to the charge, was, together with *Merci*, surrounded and taken; and of the whole imperial army, not above six hundred escaped. This victory, obtained upon the seventeenth day of *January*, was followed by the conquest of *Nints*, *Bever*, *Berchem*, *Caster*, and *Guessembruck*; so that the count de *Guébriant* saw himself master of almost the whole electorate of *Cologne*<sup>a</sup>. His next step was to besiege *Kempen*, which *Groensfeld* defended with great gallantry and skill; but a large breach being made, he knew it would be impossible to sustain the assault, and therefore capitulated upon honourable terms <sup>b</sup>.

The duke of  
Saxe-Lawem-  
bourg subdues  
Silesia,

THE defeat of *Lamboy*, and success of the *French* general, did not hinder the archduke *Leopold* and *Picolomini*, who commanded the Imperialists in *Moravia*, from marching against *Torfsen*, whom they intended to surprise; but finding the *Swedish* general always upon his guard, *Picolomini* resolved to substitute artifice in the room of valour, and tampered with one *Seckendorf*, a *Swedish* colonel, so successfully, that he promised to admit the Imperialists into the camp by night: this design, however, was discovered, and the traitor being convicted of the crime, was beheaded at *Salzuedel*. In the mean time the duke of *Saxe-Lawembourg*, with a detachment of *Austrians*, entering *Silesia* attacked *Beuthen*, which was defended by three forts. The first was abandoned by the *Swedes*, who took refuge in the second, where they were forced and put to the sword; and the garrison which was in the third, capitulated, in order to avoid the same fate. The duke having razed these three forts, reduced the castle of *Carloth*, and marched against *Bunzlau*, which he besieged <sup>c</sup>.

<sup>a</sup> PUFFENDORF de reb. Frid. Guill. lib. i. sect. xv. tom. xxiv. a l'An, 1642.

<sup>a</sup> HARRIS. lib. iii. cap. x.

<sup>b</sup> Mercur. Franc.



a and took. *Naumburg* surrendered almost without resistance; and all *Silesia* being thus subjected to the house of *Austria*, he joined the archduke and *Picolomini* c.

*SILESIA* was no sooner abandoned by the Imperialists, than *Torsten*son marched thither to recover the places which had been lost, and proceeded in his conquests with surprising rapidity, which, in order to check, the duke of *Saxe-Lawemburg* marched towards *Schwentz* with great expedition. He found the *Swedes* in order of battle, and having no desire to engage in a general action, thought proper to retire; when *Torsten*son pursued him at the head of his cavalry, and found means to decoy him into an ambuscade of his musqueteers, who charging the *Austrian* squadrons in flank, soon put them in disorder, and produced a panic among the infantry, in consequence of which they fled with great precipitation. The duke b made many efforts to rally his troops; but the *Swedish* horse, far from giving him time, fell upon his men with such impetuosity, that three thousand were killed upon the spot: the duke himself, being dangerously wounded, was obliged to surrender, with the greatest part of his officers, and was conveyed to the next town, where he died without issue by his duchess *Christina*, daughter, of *John Albert*, duke of *Mecklenburg* a.

and is after-  
wards defeat-  
ed by the Swe-  
dish general.

*TORSTENSON*, having now no enemy near to oppose him, invested *Brieg*, and, in all probability, would have taken the place, had not the king of *Hungary* ordered *Picolomini* to assemble all the forces he could collect, and succour the place, even at the expence of a battle. The archduke *Leopold*, foreseeing that the reduction of *Brieg* would be followed by the loss of all *Silesia*, joined this body, which being greatly superior in number to *Torsten*- c son, obliged him to relinquish his enterprize, tho' he retired in good order, and intrenched himself in an advantageous situation between *Grave* and *Gros-Glogau*, the siege of which last place the archduke immediately undertook; but the besieged made such a vigorous defence, that he despaired of reducing the place, and retired to *Luben*, where he established his head quarters. The *Austrians* were not more successful in the siege of *Olmütz*, from which they were recalled by the archduke, in order to act to greater advantage against *Torsten*son.

THIS general being strengthened by a reinforcement from *Sweden*, had passed the *Elbe*; with an intent to besiege *Leipsick*; and having seized two posts, the possession of which might facilitate that enterprize, ordered general *Koningsmarck* to invest the place, in hope of making himself master of it, or of obliging the Imperialists to fight, should they come to d its relief. Accordingly, while he was employed in the operations of the siege, he received intelligence that the *Austrians* had crossed the *Elbe*; and, in consequence of this intimation, he converted the siege into a blockade, and made preparations for receiving the enemy. On the thirty-first day of *October*, the count *de Bouchain*, who commanded a body of *Croats* and *Hungarians*, advancing within two leagues of the *Swedish* camp, *Torsten*son marched out to meet them at the head of his cavalry; but understanding that the archduke had drawn up his army in order of battle, he returned to his camp, to deliberate upon the next step he should take. Mean while *Leopold* approached *Leipsick* in such a manner, as that the *Swedes* were between his army and the town; and *Torsten*son finding himself between two fires, filed off his troops into a plain at the distance of a league from *Leipsick*. The *Austri*- e ans, imagining his design was to avoid an action, followed him in his march, with a view to harass his rear; but the *Swedish* general having put his army in order, faced about to the enemy, and a mutual cannonading ensued. Major-general *Wittemberg*, who commanded the right wing of the *Swedes*, charged the left of the Imperialists with such impetuosity, that they were routed, after having made a slight resistance: however, their right wing behaved with more valour, and the emperor's cuirassiers had well nigh broke the *Swedish* cavalry, which was rallied by *Koningsmark*, and at length put the *Austrians* to flight. While the cavalry of both armies thus disputed the victory, the infantry in the center fought with inexpressible rage and resolution, until the *Swedish* foot, animated by the example of their horse, and supported by a body of reserve, which advanced in the heat of the action, obliged f the Imperialists to leave the field, and retreat into a wood, after having abandoned their cannon.

*Torsten*son  
undertakes the  
siege of Leip-  
sick, and is in-  
terrupted by  
the Imperia-  
lists,

who are totally  
defeated in the  
plain of Breit-  
enfeld.

*TORSTENSON* pursued the left wing as far as *Leipsick*; *Koningsmarck* gave no quarter to the right; and the *Austrian* infantry being driven from the wood to which they had retired, were surrounded by the enemy, and cut in pieces. In this battle, which was fought in the plain of *Breitenfeld*, on the second day of *November*, the Imperialists lost above eight thousand men, including three hundred officers that were found among the slain (B.) As for the

con-

c BARRE, t. ix. p. 753.

d PUFFENDORF, l. xiv. sect. xx.

(B) The regiment of *Madlon* being the first that fled without fighting, and in some measure the cause of the general confusion that ensued, the archduke resolved to inflict an exemplary punishment upon that corps, when the remains of the army retreated into *Bohemia*. Six re-  
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giments, which had signalized themselves in the battle, being drawn up under arms, surrounded that of *Madlon*, which was severely reproached for its cowardice and misconduct by the prevot general, and ordered to lay down its arms at the feet of general *Picolomini*. When they had  
3 U obeyed



conquerors, they took a great number of prisoners, together with forty-six pieces of cannon, a one hundred and sixteen pair of colours, seventy-five standards, the chancery and plate of the archduke and *Picolomini*, a great many coaches, and six thousand waggons; and their whole loss did not amount to one thousand men, including some officers of distinction. With regard to *Picolomini*, he escaped to *Leipsick* with twelve thousand horse; but as he did not doubt that *Torstenfon* would renew the siege, he would not shut himself up in that place, but retired with the archduke into *Bohemia*, to re-assemble the wreck of their army.

THIS total defeat of the *Austrians* overwhelmed the court of *Vienna* with consternation. General *Enkenford* was ordered to make new levies with all expedition; *Hasfeld* and *Wahl* were sent for to court; *Goltaker* and *Galtz* exerted their utmost diligence to join the archduke, and all the troops in the service of the house of *Austria* were assembled to stop the progress of the victorious *Torstenfon*.

Torstenfon  
returns to the  
siege of Leip-  
sick,

which is re-  
duced.

A. D. 1643.  
A plan of ope-  
rations settled  
by the French  
and Swedish  
generals.

Torstenfon  
marches to-  
wards Frie-  
berg.

THIS general had returned to the siege of *Leipsick*, which he carried on with unabating ardour, by means of sixty pieces of battering cannon; but the valour of the garrison was equal to that of the besiegers. They made a number of successful sallies, in which they damaged the *Swedish* works; but, being destitute of all hope from the elector of *Saxony*, they sent deputies to *Torstenfon* to demand a sum of money, in consideration of which they would give security, that the electoral troops in the citadel should live on good terms with the *Swedes*, and the burghers should observe an exact neutrality during the present war. These proposals were rejected by the *Swedish* general, who proceeded in his attacks with incredible vigour, until he had advanced to the very bastions of the place. Notwithstanding this progress, the garrison defended themselves with great obstinacy until the *French* troops arrived in the *Swedish* camp, when the town and citadel surrendered upon these conditions: that fifteen hundred Imperialists, who were in the town, should engage in the service of *Sweden*; that the *Saxons*, who composed part of the garrison, should be conducted to *Dresden*, with their arms and baggage; that the town should redeem itself from pillage by the sum of seven hundred thousand rixdollars, and receive a *Swedish* governor, without a garrison, though the *Swedish* troops should take possession of the citadel.

THE articles of capitulation being executed, *Torstenfon* proposed an interview with the count de *Guébriant* at *Rudstadt*, in order to deliberate upon the march of the troops, and winter-quarters for both armies. His design being to pursue the interest of *Sweden* only, he would have persuaded the *French* general to march into *Bohemia*; but *Guébriant* representing, that such a motion might disappoint them of the fruit which they might expect from their victories and success, another plan of operations was settled, in consequence of which the *French* should pass the *Maine* and the *Neckar*, in order to oppose the designs of *Hasfeld* and *Wahl*, the *Bavarian* generals, while the *Swedes* should besiege *Hoff* in the marquisate of *Culmbach*, in *Franconia*, and, after the reduction of that place, advance to the *Upper Palatinate*; and the march of both armies was regulated in such a manner, that in two days they could join one another. This was certainly a very feasible project, and the most advantageous enterprize that could have been undertaken in favour of the common cause. The armies of the emperor and duke of *Bavaria* were not strong enough to make head against those belonging to the two crowns; and the small body which *Guébriant* proposed to detach into *Germany* by *Brisack*, would have made a very useful diversion: they would have made themselves masters of towns, and excellent posts for winter quarters, and there was nothing to obstruct their success. But this scheme was defeated by *Torstenfon*, who after two days march returned, and, instead of besieging *Hoff*, took the road to *Friberg* upon the *Elbe*. As for *Guébriant*, he passed the *Maine* at *Gemund*, established quarters of refreshment on the *Tauber*, and afterwards marched towards the *Neckar*.

THE archduke and imperial generals being assembled at *Pilsen*, to concert measures for stopping the current of the enemy's success, it was resolved to march to the relief of *Friberg*, which was by this time blocked up by *Torstenfon*; who, being apprised of their design, left one half of his infantry to continue the blockade, and marched out to meet them with the rest of his army. After having scoured the country for three days, without finding the Imperialists, he returned to the siege, in which he proceeded with indefatigable industry: considerable breaches were made, and an assault actually given; but the garrison sustained

<sup>e</sup> Theat. Europ. t. iv. p. 900.  
Freiber. p. 594.

<sup>f</sup> BARRE, t. ix. p. 757.  
<sup>h</sup> PUFFENDORF. rer. Suec. l. xiv.

<sup>g</sup> Annales Vogel. p. 598. MOLLER. Ann.  
<sup>i</sup> Id. ibid.

obeyed this command, their ensigns were torn in pieces; and the prevot, having mentioned the causes of their degradation, and razed them from the register of the imperial troops, pronounced the sentence which had been agreed upon in the council of war, condemning the

colonel, captains, and lieutenants, to be beheaded, the ensigns to be hanged, and the soldiers to be decimated. This sentence, however, was partly mitigated, at the intercession of many persons of distinction, though the colonel actually lost his head (1).

(1) Heiss, l. iii. c. 10.



a it with such courage, that he was fain to recal his troops for that time. However, he was employed in making preparations for another attack, when he understood that *Picolomini*, at the head of fourteen thousand men, approached to the relief of the place. He no sooner received this intimation, than, ranging his army in order of battle, he put himself in motion to meet them half-way; when *Picolomini*, foreseeing his design, took another road, by which he threw supplies into the town, and then retired with the utmost expedition; so that the *Swedish* general, now despairing of being able to reduce *Frieberg*, marched into *Lusatia*, in order to wait for the reinforcements which he expected, with *Stalbans* and *Koningfmark*, from *Pomerania* and *Lower Saxony*.

b THE conferences were still continued at *Hamburg*, though in a cold and ineffectual manner. After the battle of *Breitenfeld*, the allies expected that the house of *Austria* Proceedings at Hamburg. would appear sincerely disposed to an accommodation: but as the courts of *Vienna* and *Madrid* foresaw that *France* and *Sweden* would set an high price on the peace at that conjuncture, they seemed very indifferent about renewing the negotiations. The king of *Denmark* had, the preceding year, sent to *Langerman*, his minister at *Hamburg*, a model of ratification of the preliminary treaty, touching the safe-conducts, which model was approved by *Salvius* and *St. Romain*, the *Swedish* and *French* envoys. But the emperor's minister, the count *d'Aversperg*, cavilled about the title of ambassador, which it bestowed upon *Salvius*; and the term assigned for the commencement of the congress, and these two articles, produced long debates: at length, however, the emperor finding the allies c determined against any alteration, was obliged to acquiesce in this model, and the negotiators communicated to one another copies of the safe-conducts and ratifications. These being examined and exchanged, and all the formalities adjusted, they agreed to open the conferences for a general peace in the month of *July*; and, the preliminaries being published, all the nations which had been so long exposed to the calamities of war, congratulated themselves upon the near approach of peace, plenty, and security. Nevertheless, this agreeable prospect was suddenly overcast by the death of *Lewis XIII.* king of *France* (C), which happened on the fourteenth day of *May*, and induced the *Swedes*, who were dubious of the politics of the new government, to think of a separate peace with the emperor. But their doubts were soon removed by a victory obtained near *Ardennes* by d the duke *d'Enguien*, over the *Spaniards* commanded by the count *de Mello*, which convinced them of the intention of the *French* ministry to act in concert with their allies. Death of Lewis XIII. of France, and victory obtained over the Spaniards near Ardennes.

THE arms of *France* were not so fortunate in *Germany*. The duke of *Lorrain* renounced his treaty with that kingdom, and took upon himself the command of the *Bavarian* troops; and *Guébriant* being mortally wounded at the siege of *Rotweil*, which however was taken, a misunderstanding prevailed among the chief officers of the army, and produced a relaxation in their discipline, which was the cause of their total defeat. The count *de Rantzau*, who succeeded *Guébriant* in the command, marched to the neighbourhood of *Dutlingen* in *Suabia*, upon the *Danube*, where the count *de Merci*, the *Bavarian* general, surprised, defeated, and took him prisoner, with the greatest part of the general officers, and about e four thousand men; and the remains of the army retreated to *Alsace*, where they were collected and re-assembled by the count *de Turenne*, who was sent thither for that purpose.<sup>k</sup> Guébriant dies of a wound, and his army is defeated by the count de Merci.

THE eyes of all *Europe* were now fixed upon the assemblies at *Munster* and *Osnabrug*. The plenipotentiaries nominated by the emperor were the count *d'Aversperg* and the baron *de Krane*, with *Henry* of *Saxe-Lawemburg*, who was chief of the embassy: *France* appointed the count *d'Arvaux*, and *Abel Servieu*, counsellor of state: the marquis *de Castel Roderigo*, and *Diego de Saavedra*, were chosen by the king of *Spain*; and deputies were also named by the other *European* courts which were interested in the negotiations. The *Swedish* garrison quitted *Osnabrug*, which, together with *Munster*, was by the baron *de Krane* released of the oath they had taken to the empire: the regencies of both cities swore to f observe an exact neutrality, and to protect the persons and effects of the negotiators. Plenipotentiaries appointed for the negotiations at Munster and Osnabrug.

In the midst of these transactions, *Torstenfson* was ordered by the court of *Sweden* to march towards *Holstein*, the regency being incensed against the king of *Denmark*, whom they accused of harbouring all the sentiments of an enemy, under the mask of mediator. He had indeed taken several *Swedish* vessels that traded in the *Sound*, and neglected to give satisfaction to the regency, who complained of these acts of hostility, which, in a general assembly of the states of *Sweden*, they resolved to retort; and this resolution was not known till the moment in which *Torstenfson* invaded *Holstein*, where he reduced *Oldisloe*, *Kiel*, *Christian-pries*, and several other places of importance.<sup>l</sup> Cause of the war between Sweden and Denmark.

<sup>k</sup> BARRE, tom. ix. pag. 764.

<sup>l</sup> HEISS. lib. iii. cap. x.

(C) Cardinal *Richelieu* died on the fourth day of *December*, in the preceding year (1).

(1) Barre, tom. ix. pag. 762.



*CHRISTIAN*, king of *Denmark*, alarmed at this irruption, complained of it to *Torstenſon* <sup>a</sup> as a palpable infringement of the treaty which he had lately concluded with *Sweden*; but finding that, instead of paying any regard to this remonſtrance, he penetrated into *Jutland*, and made himſelf maſter of almoſt all the towns in that province, his *Daniſh* ma- jeſty had recourſe to the aſſiſtance of the emperor, who ordered *Galas* to march imme- diately to his relief, though the winter was by this time pretty far advanced. Though their march was very much retarded by the ſnow, which rendered the roads almoſt im- paſſable, theſe auxiliaries at length appeared on the frontiers of *Holſtein*, and their gene- ral reſolved to ſuſtain the *Swedes* who were in *Jutland*, by occupying the defiles between *Stapelholm* and *Sleſwick*. This enterprize was defeated by the vigilance of *Torſtenſon*, who marched towards *Rensburg*, with intent to give *Galas* battle, in caſe he ſhould diſpute the <sup>b</sup> paſſage; but the *Auſtrians* did not think proper to give him the leaſt moleſtation, ſo that he quitted *Holſtein*, intercepted ſome of their convoys, and encamped near *Ratzburg*, whither he was followed by the imperial general, whoſe troops did nothing but exhaust the country. The *Danes* complained, that the ſlowneſs of *Galas*, in executing the pro- ject of ſtarving the *Swedes*, had given them time to retire with ſafety; while he, on the other hand, alledged, that the *Danes* had promiſed a great deal, and performed nothing; that he expected to have found money for the ſuſſiſtence of his troops, together with a reinforcement of four thouſand diſciplined ſoldiers, and twice the number of peaſants; inſtead of which, he ſaw not above four thouſand raw men, ill payed, and miſerably equipped <sup>m</sup>.

Miſunder- ſtanding be- tween the Danes and Im- perialiſts.

IN the beginning of this war, the duke of *Newburg* and the archbiſhop of *Cologne* had projected a league in the circle of *Weſtphalia*, with deſign to defend themſelves equally againſt the *Swedes* and *Auſtrians*, and to maintain an exact neutrality. This affair ſeemed to be the more important, as the circle of *Franconia* appeared well diſpoſed to follow the example; and the count *d'Avaux*, in a letter to the duke, repreſented, that ſuch a league would be altogether oppoſite to the intereſts of the *Germanick* body, becauſe, in obliging the foreign troops to quit the empire, it would furniſh the houſe of *Auſtria* with means for enſlaving the whole nation. This argument had no effect upon the duke, who per- ſiſted in his deſign, which however miſcarried in the ſequel through want of money. <sup>c</sup>

The elector of Brandenburg negotiates with France.

THE treaty which the elector of *Brandenburg* negotiated with *France* proved alſo inef- <sup>d</sup> feſtual. He wanted to be ſupported by that kingdom in his pretenſions to the ſucceſſion of *Juliers*, and in his ſcheme of marrying the queen of *Sweden*; but, as I have already obſerved, the *Swedes* dreaded the government of a foreigner, who would, in all probabi- lity, beſtow the beſt poſts of the kingdom upon his own creatures and followers, to the prejudice of the natives; and *France* did not wiſh to ſee ſuch an acceſſion of power to any Proteſtant prince of the empire <sup>n</sup>.

The proceed- ings of the diet at Frankfort.

DURING theſe efforts of the elector at the *French* court, the emperor's commiſſaries, aſſem- bled at *Frankfort*, exerted their endeavours to deſtroy the alliances ſubſiſting between the princes of *Germany* and foreign powers. *Ferdinand* had ſummoned a diet to meet in this city; and *Erneſt Oettingen*, who preſided in his name, propoſed, at firſt, that the abuſes <sup>e</sup> which had crept into the adminiſtration of juſtice ſhould be reformed. But this propoſal was indifferently received by the deputies, who, ſuſpecting the houſe of *Auſtria* of a deſign to protract the war, alledged, that the firſt object of their deliberation ought to be the means of reſtoring peace to *Germany*. The imperial commiſſaries, in order to remove the ſuſpicion they had incurred, aſſented to the juſtneſs of this propoſal; but repreſented, that, in order to procure a general ſolid peace, the members of the *Germanick* body ought, firſt of all, to be united among themſelves; that the landgrave of *Heſſe* ſhould detach him- ſelf from *France* and *Sweden*; and the elector of *Brandenburg* be obliged to renounce his neutrality, and act in concert with the other ſtates of the empire againſt all foreign powers whatever. This article was, after a long debate, rejected, and a reſolution taken to make <sup>f</sup> peace with foreign princes, before meaſures could be taken to re-eſtabliſh union in the empire, becauſe the one neceſſarily depended upon the other <sup>o</sup>.

College of the princes and towns claim the privilege of ſending de- puties to the congreſs.

THE next queſtion that fell under conſideration was, whether or not the college of the princes and towns ſhould ſend deputies to the congreſs at *Munſter* and *Oſnabrug*. The college of electors repreſented, that they were the depository of the rights of the empire, and the guardians that ought to preſerve them; that it would be impoſſible to keep the negotiations ſecret, provided they ſhould be communicated to ſuch a number of envoys, and that conſuſion muſt neceſſarily attend ſuch a number of opinions. The deputies of the princes and towns, on the other hand, declared, that they had no intention to encroach upon the prerogatives of the electors, or even to mingle in the conferences held between <sup>g</sup> the imperial miniſters and ambaffadors of foreign princes; but it was no more than rea-

<sup>m</sup> BARRE, tom. ix. pag. 767.  
pag. 59.

<sup>n</sup> Id. ibid. LONDORP. tom. v. pag. 819.

<sup>o</sup> Theat. Europ. tom. v.



a sonable, that they should assist in the deliberations about the common interest of their country, on which subject no resolution ought to be taken without their privity and consent <sup>p</sup>.

THIS pretension was extremely disagreeable to the emperor and greatest part of the electors, who, fearing that the party of their adversaries would prevail, so as that they should be obliged to acknowledge their right of deputation to the congress of *Westphalia*, proposed to continue the diet at *Frankfort*, where the states should be exactly informed of the negotiations at *Munster* and *Osnabrug*. They promised at the same time to convoke another general assembly, for regulating the differences on account of religion; and reforming the abuses which had crept into the aulic council and imperial chamber.

b THESE proposals gave rise to warm debates, in the midst of which they received letters from the plenipotentiaries of *France*, expressing their astonishment that the members of the empire, after having called in foreigners to their assistance, and supported a long and troublesome war, should let slip a favourable opportunity of retrieving their liberty, and convincing the world of their sovereign power to make peace or war, independent of any superior. They likewise exhorted the deputies of the empire to repair forthwith to the place of conference, and openly accused the house of *Austria* of a design to oppress the freedom of *Germany*. *Supported in their pretensions by the court of France.*

c *FERDINAND* was so much incensed at this affront, that he demanded authentic satisfaction, and would have considered as null and void the passports he had received from *France* for his ambassadors, on pretence that they were not signed by a prince of the blood, or ratified by the parliament of *Paris*, whose authority was very great during the minority of *Lewis* the fourteenth. Various were the opinions of the electoral deputies, concerning the manner in which this outrage ought to be resented: but the subject of their deliberation was soon changed by the progress of the *French* arms upon the banks of the *Rhine*, though the misfortune of their country still remained. The princes and states of the empire were irreconcilably divided on the score of religion. The Protestants, who were often at variance among themselves, and always surpassed in number by those of the other communion, made very weak and languishing efforts in return to the invitation of *France* and *Sweden*; and the Roman Catholics sacrificed the liberty of their country to the interests of the house of *Austria*. *Division between the Catholic and Protestant estates of the empire.* Among other instances of their attachment to this family, they opposed and rendered ineffectual a scheme of the princes and cities for removing the diet to *Munster*, that it might be more at hand to consider the articles of the peace; for the emperor foresaw that *France* and *Sweden* would form a considerable party in such an assembly, and the elector of *Bavaria* was afraid that the cause of the Palatine would be brought before that tribunal <sup>a</sup>.

e *FRANCE* being disturbed by the war between *Sweden* and *Denmark*, which was fomented by the emperor, sent the sieur *de la Thuillerie* to *Copenhagen*, in order to negotiate an accommodation; but his proposals met with little regard, until the retreat of *Galas*, and the bad success of some sea-engagements, rendered his *Danish* majesty more tractable. Now that he despaired of obtaining fresh succours of the emperor, he listened to the mediator; and on the seventeenth day of *August* a treaty was concluded at *Bromsboo*, by which *Sweden* restored to *Denmark* all the towns she had conquered in *Holstein*, and *Stormarie*, *Dythmarsie*; and, on the other hand, *Christian* ceded to the queen of *Sweden*, *Jemptie*, *Halland*, the island of *Gothland*, the citadel and town of *Wisbie*, with all the isles depending upon it. *Peace is re-established between the crowns of Sweden and Denmark, and a treaty concluded between Denmark and France.*

BESIDES this treaty, which enabled *Sweden* to act with all her forces against the house of *Austria*, *La Thuillerie* concluded another between *France* and *Denmark*, by which *Christian* engaged to yield no assistance directly or indirectly to the enemies of *France* and her allies; and *Ferdinand* was in no condition to prevent the execution of this new league: for the viscount *de Turenne* had retrieved the affairs of his nation upon the *Rhine*, which he crossed at *Brisack*, and advancing with a small army towards the source of the *Danube*, routed the Imperialists commanded by the baron *de Merci*.

f IN the month of *May* the *Bavarian* army, being recruited and augmented, went and laid siege to *Friburg*. *Turenne* was no sooner apprised of this motion, than he marched to the relief of the place; but count *de Merci*, brother of him whom he had just before routed, took such measures as effectually prevented the *French* general from throwing supplies into the town; so that finding himself too weak to act with vigour against the enemy, the viscount retired, and encamped within a league and an half of the town, which was obliged to capitulate. The queen-regent of *France*, being informed that the king's army was greatly inferior in strength to the *Bavarians*, ordered *Lewis de Bourbon*, duke *d'Enguien*, to join *Turenne* with a reinforcement; and these two generals attacked the count *de Merci* with such impetuosity, that notwithstanding his situation, which seemed almost inaccessible, he *The Imperialists take Friburg.*

<sup>p</sup> PUFFEN. l. xv. sect. lix.

<sup>a</sup> Id. ibid.

*The duke d'Enguien and viscount de Turenne attack Merci, and oblige him to retire into the country of Wirtemberg.*



was obliged to retire with the loss of three thousand men. This action, which lasted seven hours, on the third day of *August*, was immediately followed by another, in which the *Bavarians* had at first some advantage. The duke d' *Enguien* rallied his troops, which were in disorder, and marched up to the enemy, whom they drove from their intrenchments three several times, but at length they were repulsed with some loss; though, as neither party quitted their ground, the victory remained undecided. *Merci*, who had lost one half of his infantry, resolved to avoid a third shock by a quick retreat, which he effected in good order, notwithstanding the efforts of the *French*, who attacked his rear. Continuing his route, he reached the country of *Wirtemberg*, leaving to the enemy his artillery and baggage, with all the towns situated between the *Rhine* and the *Moselle*, from *Mentz* to *Landau*.

*FRANCE* and *Sweden* were not the only foreign enemies that incommoded the house of *Austria*. *Ragotski*, vaivode of *Transylvania*, had proposed to these crowns an alliance against the emperor; and they would not let slip this opportunity of finding employment for the emperor in *Hungary* and *Bohemia*, while the *Swedes* were employed in the *Danish* war. Accordingly a treaty was concluded; and the consent of the Grand Signior, to whom *Ragotski* was tributary, being obtained, the *Transylvanian* prince took the field with thirty thousand men. He advanced into the county of *Neugrad*, undertook the siege of *Fileck*, which he was constrained to abandon, while another corps of his army invested *Cassovia*. Having made himself master of a great many places, his army increased to sixty thousand men, whom he divided into four bodies for the convenience of provision.

Ragotski  
takes *Cassovia*;  
but is obliged  
to retire before  
general  
Goetz,

In order to oppose the progress of the vaivode, the emperor sent the troops that were designed as auxiliaries to the king of *Denmark*, under the command of the count de *Bouchain*, who entered *Hungary* with eight thousand men, and marched directly to *Presburg*, where he expected to be joined by thirty thousand *Hungarians*. Before these could be assembled, *Cassovia* was taken by *Ragotski*, who then convened the states of *Transylvania*, of which he obtained an augmentation of his forces. For the justification of his conduct, he published a manifesto, addressed to the noblemen of *Hungary*, in which he assured them, that his whole aim in taking up arms was to defend their liberty and privileges from the encroachment of the emperor, whose design was to make that kingdom hereditary in his family: he therefore conjured them to join him in such a laudable undertaking. This manifesto was answered by *Ferdinand*, who reproached the vaivode for having made an alliance with the enemies of the empire, to whom (he said) he had promised to deliver up the principal places of *Hungary*. At the same time he augmented the count de *Bouchain's* army, and gave the chief command to general *Goetz*, who encamped within a few leagues of *Presburg*; but being still greatly inferior to the enemy, all he could do was to harass and attack their parties, cut off their provisions, and intercept their convoys. *Ragotski's* troops being raw, undisciplined, and without subordination, he durst not venture to give battle, until he should be joined by a reinforcement which *Torstenfon* had promised to send to his assistance, together with a sum of money; but, instead of this supply, he soon received intelligence that the *Swedish* general had occasion for all his strength to make head against the king of *Denmark*; that the grand vizier, his protector, was dead; and that the king of *Poland* intended to declare against him. These concurring circumstances filled him with such despondence, that he believed himself on the brink of ruin, and resolved forthwith to retreat. He was eagerly pursued by *Goetz*; but the country being destitute of provisions, the imperial troops were half-starved, and afterwards totally ruined at the siege of *Cassovia*, where the vaivode had left five regiments, who defended the place with extraordinary bravery. This disorder of the enemy re-inspired *Ragotski* with courage, insomuch that he rejected the conditions of peace which *Ferdinand* offered, and was of signal service to *Sweden*, by making a diversion in *Germany*, while her forces were employed in *Denmark*.

though he re-  
fuses the terms  
of peace offer-  
ed by the em-  
peror.

Torstenfon  
pursues the im-  
perial army  
from place to  
place.

NOR was the emperor's forces in better plight in *Lower Saxony*, where *Galas* fled before the *Swedes*. On the last day of *August* this general crossed the *Elbe* at *Larwemburg*, without waiting for the provision which he had bought at *Hamburg*; and *Torstenfon* pursued him with such diligence, that he was fain to leave his heavy artillery at *Magdeburg*: then crossing the *Saale* at *Bernburg*, he was joined by the *Saxons*; but hearing of the junction of major-general *Koningsmarck* and *Torstenfon*, he could not afford the least repose to his troops until he arrived at *Hall*, and established his quarters between *Weten* and *Treidemberg*. Here he was reinforced by a body of *Saxons*, under general *Enkenfort*, who had reduced the town of *Lukaw*; but this reinforcement served only to increase the dearth of forage and provision in his army: for such was the vigilance of *Torstenfon*, who had pursued him all the way, and was now encamped at *Oldensleben* that no party could go out of the imperial camp



- a without being attacked. *Königsmarck* defeated a convoy of fifteen hundred loaded waggons, of which he took one thousand, together with twelve hundred soldiers, and four hundred horses<sup>1</sup>: and this misfortune was followed by another of the same kind, in sight of the Imperialists, who durst not move from their situation. Nevertheless, *Galas*, finding it would be impossible for him to subsist in the place where he was, had recourse to a stratagem that succeeded: he detached colonel *Donabe* with fifteen hundred horse, and two thousand foot soldiers, to surprise *Eisleben*; and this officer set out in the dark, so as to conceal his march from the *Swedes*. *Torsten*son was no sooner informed of this motion, than he followed the detachment with the best part of his cavalry, in order to cut off its retreat. Then *Galas*, taking advantage of their absence, decamped without loss of time, taking the road to
- b *Stasfort*, where general *Enckenfort* waited for him, and arrived at *Magdeburg*, leaving behind him some pieces of artillery, which he could not carry off. Notwithstanding all his vigilance and expedition, the *Swede* was at his heels, and hampered him in such a manner, that he could not find subsistence for his troops, which were reduced to such misery; that many died of famine, a great number deserted to the *Swedish* army, and all the rest were so exasperated against *Galas*, that they engaged in a conspiracy to blow him up with gun-powder; but this combination was happily discovered<sup>2</sup>.

A. D. 1645:

- c THE imperial general being thus as it were besieged, *Torsten*son left part of his army with *Königsmarck* to starve the *Austrians*, while he himself, at the head of twelve thousand men, took the road to *Annesberg*; and making himself master of the pass at *Presnitz*, advanced into *Bohemia*, every horseman carrying a pike and shovel, and every soldier being provided with victuals for eight days. As for *Galas*, he was reduced to such extremity, that he resolved to cut his way, sword in hand, through the *Swedes*, and was lucky enough to escape into the circle of *Leutmeritz*. Mean while *Torsten*son, who now found himself nineteen thousand strong, advanced directly to *Prague*, in hope of surprising that city, and taking the emperor and archduke *Leopold*, who had resided there for some time: but *Ferdinand* was no sooner apprised of his march, than he ordered all the troops that could be assembled to approach the place, under *Galas*, *Hasfeld*, *John de Wert*, and the counts of *Brouay* and *Montecuculli*; yet all these forces could not dissipate his fear, in consequence of which he and *Leopold* retired to *Vienna*<sup>3</sup>.

*Galas forces his way into the circle of Leutmeritz:*

- d THE imperial army being formed, encamped between *Thabor* and *Budweis*, at a small distance from the *Swedes*, and each side watched the motions of the other with equal diligence and address. At length *Torsten*son, in order to decoy the *Austrians* from their post, spread a report, that he intended to march to *Moravia*, and actually took the road to that province, till finding the enemy in motion to follow his route, he returned, and encamped at *Strockwitz*. On the second day of *March* he passed the *Moldaw*, and arrived in the neighbourhood of *Thabor*, whither he was followed by the *Austrians*. Here, though both armies glowed with an equal desire of battle, neither would quit its advantageous situation to attack the enemy, and during four days nothing happened between them but slight skirmishes. At last the *Swedes* resolved to advance to the Imperialists: the cannonading began at break
- e of day, and about seven o'clock in the morning, both sides were engaged in an action, that continued for the space of four hours with equal obstinacy and success on both sides. At first the left wing of the *Swedes* began to give way; but being timely supported, the battle was restored, and they charged the *Austrians* with such fury, that their cavalry was routed, and their infantry cut in pieces: general *Goentz*, and about three thousand men, were killed upon the spot; six-and-twenty pieces of cannon were taken, together with sixty-three pair of colours, and the number of the prisoners amounted to four thousand, comprehending general *Hasfeld*, and several officers of distinction. The *Swedes*, in pursuing their victory, overtook a party of fugitives, who had escaped to the neighbourhood of *Krembs* upon the *Danube*, slew twelve hundred, and took the rest, together with three thousand horse: then they sent a reinforcement to *Olmütz*, and filled all the hereditary dominions of the house of *Austria* with consternation and despair<sup>4</sup>.

*The Imperialists are defeated at Janckaw near Thabor:*

- f *FERDINAND*, terrified at these repeated misfortunes, pressed the elector of *Bavaria* to assist him with troops; and the duke sent four thousand men towards *Vienna*, excusing himself from furnishing a greater number, on account of his being obliged to protect his own dominions from the insults of the *French*, who threatened the *Upper Palatinate*. *Galas* collected the broken remains of the imperial army in *Bohemia*, set on foot new levies, and, having formed a body of troops, encamped under the cannon of *Pilsen*, to observe the motions of *Torsten*son. This general, in consequence of his victory, had reduced *Leipnitz*, *Pilgran*, *Iglaw*, and several other places: the towns of *Krembs*, *Stein*, and the fort of *Tyrnstein*, submitted to the conqueror, so that he was master of the *Danube* on the *Moravian* side; and all the towns of this province surrendered at discretion, except *Brinn*, which he

<sup>1</sup> PUFFENDORF, l. xvi. sect. v. & vi, &c. l. iii. c. 10. PIACES. p. 522.

<sup>2</sup> BARRE, t. ix. p. 778.

<sup>3</sup> Idem ibid.

<sup>4</sup> HEISS,

besieged,



Torstenſon  
beſieges Brinn.

beſieged, as the conqueſt of it ſeemed neceſſary for his junction with *Ragoſki*, in order to penetrate into *Hungary* and *Auſtria*. a

Merci, the  
Bavarian ge-  
neral, ſurpriſes  
the viſcount de  
Turenne, and  
deſeats him  
near Marien-  
dal.

THIS enterpriſe raiſed ſuch terror in *Vienna*, that the emperor retired to *Ratiſbon*, and the empreſs, with the nobility, took refuge at *Gratz* in *Stiria*: all the valuable furniture was removed; the ſuburbs were pulled down; the baſtions and ramparts were repaired; ſome old regiments threw themſelves into the place; the burghers and ſtudents were armed; the magazines were filled, and preparations made for ſupporting a long ſiege, which, however, *Torſtenſon* never dreamed of undertaking. He was now employed at that of *Brinn*, which, by its gallant reſiſtance, gave *Ferdinand* time to put his affairs in ſome order. He declared the archduke *Leopold* generaliſſimo of his forces; and *Galas*, who ſerved under him in quality of lieutenant-general, aſſembled the militia from all quarters to augment the army, that they might hinder the *Swedes* from croſſing the *Danube*, and ſending parties to lay *Upper Hungary* and *Auſtria* under contribution. While the Imperialiſts thus exerted themſelves in repairing the damage they had ſuſtained, the elector of *Bavaria* was buſy in taking meaſures to ſtop the progreſs of the *French* conqueſts, which alarmed his whole dominions. General *Merci* having received intelligence, that the viſcount *de Turenne*, after having quitted his winter-quarters at *Spire*, had eſtabliſhed his head-quarters at *Mariendal*, which he had taken, and that his troops were diſperſed in the neighbouring towns for the convenience of finding ſuſſiſtence, reſolved to attack him unaware, before he ſhould be able to re-aſſemble them; and with this view, extending himſelf in the plain of *Mariendal*, he drew up his forces in order of battle, placing his infantry in the center, and his cavalry on the two wings. After having cannonaded the *French* for ſome time, he put himſelf at the head of his infantry, and marched to the attack of a ſmall wood which covered their front, a poſt which it was abſolutely neceſſary to poſſeſs, before his left wing, commanded by *John de Wert*, could act to advantage. *Turenne* at the ſame time, with his cavalry, charged the right wing of the Imperialiſts, which he broke, and penetrated as far as the ſecond line: but three thouſand *French* ſoldiers, under the command of general *Roſe*, were routed and diſperſed by the *Bavarians*; and *de Wert* perceiving their diſorder, advanced with his left wing to take the viſcount *de Turenne* in the rear. This general, ſeeing the riſk he ran of being ſurrounded, ordered his cavalry to wheel about, and retire acroſs the wood; at the other ſide of which being joined by three freſh regiments, and fifteen hundred horſemen who had been already engaged, he ranged them in order of battle, with a view to attack the enemy, ſhould they paſs the wood to purſue him: but *Merci* did not think proper to try the experiment; and the *French* general having rallied his troops, repaſſed the *Tauber*, and retired in good order. Nevertheless, he was very much harraſſed in his retreat, and often obliged to face about to repulſe the enemy, in whoſe deſpite he croſſed the *Maine*, and reached the frontiers of *Heſſe*, where he was joined by the reſt of his army, after having loſt a good part of his infantry, twelve hundred horſe, four pieces of cannon, and his whole baggage. b c d

Turenne is  
reinforced by  
the duke d'En-  
guien.

THE elector of *Bavaria*, elevated by the advantage he had obtained, made very lofty propoſals of peace to *France*, which, without paying the leaſt regard to them, ſent a reinforcement of eight thouſand men to *Turenne*, under the conduct of the duke *de Enguien*; and theſe two generals reſolved, either to oblige the *Bavarians* to come to a general action, or to drive them as far as the *Danube*, and then undertake the ſiege of *Heilbron*. With this view they marched directly to *Dunitelsbubel*, and encamped near the enemy, who were intrenched at *Weietewaugh*: their intention was to attack *Dunitelsbubel*; but underſtanding the *Bavarians* were in march to frustrate that ſcheme, they reſolved to meet them half-way, and juſt as they quitted a wood, perceived their van-guard filing off on one ſide. *Turenne*, whoſe turn it was to command, drew up his ſquadrons in order of battle, and the *Bavarians* took poſt upon a riſing ground, which was ſo inacceſſible that the *French* would not attack them, though they cannonaded each other with pretty equal ſucceſs. The duke *de Enguien*, ſeeing it would be impoſſible to bring the *Bavarians* to an action againſt their will, determined to proſecute his deſign of advancing to the *Danube*, and took the road to *Nordlingen*, while the enemy marched towards *Donawert*. Orders were actually given to return to *Hailbron*, when news were brought, that the *Bavarians* were in march within a league and an half of the army; and in a little time they appeared on this ſide the river of *Wermitz*. The duke immediately drew up his army in order of battle upon the plain, giving the command of the right wing to the marechal *de Grammont*, that of the left to the viſcount *de Turenne*. *Marſin* was at the head of the infantry of the firſt line; the ſecond, compoſed chiefly of *Heſſians*, was commanded by major-general *Geiſs*; and the ſieur *de Chabot* conducted the body of reſerve. The *Bavarians* put themſelves in order upon a mountain of eaſy aſcent; their right was compoſed of the infantry poſted upon a riſing ground; and the reſt of their army was intrenched. There was a village below, and upon their left a caſtle, which they manned g

<sup>2</sup> PUFFENDORF Introduſt. l. vi. HEISS, ubi ſupra.



a with some troops. The action was begun by the *French* general, who ordered *Marfin* to attack the village; but he being dangerously wounded, and the troops under his command giving way, the duke sent in his room the marquis de *Mouffau*, with a reinforcement, which was broke, and would have been intirely defeated, had not the general, in person, led up the whole infantry to their assistance.

YET, notwithstanding all his efforts, this first advantage of the enemy might have ended in a complete victory on their side, had not their general, count de *Merci*, been killed in the hottest of the action. Even the death of this great captain, and the intrepidity of the duke d'Enguien, who behaved with the most heroic ardour, could not prevent the destruction of a great part of the *French* infantry. On the other hand, the left wing b of the *Bavarians* fell with such impetuosity on the *French* cavalry, that they were routed, and the marechal de *Grammont* taken prisoner; while *John de Wert*, attacking the corps de reserve, defeated *Chabot*, and penetrated as far as the baggage, which was pillaged. During these transactions, *Turenne* attacked the right wing of the Imperialists; and, having reached the top of the hill in good order, a terrible engagement ensued, in which the first line of the *Austrians* was broke; but general *Gleen*, advancing with the second, disconcerted the *French*, who being in their turn seasonably supported by the duke d'Enguien, the enemy were obliged to give way; and their cannon being taken, was pointed against the rest of their right wing, that extended to the village: then *Turenne*, charging the *Bavarians* in flank, repulsed them beyond the village, after having taken *Gleen* prisoner; and some regiments that were intrenched at a church and farm in the neighbourhood, despairing of assistance, surrendered at discretion. *John de Wert*, being informed of what passed on the hill, hastened thither with his victorious wing; but he was too late, the day was lost, and every thing in confusion: so that all he could do was to conduct the remains of the army to *Donawert*, whither they retreated by favour of the night, though they were pursued to the banks of the *Danube*. This victory was dear bought by the *French*, four thousand of whom were slain upon the spot; though they kept possession of the field, took a great number of prisoners, and made themselves masters of the enemy's artillery.

The duke d'Enguien attacks the *Bavarians* and *Austrians*, who are defeated near *Nordlingen*.

AFTER the retreat of the *Bavarians*, *Nordlingen* and some neighbouring places opened their gates to the conquerors, who afterwards marched into the country of *Hohenloe*, where d they found abundance of forage and provision; while the enemy encamped within five or six leagues of them, and both sides remained in that situation till the seventeenth day of *October*. The elector of *Bavaria*, being apprehensive that the intention of the *French* was to take winter-quarters in his dominions, solicited the emperor to send him a speedy reinforcement; and *Ferdinand*, who was then upon the eve of a peace with *Ragotski*, so that he had no occasion for troops in *Hungary*, sent a large detachment of horse and dragoons into *Bavaria*, under the command of the archduke *Leopold*, accompanied by general *Galas*; and they being joined by *John de Wert* and *Gleen*, who had been exchanged for the marechal de *Grammont*, marched forward with great expedition, in order to surprise *Turenne*, who, being apprized of their design, passed the *Neckar*, and fortified himself under the cannon of *Philipsburg*. The archduke, disappointed in this project, besieged and took e *Winphen*: *Dinkespuel*, *Nordlingen*, and the other towns which the *French* possessed between the *Neckar* and the *Danube*, made no resistance; so that all the conquests of this year vanished in smoke, and *Leopold* retired into *Bohemia* to oppose the operations of *Torsten*son. The duke of *Bavaria* put his troops in winter-quarters in *Suabia*: *Grammont* returned to *France* with the army of the duke d'Enguien; and the viscount de *Turenne* finished the campaign by re-establishing the elector of *Triers* in his dominions. This prince, after a captivity of ten years, had obtained his liberty, and permission to go to the congress of *Munster*, in consequence of a secret treaty with *Ferdinand*, by which he submitted to the articles of the peace of *Prague*, relinquished to the *Spaniards* the possession of what they had f taken, and promised to retrieve what was occupied by the *French*. As he had signed this treaty with no other view than to deliver himself from a tedious and disagreeable imprisonment, he was no sooner enlarged than he had recourse to the protection of *France*, and the queen-regent ordered *Turenne* to effect his restoration. Accordingly that general invested *Triers*, the garrison of which was obliged to capitulate, and the elector entered his capital amidst the acclamations of his subjects.

*Nordlingen* and other places submit to the conquerors;

but are soon retrieved by the archduke *Leopold*.

The elector of *Triers* is re-established in his dominion.

DURING these transactions the elector of *Saxony*, seeing himself unable to stop the progress of *Konigsmarck*, who had reduced a number of places in *Thuringia* and *Misnia*, had recourse to negotiation, and concluded a truce with the *Swedish* general for six months, before the expiration of which a peace might be negotiated. This treaty was the more disagreeable to the house of *Austria*, as it enabled *Konigsmarck* to join *Torsten*son in *Bohemia*,

<sup>a</sup> BARRE, tom. ix. pag. 786. PUFFENDORF Introd. lib. vi. HEISS. lib. iii. cap. x. Beaulieu Conquêtes de Louis le Grand, tom. i. a l'An. 1645.



The emperor  
makes peace  
with the vaivode  
Ragotski.

Congress at  
Munster and  
Osnabrug.

and put him in a condition to advance his progress in *Moravia*, where he was already very powerful: the emperor, however, in some shape counterbalanced this advantage by making peace with *Ragotski*, vaivode of *Transylvania*, though the articles were not much for the interest of *Ferdinand*<sup>b</sup>.

WHILE the pope and *Venetians* sent the nuncio *Chigi* and *Contareni* to mediate an accommodation at the congress at *Munster*, the parties concerned proceeded in their conferences at *Osnabrug* without any intercessor, and drew up preliminaries, which were published under the title of *Propositions of Peace*: but in these the demands of the emperor and king of *Spain* were so high, that peace seemed to be at as great a distance as ever; for they insisted upon having every thing restored that had been taken from them during the war. *France* wanted to preserve all the conquests she had made in the *Low Countries*, and in *Roussillon*; and demanded, that the emperor should make an absolute cession of the bishoprics of *Metz*, *Toul*, and *Verdun*; which, however, she consented to hold as fiefs of the empire, by which means she would have a seat in the diet, and a share in electing the emperor: she likewise claimed *Alsace*, pretended to appropriate *Lorraine* by right of confiscation, and to retain the conquests she had made on the coast of *Italy*.

THE *Dutch*, though heartily tired of the war, by which they were loaded with debts and taxes, were yet afraid of concluding a separate peace with *Spain* and the emperor, lest they should give umbrage to the king of *France*, who was a dangerous neighbour, and therefore they delayed the departure of their plenipotentiaries for *Munster*.

SWEDEN was resolved to keep *Pomerania*, notwithstanding the opposition of the elector of *Brandenburg*; and, moreover, laid claim to three bishoprics in the circle of *Westphalia*, and to two in *Lower Saxony*. The emperor, who dreaded the *Swedish* arms, attempted, by flattering the ministers of that crown, to detach them from the interests of *France*, which continued still to cultivate the friendship of queen *Christina*, though not at all disposed to see Protestants in possession of so many Catholic dioceses.

THE king of *Spain*, notwithstanding his high pretensions, was reduced to such extremity, by the loss of several battles, the conquests of *France* in the *Low Countries* and *Roussillon*, the revolt of *Catalonia* and *Portugal*, the insurrection of *Naples*, and the invasion of *Sicily* by the duke de *Guise*, that he invested his ministers at *Munster* with the most ample powers to effect a general peace, or even to conclude a separate treaty with the king of *France*, or the states-general.

FERDINAND wished for nothing more than a pacification; but the same motives that inspired his wish, hindered him from enjoying it: for he had been so unfortunate in his operations of war, that he was afraid of making advances to a peace, which he could not expect on any other than unfavourable terms.

As for the elector of *Bavaria*, though connected with the emperor by the ties of interest and religion, he secretly favoured the views of *France* upon *Alsace*, in hope of acquiring a powerful neighbour, to whose assistance he could have recourse, in case of any future breach with the house of *Austria*. His troops and dominions were ruined, therefore he wished for peace; though he dreaded a general accommodation, by which he might be obliged to restore the *Palatinate* and the electoral dignity. Mean while, his private correspondence with *France* did not escape the penetration of *Ferdinand's* plenipotentiary the count de *Trausmandorff*, who traversed his designs in the negotiation, and represented him to his master as a perfidious ally.

ALL the interested powers were jealous of one another; and this jealousy, together with the differences about religion, raised very strong obstacles to a general peace.

THE ceremonial being adjusted at the congress, with respect to the titles conferred on the different powers (B), a dispute arose among the three colleges of the empire. The emperor had been obliged to admit the electors to the congress, contrary to his inclination; and now the princes and towns claimed the same privilege, which was supported by *France* and *Sweden*, because these powers thought the consent of all the states might be necessary to confirm the acquisitions they intended to make in the empire. *Ferdinand* was therefore obliged to grant them permission to send deputies to the assembly of *Westphalia*: it was

<sup>b</sup> Annal. de L'Empire, tom. ii. pag. 839. BARRE, tom. ix. p. 789.

(B) The *French* ministers insisted upon having the title of *majesty* bestowed upon their king by the electors, and yet refused that of *most serene* to the elector of *Brandenburg*. At length, they agreed that neither should be used. The king of *France* demanded, that the title of *altesse*, or *highness*, should be given to the duke of *Languedoc*, because he was descended of a bastard of *Lewis* of *Orleans*, brother to *Charles VI.* but the count de *Nas-*

*sau*, the emperor's plenipotentiary, claimed the same right, and it was refused to both. Another dispute arose about the title *excellency*, which the emperor would not grant to the ambassadors of the electors; and *Oxenstiern* was of the same opinion. At last a temperament was found, and they called the *Swedish* deputies *royal ambassadors*, and those of *Brandenburg*, *electoral ambassadors* (1).



a accordingly agreed, that the Catholics and Protestants of the three colleges, should be equally divided in the cities of *Munster* and *Osnabrug*, with liberty of passing and repassing occasionally, in order to communicate their deliberations.

THESE regulations being made, they were all unanimous in the article of politics; but when religion came upon the carpet, the Protestants complained that the aulic council, composed entirely of Catholics, took cognizance of religious as well as civil causes, and decided upon petitions without hearing the parties; and embraced every opportunity of oppressing those who adopted the confession of *Augsburg*. These complaints, though supported by the *Swedes*, were referred to the decision of a general diet, that they might not interfere with the negotiations; and this evasion convinced the Protestants of the power and obstinacy of their adversaries.

b MEAN while *Torstenfon* ravaged *Austria* to the very gates of *Vienna*, while the archduke *Leopold*, with the wreck of the Imperialists, who had been so often defeated, intrenched himself at *Lagenlabd*, and the emperor retired to *Lintz*. In *Bohemia*, general *Konigsmarck* reduced one town after another, and laid the country under contribution; and *Wrangel* commanded in *Pomerania*, and over-awed the negotiations at *Munster* and *Osnabrug*. *Torstenfon*, however, that his army might not be infected with the plague which raged in *Vienna*, decamped from *Stockeraw*, and marched into *Moravia*, and afterwards advanced into *Bohemia*, as if he intended to undertake the siege of *Prague*: but the archduke *Leopold* being joined by the count *de Bouchain*, took effectual measures for covering that city; while *Torstenfon*, being terribly afflicted with the gout, quitted the command of the army, and retired to his own country <sup>c</sup>.

He was succeeded by general *Wrangel*, who found himself at the head of fifteen thousand horse, and eight thousand infantry, exclusive of the garrisons, and a flying camp under the conduct of *Konigsmarck*; for at this time *Wittemberg* had retired from *Silesia* to join the main body. Against these the Imperialists advanced, to the number of thirteen thousand horse, and eleven thousand foot, reinforced by twelve regiments of cavalry, and eighteen of infantry, belonging to the elector of *Bavaria*. Their design was to attack the *Swedes* before they could be joined by *Konigsmarck*, or the *French* make a diversion upon the *Rhine*: but *Wrangel*, in order to avoid a battle with an enemy, who in a little time must be obliged to divide his army, decamped with great expedition, and retreated into *Misnia*: then he detached a body of troops with *Wittemberg*, to levy contributions in *Silesia*, and beginning his march towards the *Weser*, reduced *Hoxter*, *Paderborn*, *Stadbergen*, and some other small places in his route. The viscount *de Turenne* having given him to understand, that he would pass the *Rhine* at *Bacharack* in the beginning of *June*, *Wrangel* advanced into *Upper Hesse*, and posted himself near *Wetzlar*, where he was joined by *Konigsmarck*; but *Turenne* failing in his promise, the *Swedish* general saw himself exposed to the utmost danger from the Imperialists, who now advanced against him with all their forces. In this dilemma he encamped near *Amenibourg*, in order to observe the designs and countenance of the enemy, as well as to wait his junction with the *French*.

e IN order to prevent this junction, and cut off the *Swedes* from all supplies of provision, the Imperialists and *Bavarians* posted themselves upon a rising ground, at the distance of half a league from the *Swedish* camp, which they overlooked; but they were disappointed in their expectation: for *Wrangel* was plentifully supplied from *Cassel*, while they themselves suffered greatly by want of provision and forage; and the *Swedes* were joined by marechal *Turenne*, in spite of all their vigilance and precaution <sup>d</sup>. This junction being effected, the allies advanced to the enemy, who had retired to a strong camp near the convent of *Ilmenstad*; but as the Imperialists did not chuse to hazard a battle, they ravaged *Franconia* and *Suabia*, and passing the *Danube* and the *Lech*, invested *Rain*, which was obliged to capitulate. Then they undertook the siege of *Augsburg*, in which they had made considerable progress; when the archduke approaching to its relief, they relinquished the enterprize, and retired towards *Lawinguen*. *Wrangel* was very desirous of penetrating farther into *Bavaria*, as they had a manifest superiority of strength; but the *French* rejected the proposal, and, indeed, during the whole course of the war, they had carried on a secret correspondence with the *Bavarians*; for they had no design to oppress the enemy in such a manner, as that the *Swedes* should be able to subsist of themselves without the assistance of *France*: for this reason the allies abandoned *Bavaria*, after having pillaged the country, and went into quarters in *Suabia*. *Turenne* seized the places along the *Danube*, and *Wrangel* occupied the country that extends towards the lake of *Constance*; though they afterwards made an irruption into *Bavaria* by the way of *Rain*, and routed two thousand horse near *Bruckheim*; and *Wrangel* had the good fortune to surprise some fortresses and castles, where he found a very rich booty. While the main body of the *Swedish* army

*Torstenfon ravages Austria, Moravia, and Bohemia, and quits the command of the Swedish army.*

A. D. 1646. *He is succeeded by Wrangel, who retreats before the Imperialists,*

*and is joined by the viscount Turenne.*

*They ravage Bavaria.*

<sup>c</sup> BARRE ubi supra.

<sup>d</sup> Hist. du Vicomte de Turenne.

gained



A. D. 1647.  
The emperor's  
son Ferdinand  
crowned at  
Prague and  
Presburg.

The elector of  
Bavaria con-  
cludes a sepa-  
rate peace  
with France,

which he af-  
terwards re-  
nounces.

Hostilities com-  
mence between  
the French  
and Bavarians.

A. D. 1648.

gained these advantages in this part of Germany, *Wittemberg*, with a detachment of five thousand men, took *Warttemberg* in *Silesia*, which, together with *Bohemia* and *Moravia*, he laid under contribution, and compelled a body of Imperialists to retire : yet, in the midst of these transactions, the emperor's troops found means to retake several places in his hereditary provinces, which had been conquered and garrisoned by the *Swedes*. The emperor seeing the *Swedes* employed in ravaging *Silesia*, took that opportunity of repairing to *Prague*, where his eldest son *Ferdinand* was crowned king of *Bohemia* : from thence he set out for *Presburg*, where, assembling the states of *Hungary* to determine the differences which had arisen between the Catholics and Protestants, these last were re-established in their religious privileges, and then the archduke *Ferdinand* received the crown of that kingdom.

PERHAPS he might not have been so indulgent to the Protestants, had not he dreaded dissensions in *Hungary*, which might have been of the worst consequences to his interest at this juncture, when he was abandoned by *Maximilian* elector of *Bavaria*, who now concluded a separate peace with the *French*, to whose hands he consigned *Larwinguen*, *Gondelfinguen*, and *Hochstet*, and withdrew his subjects from the service of the emperor. At the same time he negotiated a neutrality for the archbishop of *Cologne*, and his example was afterwards followed by the archbishop of *Mentz*, and the landgrave of *Hesse-Darmstadt*, who were reduced to the necessity of taking this step, by the arms of *Turenne*, who laid waste their country ; so that now *France* had no other enemy in the empire than the house of *Austria*.

NOR did the *Swedes* fail to take the advantage of the *Bavarian's* defection : they secured the towns they possessed in *Westphalia* and *Upper Suabia* ; made themselves masters of *Schweinfurt*, which had cut off the communication between these two provinces ; and after this achievement, *Wrangel* entering *Bohemia* invested *Egra*, which was obliged to capitulate before the approach of the *Austrian* army under *Melander*. This general being a Protestant, the Catholic officers refused to obey his orders, and a mutiny would have ensued, had not the emperor taken the command in person. Scarce had he arrived at the camp when he had like to have been surprised by a detachment of the enemy, and a battle ensued, in which the *Swedes* obtained the victory, though at a considerable expence.

AT this period, when the interest of the emperor seemed almost extinguished, the face of affairs changed all of a sudden. The elector of *Bavaria*, by the insinuation of the pope's nuncio and the bishop of *Osnabrug*, was prevailed upon to renounce the treaty he had concluded with the *French* at *Ulm*, and re-unite himself to *Ferdinand* ; and the elector of *Cologne* had already infringed his neutrality. *Maximilian* attempted to justify his conduct in a manifesto ; then he took the field, and invested *Memmingen*, which was occupied by a *Swedish* garrison, and compelled it to capitulate. The conquest of this place was succeeded by the taking of *Iglaw* in *Moravia*, which surrendered at discretion to the count *de Bouchain* : the Imperialists made themselves masters of *Ravensburg* in *Suabia*, and divers advantages were gained over the *Swedes* in *Westphalia* by general *Lamboy*, who commanded the *Austrians* in that province.

THE reunion of the *Bavarians* with the Imperialists gave these last such a superiority over the *Swedes*, that *Wrangel* resolved to retire ; and having provided for the security of the places he had conquered in *Bohemia*, he began a long and difficult march thro' the dominions of the elector of *Saxony*, followed and harrassed by *Melander*, the imperial general, as far as *Jena* in *Misnia*. At last he arrived in the dutchy of *Brunswick*, where he put his troops in winter-quarters, and then exerted all his endeavours to recruit and augment his army, that it might be in a condition to take the field in the spring.

THE *French*, on their side, without waiting for a favourable season, attacked *Weissensteig*, belonging to the elector of *Bavaria*, which they reduced, and afterwards surprised the castle of *Hobentechberg* ; while the *Bavarians*, on their return from *Hesse*, which they had plundered, made themselves masters of some posts, and seemed to prepare for some more important expedition.

WRANGEL advanced in the spring to join the viscount *de Turenne* ; but they were obliged to separate for want of provision : and while the *Swede* marched along the *Maine*, the *French* general kept on the left of the *Neckar*. *Wrangel* wanted to make *Bavaria* the theatre of the war ; and *Turenne* would not consent to leave *Suabia* and *Wurtemberg*, where he had established his magazines. Perhaps he had secret orders to spare the duke of *Bavaria*, in hope of gaining him over again to the interests of *France*. This certainly was the opinion of *Wrangel*, which he avowed openly to *Turenne* ; who, nevertheless, continued staunch to his purpose, in which the *Swedish* general was obliged to acquiesce.

<sup>c</sup> PUFFENDORF Introd. a l'Hist. de l'Univ. lib. vi. pag. 182.

<sup>b</sup> PUFFENDORF Introd. lib. vi. pag. 396.

<sup>e</sup> BRACHELIUS, pag. 118.

<sup>s</sup> LONDORP, tom. vi.



- a THEY joined again, however, in order to drive the Imperialists beyond the *Danube*. These, under the command of *Melander*, had retired towards the *Neckar*; and, being pursued by the confederates, proceeded to *Augsburg*, in order to cover themselves with the river *Lech*: but their march being retarded by their baggage and carriages, the confederates came up and attacked their rear. The action soon became general, and both sides fought with incredible resolution; until *Melander* being killed on the spot, the Imperialists fell into confusion, and were utterly defeated, notwithstanding the inconceivable efforts and intrepidity of *Montecuculi* and *Ulric* duke of *Wurtemberg*, who made a fine retreat with the remains of the army to *Augsburg*, where they passed the *Lech*: *Picolomini* afterwards took the command, and retreated towards *Passau*; while the *Swedish* and *French* generals, passing that river, penetrated into *Bavaria*, and laid the whole country under contribution; so that the duke was obliged to quit his capital, and demand an asylum of the archbishop of *Saltzburg*<sup>1</sup>.

Wrangel and Turenne attack the Imperialists under Melander, who are defeated near Augsburg.

- b THIS was not the only loss which the Imperialists sustained since the opening of the campaign. Baron *Lamboy*, who commanded the troops of *Westphalia* and *Cologne*, gave battle to the *Hessians* near *Grevemburg* in the dutchy of *Juliers*, and was defeated: and the count of *Konigsmarck* surprised the new city of *Prague*, while *Wurtemberg* made himself master of *Thabor*. In a word, *Charles-Gustavus*, prince-palatine, arriving from *Sweden* with a reinforcement of eight thousand men, undertook the siege of old *Prague*, and carried on his attacks with such vigour, that the place must have been taken, had not the emperor, c dreading the loss of this city and the whole kingdom of *Bohemia*, resolved in earnest to conclude the peace<sup>k</sup>.

Baron Lamboy is defeated by the Hessians, and the new town of Prague surprised by Konigsmarck.

- d HITHERTO the negotiations at *Munster* and *Osnabrug* had varied according to the vicissitudes of the war: the cession of *Alsace* to *France*, and the several demands of the treating powers, met with such difficulties, and formed such obstructions, as one would think almost impossible to surmount: nevertheless, after infinite debates and altercation, all these difficulties and obstructions were removed; and at length they determined this famous negotiation, which for the space of five years had held all *Europe* in suspense. The conferences were translated to *Osnabrug*, and from thence transported to *Munster*, and at each place a treaty was concluded, since well known by the appellation of THE PEACE OF WEST-PHALIA.

The articles of peace are agreed to by the plenipotentiaries.

- e THESE being considered as fundamental and perpetual laws and constitutions, which serve as a basis to all subsequent treaties, it will be necessary to give extracts of them for the information of the reader.

- f THE treaty of *Munster* imported, "That there should be a perpetual peace and sincere friendship between his imperial majesty and the most Christian king, as well as between all the allies and adherents of his said imperial majesty, the house of *Austria*, their heirs and successors, the princes and states of the empire, on one part; and all the allies of his said most Christian majesty, their heirs and successors, chiefly the most serene queen and the kingdom of *Sweden*, and respectively the electors, princes, and states of the empire, on the other part.

Substance of the treaties of Munster and Osnabrug.

- "THAT the circle of *Burgundy* shall be and remain a member of the empire, after the differences between *France* and *Spain* shall have been determined; and that neither the emperor nor any of the states of the empire shall intermeddle in the present war between the two crowns.

- "THAT the dispute touching *Lorraine* shall be submitted to arbitrators, chosen by both parties; and that it shall be terminated by the treaty between *France* and *Spain*, or by some other amicable expedient.

- f "THAT the electors of the sacred empire, the princes and states, comprehending the nobility holding immediately of the empire, their vassals, subjects, and citizens, &c. shall be fully re-established on both sides, with respect to spirituals and temporals, in the condition which they lawfully enjoyed, or might have enjoyed before the restitution, notwithstanding all the changes made to the contrary, which shall now be annulled.

- "THAT if the possessors of the effects and rights to be restored shall think it incumbent upon them to make exceptions, they shall not, for all that, hinder the restitution; but, this being once made, their reasons and exceptions may be examined and discussed before competent judges.

- g "THAT the electoral dignity which the electors-palatine have formerly enjoyed, with all the regal rights, offices, precedencies, &c. as also all the *Upper Palatinate*, and the county of *Chusa*, with all their dependencies, &c. shall be vested, as in past times, so for the future, in *Maximilian* count-palatine of the *Rhine*, duke of *Bavaria*, and his children, and in all the *Willielmine* line, as long as it shall produce male issue.

<sup>1</sup> HEISS. l. iii. c. x.

<sup>k</sup> PUFFENDORF, l. xx. sect. xlvii.



“ As for what concerns the Palatine house, the emperor and empire, in regard to public tranquillity, consents, by virtue of the present convention, that an eighth electorate shall be established, and possessed by *Charles-Lewis* count-palatine of the *Rhine*, his heirs, and all his descendants of the *Rodolphine* line, according to the order of succession expressed in the Golden Bull, &c. a

“ IN the second place, that all the *Lower Palatinate*, with one and all the effects, ecclesiastic as well as secular, the rights, appurtenances, &c. shall be intirely restored to him; and every thing which may have been enacted to the contrary shall be repealed.

“ THAT if the male issue shall intirely fail in the *Willielmine* line, while it still subsists in the Palatine family, the electoral dignity shall revert to this last, and the eighth electorate by these means be extinct. b

“ THAT the *Pacta Familiae* between the electoral houses of *Heidelberg* and *Neuburg*, confirmed by the preceding emperors, touching the electoral succession, as also the rights of the whole *Rodolphine* line, so far as they are not contrary to this disposition, shall be preserved and maintained in their full force.

“ THAT the said *Charles-Lewis*, and his successors to the *Lower Palatinate*, shall not in any shape molest the counts of *Linangen* and *Daxburg*; but leave them in peaceable possession of their rights, &c.

“ THAT those of the confession of *Augsburg*, who have been in possession of churches, and, among others, the burghers and inhabitants of *Oppenheim*, shall be maintained in the ecclesiastical state of the year 1624; and that others, who are desirous of embracing the same exercise of the confession of *Augsburg*, shall be at liberty to practise it in public as well as in private, &c. c

“ THAT the most Christian king shall restore to the duke of *Wirtemberg* the towns and fortresses of *Hohenweil*, *Soborendorf*, *Tubingen*, and all the other places which he occupied in the dutchy of *Wirtemberg*.

“ THAT the princes of *Wirtemberg*, of the branch of *Montbeliard*, shall be likewise re-established in all their dominions situated in *Alsace*, and elsewhere; and particularly in the two fiefs of *Upper Burgundy*, called *Clairval* and *Passavant*.

“ THAT the electors, princes, and states of the *Roman* empire, shall enjoy, without contradiction, the right of voting in all deliberations touching the affairs of the empire, especially when they turn upon the declaration of war, the imposition of a tribute, the levies of troops, treaties of peace or alliance; and they shall treat of other such affairs, which henceforth shall not be settled without the privity and free concurrence of all the states of the empire. d

“ THAT each of the states shall freely, and for ever, enjoy the right of making alliances among themselves, or with strangers, for their own preservation and security, provided that these alliances shall not be formed against the emperor and the empire, or contrary to the public peace, &c.

“ To the end that peace and friendship may be more and more strengthened between the emperor and the king of *France*, &c. it is agreed, that the supremacy, the rights of sovereignty, and all other rights to the bishoprics of *Metz*, *Toul*, and *Verdun*, to the towns so called, and to the whole extent of these bishoprics, and especially to *Metz*, shall, for the future, belong to the house of *France*, with which they shall be incorporated perpetually and irrevocably, in the same manner as they have hitherto belonged to the *Roman* empire; reserving, nevertheless, the right of metropolitan, which belongs to the archbishop of *Triers*. e

“ THAT the emperor in his own name, as well as in that of the most serene house of *Austria*, and also the empire, shall cede all the rights, properties, domains, possession, and jurisdiction, which they may have hitherto had to the town of *Brisack*, the landgraviate of *Upper* and *Lower Alsace*, the *Suntgaw*, and the provincial prefecture of the ten towns situated in *Alsace*, namely, *Haguenau*, *Sclestat*, *Wissemburg*, *Colmar*, *Landaw*, *Oberenbeim*, *Rosheim*, *Munster*, *Val-saint-gregoire*, *Kaiserberg*, *Turingbeim*, and all the villages and other rights depending on the said prefecture, and shall transfer all and every one of them to the most Christian king, and kingdom of *France*; so as that the town of *Brisack*, with the villages of *Hoeftadt*, *Niederensing*, *Hartem*, and *Acharrem*, belonging to the community of the town of *Brisack*, with all the territory and precincts, according to their antient extent, shall, for the future, appertain to the crown of *France*; without prejudice, nevertheless, to the privileges and immunities heretofore granted to the said town by the house of *Austria*. f

“ Item, THE said landgraviate of *Upper* and *Lower Alsace*, and the *Suntgaw*, as well as the provincial prefecture over the said ten towns and places depending: Item, all the vassals, inhabitants, subjects, men, cities, boroughs, castles, farms, fortresses, woods, forests, mines of gold, silver, and other metals, rivers, brooks, pasturages, and the rights of regality, and other rights and appurtenances, without any reserve, shall henceforward belong in perpetuity g



a tuity to the most Christian king, and to the crown of *France*, and shall be incorporated with the said crown, with all sorts of jurisdiction and sovereignty, without contradiction on the part of the emperor, the empire, the house of *Austria*, or any other; in such a manner, that no emperor or prince of the house of *Austria* shall ever usurp, or even pretend to, any right or power over the said countries, as well on the other side as on this side of the *Rhine*. The most Christian king shall, nevertheless, be obliged to maintain in all, and each of these countries, the Catholic religion, as it hath been maintained under the princes of *Austria*, and to banish all innovations which may have crept into it during the war.

b “ IN the fourth place, with the consent of the emperor and all the empire, the most Christian king and his successors, in the kingdom of *France*, shall have a perpetual right to keep a garrison in the fortress of *Philipsburg*, as protector; which garrison shall be limited to a proper number of soldiers, that cannot give any just suspicion to the neighbourhood, and shall be maintained intirely at the expence of the crown of *France*. The passage by land and water shall be free through the empire, as often as there shall be occasion to convey thither soldiers, necessaries, or ammunition.

c “ NEVERTHELESS, the king shall pretend to nothing in the fortress of *Philipsburg*, except the protection, garrison, and passage: but the property of the place, the jurisdiction, the possession, all the emoluments, fruits, revenues, rights of regality, and other rights and servitudes, men, subjects, vassals, and all that antiently did or ought to belong to the bishop or chapter of *Spire*, in the whole extent of the bishopric of *Spire*, and of the churches incorporated therewith, shall remain in their possession for the future, and be preserved to them intirely and inviolably, saving always the right of protection.

d “ THE emperor, the empire, and the archduke of *Inspruck*, *Ferdinand-Charles*, respectively, absolve the orders, magistrates, officers, and subjects of the said counties and places, from the engagements and oaths by which they have been hitherto bound to them and the house of *Austria*; and remit and oblige them to yield subjection, obedience, and fidelity to the king and kingdom of *France*; and thus establish the crown of *France* in full and just sovereignty and possession over them; renouncing, from henceforward for ever, all the rights and pretensions which they may have to them: and this the emperor, the said archduke and his brother, for them and their descendants, as they are concerned in the said cession, shall confirm by particular letters patent, and cause the Catholic king to make the same renunciation in the most authentic form; and this shall likewise be done in the name of the whole empire, on the very day that the present treaty shall be signed.

“ FOR the greater validity of the said cessions and alienations, the emperor and empire, by virtue of the present transaction, expressly derogate from all and every the decrees, constitutions, statutes, &c. which may be contrary thereto, &c.

e “ IMMEDIATELY after the restitution of *Rhinfeld*, the fortifications of that place shall be razed, as well as those of *Fort Rhinau*, *Saverne* in *Alsace*, and the castles of *Hohenbach* and *Neuburg* on the *Rhine*; nor shall there be any soldier in garrison in any of these places. The magistracy and inhabitants of the said town of *Saverne* shall exactly observe the neutrality; and the king's troops shall pass through it freely and securely, as often as there shall be occasion.

“ No fort shall be raised on the banks of the *Rhine*, on this side, from *Basil* to *Philipsburg*; nor shall the course of the river be impeded or altered on either side, in any shape whatsoever.

“ WITH respect to the debts of the chamber of *Ensisheim*, the archduke *Ferdinand Charles* shall take upon himself one third of all these debts, without distinction, &c. when he receives that part of the province which is to be restored to him by the most Christian king.

f “ AND with respect to the debts with which the colleges of the states are charged, by a particular convention made with them, and by the princes of *Austria*, or such as the same states have contracted in common, as being thereunto obliged, there shall be a suitable distribution between those that pass under the dominion of the king, and those that remain under that of the house of *Austria*, to the end that each may know what share of the said debts he is to pay.

“ THE most Christian king shall restore to the house of *Austria*, and especially to the said archduke *Ferdinand-Charles*, eldest son of the late archduke *Leopold*, the four forest-towns, namely, *Rhinfeld*, *Seckingen*, *Lauffemburg*, and *Waldshut*, with all their territories, bailiages, farms, villages, mills, woods, forests, vassals, subjects, and appurtenances on this as well as on the other side of the *Rhine*.

g Item, THE county of *Haverstein*, the *Black Forest*, all the *Upper* and *Lower Brisgau*, and the towns therein situated, antiently belonging to the house of *Austria*, namely, *Neuburg*, *Friburg*, *Endingen*, *Kensingen*, *Waltrich*, *Willingen*, *Braulingen*, with all their territories, bailiages, farms, villages, mills, woods, forests, &c. as also all the monasteries, abbeys, prelatures, provostships, &c. and all the rights of regality, other rights, jurisdictions, fiefs,



fiefs, &c. antiently belonging, in that whole country, to the sovereignty and patrimony of the house of *Austria*.

“ *Item*, ALL the *Ortnaw*, with the imperial towns of *Offenburg*, *Gingembach*, and *Zell*, upon the *Hamersbach*, so far as they depend upon the prefecture of *Ortnaw*, in such a manner that no king of *France* shall or ought ever to pretend or usurp any right or power over the said countries, situated either on this or on the other side of the *Rbine*; provided always, that the princes shall acquire no new right to them by this present restitution.

“ THAT henceforward the trade and passages shall be free to the inhabitants of both banks of the *Rbine*, and of the adjacent provinces.

“ THAT the most Christian king shall oblige himself to leave the bishops of *Strasburg* and *Basil*, the town of *Strasburg*, and the other estates and orders which are in both *Alfices*, immediately subject to the *Roman* empire; the abbots of *Mourbach* and *Luders*, the abbesses of *Andlaw*, *Munster* of *Val St. Gregoire*, of the order of *St. Benedict*, the palatines of *Luzelstein*, the counts and barons of *Hanaw*, *Flekinstein*, *Oberstein*, and the nobility of all the *Lower Alsace*: *item*, the ten imperial towns which acknowledge the prefecture of *Haguenaw*: all these the most Christian king shall leave in that liberty of possessing the *Indemnity*, with regard to the *Roman* empire, which they have hitherto enjoyed, in such a manner as that he shall not hereafter pretend to any royal sovereignty over them, but remain content with such rights as belong to the house of *Austria*, which are, by this treaty of pacification, ceded to the king of *France*: provided still, that nothing shall be understood in this present declaration as derogatory from the supremacy granted to the states of that province, as holding of the empire.

“ IN like manner the most Christian king, as a compensation for these cessions, shall pay to the said archduke *Ferdinand-Charles* three millions of livres *Turnois*, within the three succeeding years of 1649, 1650, and 1651, at *St. John's-day*, paying every year one-third of the said sum at *Basil*, in good and lawful money, deposited in the hands of the said archduke, or of his deputies. Over and above the said sum, the most Christian king shall be obliged to charge himself with two-thirds of the debts of the chamber of *Ensisheim*, without distinction, &c. Moreover, the mention made of the Catholic king, and the nomination of the duke of *Lorraine*, in the treaty between the emperor and *Sweden*, and the title of landgrave of *Alsace* given to the emperor, shall in no shape prejudice the most Christian king.

“ THAT, nevertheless, the peace concluded shall remain in full force and vigour: that all those concerned in this transaction shall be obliged to defend and protect all and every the laws and conditions of this peace against every person whatsoever, without distinction of religion, &c. and if in the space of three years the difference cannot be determined, &c. one and all the parties concerned in this transaction shall be bound to join the injured party, and assist in redressing the grievance with their counsel and forces, &c.”

SUCH were the conditions of the treaty, properly regarding *France* and the empire. That which concerned *Sweden*, and was concluded at *Osnabrug*, was the same with regard to general clauses: but the particular articles imported, that the archbishopric of *Bremen* should devolve to *Sweden*, saving the rights and liberty of the town and bishopric of *Werden*, the effects of which shall be secularized: and *Sweden* shall hold the fiefs of these benefices immediately of the empire, with a deliberative voice in the diets. Moreover, that crown shall possess the town and port of *Wisnar* in *Mecklenburg*, with *Stetin*, and all the *Upper Pomerania*; the *Lower* shall remain in possession of the elector of *Brandenburg*, who shall not enjoy the bishopric of *Halberstadt*, or the principality of *Minden*, with the county of *Hohenstein*, and the archbishopric of *Magdeburg*, till after the death of the administrator *Augustus*, duke of *Saxony*.

IT was likewise stipulated, that, if the male branch of *Brandenburg* should fail, all *Pomerania* should revert to the crown of *Sweden*. In order to indemnify the duke of *Mecklenburg* for the town and port of *Wisnar*, he was put in possession of the bishoprics of *Swerin* and *Ratzburg*, with two commandaries of the order of *St. John of Jerusalem*, situated in the dominions of that prince. The dukes of *Brunswick* and *Lunenbourg*, as a compensation for the coadjutorships of *Magdeburg*, *Bremen*, and *Halberstadt*, &c. which they had ceded, were, with the Catholics, secured in the alternative succession of the bishopric of *Osnaburg*, without altering the state of religion on either side.

IN order to reimburse the crown of *Sweden* for the sums she had expended, it was agreed to pay five millions of crowns in three terms, to be charged upon the circles of the empire; excepting, however, those of *Austria*, *Bavaria*, and *Burgundy*.

WITH respect to the complaints of the Protestants, touching the administration of justice in the imperial chamber and aulic council, it was decreed, that, besides the judge and the four presidents, two of which, in the nomination of the emperor, should be of the *Augsburg* confession, the number of assessors should be increased to fifty; so as that the Catholics should be restricted to the presentation of twenty-six, comprehending the two appointed



- a pointed by the emperor, and the other four-and-twenty should be presented by the Protestants, who should be permitted in each neutral circle, not only two Catholics, but the same number of Protestants: that the emperor should decree, that in the imperial chamber, as well as in the aulic council, the judges of both religions, being equal in number, should decide ecclesiastic and civil causes between Catholics and Protestants, or between these last only, or between the Catholics and an intervening Protestant; and, for that effect, he should choose in the circle a suitable number of lawyers, well versed in the affairs of the empire, and take such measures as should preserve an equality of judges in both religions <sup>b</sup>.

- b THE articles of this treaty were now signed by all the ministers assembled at each congress, except those of the county of *Burgundy*, who, in the name of the king of *Spain*, director of that circle, not only refused to subscribe, but formally protested against them, as prejudicial to his Catholic majesty. Nevertheless, the treaties were next day published at *Münster* and *Osnabrug*, and couriers dispatched to all the generals to order a cessation of arms. A. D. 1648.  
The king of Spain protests against the treaty,

- c NOTWITHSTANDING all the precautions that could be taken, many difficulties intervened before the ratification could be effected. The pope published a bull, annulling all the articles which he conceived prejudicial to the *Roman Catholic* religion. The king of *Spain* employed his influence with the emperor so effectually, that *Ferdinand* had well nigh frustrated the whole negotiation. He wrote to *Münster*, that the Catholic king was lawful possessor of the *Lower Palatinate*, which he had acquired at a great expence, and of which he had received the investiture in the most solemn manner: but as the states of *Germany* had not been consulted, they deemed it illegal, and paid no regard to the remonstrances of the emperor <sup>c</sup>. against which the pope publishes a bull.

- d THE *Swedes* were in no hurry to exchange the ratifications, because the article concerning their winter-quarters was not yet executed; and the *French* refused to quit *Germany*, until the *Spanish* branch of the house of *Austria* should have renounced *Alsace* and *Suntgarw*: for this reason the viscount of *Turenne* kept his army encamped on the banks of the *Iser*; till at length the deputies of the states, impatient to see the exchange of the ratifications thus retarded, declared, in the name of the *Germanic* body, that every article should be faithfully and effectually executed after the exchange: at the same time they proposed a sure and commodious plan for evacuating the places, and disbanding the troops. In consequence of their declaration, the plenipotentiaries of the different powers mutually delivered the ratifications of the treaty, and began to take measures for its being put in execution <sup>d</sup>. A. D. 1649.  
The ratifications of the treaty are exchanged, and the execution is regulated by another treaty concluded at Nuremberg.

- e THIS subject was discussed in conferences at *Nuremberg*, where the treaties of execution were signed, on condition that the emperor should immediately disband part of his armies and troops, and maintain the rest in his own dominions; that the king of *France* should withdraw all his troops that remained in the empire; and that three terms should be fixed for the restitution of the places within the year: and as it was foreseen, that the opposition of the *Spaniards* would put it out of the power of the house of *Austria* to deliver up *Frankendal* within the term prescribed, the emperor obliged himself to surrender *Heilbron*, as a security to *Charles-Lewis* count-palatine, until *Frankendal* should be restored.

- f TERMS were likewise fixed between the empire and *Sweden*, touching the dismissal of troops, and evacuation of places, as also for the payment of the sum due to the *Swedish* soldiers; and every thing relating to the amnesty granted to the princes and towns which had espoused the *Swedish* party, as well as to the redress of grievances which the Protestants suffered, and the repartition of the five millions of rixdollars to be paid by the circles to *Sweden*, was confirmed by this treaty, which was signed by the plenipotentiaries of the emperor, of *Sweden*, and of the princes and states of the empire.

<sup>b</sup> DUMONT. t. vi. part. i.

<sup>c</sup> THALDEN. t. ii.

<sup>d</sup> Pax Westphal. t. vi. p. 854.

## C H A P. XXI.

Giving a Detail of the War with the Turks in Hungary, and with the French on the Rhine, to the Peace of Nimeguen.

- f MEAN while *Conringius*, the celebrated civilian, undertook to answer the pope's bull against the erection of an eighth electorate, the liberty of conscience, and secularised bishoprics granted to the Protestants. In his justification of the peace of *Westphalia*, he proved, that the dignity of elector was purely temporal, and altogether independent of the pope's authority; and that it was absolutely necessary to secularize some benefices, in order to restore the peace of the empire. A. D. 1650.  
Conringius answers the pope's bull.

THE next contest that engrossed the attention of the emperor, was the famous dispute which had continued so long, touching the succession of the duchies of *Juliers* and *Berg*, between the elector of *Saxony*, the marquis of *Brandenburg*, and the duke of *Neuburg*; in order



order to terminate which in an amicable manner, *Ferdinand* convoked an assembly at *Dresden*, where many expedients were proposed, and mutual offers made, for effecting an accommodation; but, after all their conferences, the affair continued still undecided (D).

NEVERTHELESS *Germany* did not fail to enjoy the happy fruits of the peace: tranquillity was restored in all the provinces. The *Spaniards*, after innumerable disputes, agreed to take *Hailbron* in exchange for *Frankendal*, which was no sooner delivered to the count palatine, than he demanded and received the investiture of the *Lower Palatinate* from *Ferdinand*, who ordered the count *de Furstemberg* to invite that prince to the diets of the empire. It was a much more difficult task to regulate the difference subsisting between *Sweden* and the elector of *Brandenburg*, touching *Further Pomerania*. That prince was not as yet put in possession of all that had been adjudged to him by the treaty of *Osnabrug*; yet the queen of *Sweden* expected, that her deputies should be admitted into the diet, as she now assumed the title of duchess of *Pomerania*. The elector of *Brandenburg*, and the other princes, opposed this demand, because she had not as yet terminated her difference with the marquis of *Brandenburg*; and the negotiations occasioned by this affair obliged the emperor to postpone the diet, which he had summoned to meet at *Ratisbon*.

A. D. 1651.  
The Spaniards evacuate Frankendal, and the count-palatine receives the investiture of the Lower Palatinate.

A. D. 1652.  
The emperor's eldest son is elected king of the Romans.  
A. D. 1653.

*FERDINAND* glowed with impatience to see his eldest son elected king of the *Romans*; and therefore, without waiting for the convocation of the diet, he proposed the election to the electors, and all of them gave their consent, without hesitation, except the elector of *Brandenburg*, who, tho' he opposed *Ferdinand's* intention at first, was soon brought over to his views. Then assembling at *Augsburg*, they unanimously chose his son *Ferdinand-Francis* king of the *Romans*, after he had signed a capitulation, obliging himself to maintain inviolably the *Golden Bull*, and the eighth electorate created in favour of the count-palatine; to observe religiously the treaties of *Munster*, *Osnabrug*, and *Nuremberg*, with all that should be concluded in the diet at *Ratisbon*; and to contract no alliance concerning the affairs of the empire, without the consent of the *Germanic body*.

Proceedings of the diet at Ratisbon.

THIS ceremony being performed, the emperor returned to *Ratisbon* with the electors, and there receiving an account of *Lower Pomerania's* being restored by the queen of *Sweden* to the elector of *Brandenburg*, he ordered the diet to be opened without farther delay,

<sup>f</sup> Gazettes des ann. 1650, 1651.

<sup>g</sup> BARRE, t. ix. p. 852.

(D) In order to convey a distinct idea of this dispute, it will be necessary to trace it to its origin. *Albert*, duke of *Saxony*, from whom the electoral branch descends, received from *Ferdinand III.* the reversion of *Juliers* and *Berg*; and this eventual investiture was confirmed by *Maximilian I.* Notwithstanding this patent, *Charles V.* in 1521, bestowed the investiture of these duchies upon duke *John* the second, and his wife; with this proviso, that he should satisfy the house of *Saxony* with regard to its pretensions. Next year, however, the emperor being made sensible of the justice of the *Saxon's* pretensions, offered to bestow upon the dukes the same investiture of *Juliers*, *Berg*, and the county of *Ravensberg*, declaring, that he had no intention to invade the right of the dukes of *Saxony*. Perhaps this declaration was made on account of a marriage, which was then negotiating, between *John-Frederic*, duke of *Saxony*, and *Sibella*, princess of *Cleves*. On this occasion, the emperor was solicited to consent, that, if the duke and duchess should die without male issue, the duchies of *Cleves* and *Juliers*, with their dependencies, should be vested in the daughters of the marriage; but an additional clause was made to the contract, importing, that the elector *John* should likewise reserve his antient rights. At length, by a transaction at *Spire*, in 1544, between *Ferdinand* king of the *Romans*, and *John-Frederic* elector of *Saxony*, it was concluded, that this contract of marriage should be confirmed in the following manner: in case the duke of *Juliers*, *Cleves*, and *Berg*, should die without male issue, the emperor, or his successors, should confer on the said elector, or, in case of his death, upon the heirs male of his body, the duchies of *Juliers*, *Cleves*, and *Berg*, as masculine fiefs. *John-William*, duke of *Cleves*, dying in 1609, without issue, his succession was disputed by the children of his sisters. *John-Sigismund* of *Brandenburg*, son of *Eleonora* of *Cleves*, and *Wolfgang-William*, duke of *Neuburg*, son of *Anne*, her younger sister, seized the dominions by force, and maintained themselves in

possession by the assistance of foreign powers. Mean while the elector of *Saxony* had recourse to the emperor, from whom, in 1610, he received the investiture of these duchies; and that same year a congress was held at *Cologne*, and afterwards at *Interbock*, where, by the mediation of *Christiern*, margrave of *Brandenburg*, and *Maurice* and *Lewis*, landgraves of *Hesse*, a treaty was concluded on these conditions: that the houses of *Brandenburg* and *Palatine* should admit that of *Saxony* into a real communion of the possession of *Juliers*, &c. until a definitive sentence could be obtained; that the house of *Saxony* should possess them either undivided, or conjunctly with those of *Brandenburg* and *Neuburg*; that the disputed dominions should be governed by a council, which should take the oaths to the princes of the three houses; that the duke of *Saxony*, after his admission, should give four hundred and fifty thousand florins of *Misnia*, by way of reimbursing the money expended by the elector-palatine and duke of *Neuburg*; which sum should be restored to him, in case his pretensions should be set aside by a definitive sentence: but the marquis of *Brandenburg* and duke *Neuburg* refused to ratify this treaty, though confirmed by the emperor. Then *George*, duke of *Saxony*, instituted a process against them before the tribunal of the emperor; but this suit being strangely protracted, the marquis of *Brandenburg* and palatine of *Neuburg*, in 1629, made a provisional agreement, by which the succession was shared between them. The marquis had the duchy of *Cleves*, with the counties of *la Marck* and *Ravensburg*; while the duke enjoyed *Juliers* and *Berg*, with the lordship of *Ravenstein*. The elector of *Saxony* protested against this transaction, which *Ferdinand II.* refused to confirm. It was afterwards debated in the congress of *Westphalia*; but as the elector of *Brandenburg* fluctuated between the house of *Austria* and the allies, neither side paid much regard to his interest, and the affair was still undetermined, when *Ferdinand III.* endeavoured to put an end to it at the assembly in *Dresden* (1).

(1) *Intérêts de Puissances*, par *Rouffet*, t. i. p. 210, &c.



a in order to deliberate upon measures for strengthening the peace, and for the entire execution of the treaties of *Westphalia*.

THE duke of *Lorrain* still ravaged *Alsace* and *Westphalia*, and obliged the *Germanick* body to support his interest against *France*: he refused to restore *Hombourg*, *Landstoul*, *Hammerstein*, and some other places occupied by his troops, unless the states would gratify him with a million of rixdollars. They promised to indulge him with a considerable sum, to the payment of which the electors of *Brandenburg* and *Palatine*, together with the free towns, refused to contribute, inasmuch as his imperial majesty had obliged himself by the treaty of *Munster* to rid the empire of the *Lorrain* troops, by his own authority. *Ferdinand*, conscious of this obligation, directed the archduke *Leopold*, governor of the *Low Countries*, to decoy duke *Charles* to *Brussels*, where he was apprehended, and sent prisoner to *Toledo*, though not before he had found means to convey to the count *de Ligneville*, who commanded his army, a billet, ending in these injunctions: "Leave the *Spaniards* immediately; kill and burn all that falls in your way; and remember *Charles* of *Lorrain*!"

The duke of Lorrain is arrested at Brussels, and sent prisoner to Spain.

THIS order, however, his general did not obey. The troops were, by the address of the count *Fuenfaldagno*, persuaded to continue in the service of *Spain*. *Francis*, the brother of *Charles*, took the command; and, in consideration of one hundred thousand rixdollars, evacuated the places which the *Lorrainers* occupied in *Germany*.

MEAN while the diet of *Ratisbon* continued to deliberate upon complaints that were made by several states against *France*, by which they alleged their privileges were invaded, in consequence of the cession of *Alsace* to that crown. The town of *Bremen*, likewise ceded to the *Swedes* by the treaty of *Osnabrug*, complained, that *Charles-Gustavus*, successor of *Christina* queen of *Sweden*, who had abdicated the throne, paid no regard to their rights and privileges which were confirmed by the peace of *Westphalia*, but had even surprised and seized a borough in their neighbourhood by force of arms. The towns of *Lubeck* and *Hamburg*, alarmed at this act of hostility, made remonstrances to *Konigsmarck*, who paid no regard to their representations, and even affirmed, that neither the diet nor the emperor had the least title to intermeddle in any dispute between *Sweden* and its subjects. *Ferdinand*, incensed at this assertion, ordered the circles of *Westphalia* and *Lower Saxony* to maintain the privileges of *Bremen*, which was an imperial town, while the *Swedish* general

Hostilities commence between the king of Sweden and the city of Bremen.

d invested it without hesitation. However, the elector of *Brandenburg*, and the dukes of *Brunswick*, beginning to levy troops, and the town being well garrisoned, and supplied with plenty of provision, *Gustavus* listened to the proposals of the *Hollanders* and hanse-towns, which offered their mediation; and a congress was appointed at *Staden*, where the deputies concluded a peace, by which the privileges of *Bremen* were confirmed<sup>b</sup>.

Peace concluded at Staden. A. D. 1654.

THE session of the diet by this time drawing near a close, the Protestants foreseeing, that the indulgencies granted to them by the treaty of *Westphalia* would not have their due effect, unless they could be united under one chief, who should direct their conferences, and execute their resolutions, chose the elector of *Saxony* to perform that function, not only on the account of the high rank he maintained among the states of the *Augsburg* confession; but also out of gratitude to his house, which had rendered such signal services to the Protestant cause. Their example was followed by the Catholics, who declared the elector of *Bavaria* chief of their union: but as both parties could not agree about the equal number of deputies to be appointed from each communion, that affair was referred to the deliberations of the next diet at *Frankfort*.

The Protestants choose the elector of Saxony as their chief; and the elector of Bavaria is declared chief of the Catholic union.

MEAN while the elector-palatine was invested with the title of arch-treasurer, instead of arch-steward of the holy *Roman* empire, which the duke of *Bavaria* assumed, in consequence of having been invested with the electorate of the count-palatine. *Frederick Hohenzollern*, *Anthony Eggemberg*, *Winceslaus Lobkowitz*, *Charles* count *de Salm*, *Maximilian de Districhstein*, *Ottavius Piccolomini*, and *Weickard d'Aversperg*, were acknowledged princes of the empire; but, at the same time, it was regulated that those of them who had no fiefs, immediately holding of the empire, should have neither seat nor suffrage in the diet<sup>c</sup>.

FINALLY, the diet concluded with their enacting a decree, enjoining all the members of the *Germanick* body to observe the treaties of *Osnabrug* and *Munster*, as fundamental laws of the empire, notwithstanding the protests of the archbishop of *Pisa*, who assisted as pope's nuncio at this assembly.

ALL these affairs being settled, the diet broke up, and the emperor, with his empress and eldest son, repaired to *Vienna*, which they entered in the midst of great pomp and loud acclamations: but their joy was soon blasted by their losing the king of the *Romans*, who died of the small-pox in the twentieth year of his age; and the imperial court retired in the utmost consternation to *Eberdorf*.

The king of the Romans dies at Vienna.

<sup>b</sup> ACTZEMA, lib. XXXIV. pag. 897.

<sup>c</sup> LONDORP. tom. vii. pag. 437 & sequent.



The emperor's  
son Leopold  
is crowned  
king of Hun-  
gary.

THE emperor having raised his son *Leopold* to the throne of *Hungary*, with the consent a of the states convoked for that purpose at *Presburg*, and amused the Protestants of that kingdom with promises of favour and indulgence, he returned to *Germany*, and opened the diet at *Frankfort*, in order, if possible, to terminate the differences between the Protestants and the Catholics, touching the exercise of religion, the temporal and spiritual jurisdiction, and the privilege of filling public offices; but notwithstanding an infinite number of propositions, on both sides, and almost incessant debates during the space of seven years that the diet lasted, these contests could not be compromised<sup>1</sup>.

As for *Ferdinand*, he left them to dispute at their leisure in speeches and writings, and seemed to interest himself more in foreign affairs, than in helping to appease the intestine troubles of the empire. He acted as mediator between *Spain* and the dukes of *Modena* b and *Savoy*; ordered twelve thousand men to march into *Tyrol*, to attack *Piedmont*, in case this last prince should prove refractory; and sent a reinforcement of troops to *Casimir*, who returned from *Silesia* to *Lublin*, where he was affectionately received by the palatines, and began to renew the war with *Sweden*, on the promise of being powerfully supported by the cham of *Tartary*. His first attempt was upon *Warsavia*, which was garrisoned by the *Swedes*, and, after an obstinate resistance, surrendered at discretion: but this smile of fortune was not of long continuance. *Gustavus*, being joined by the elector of *Brandenburg*, advanced, and gave him battle, in which he was defeated, and *Warsavia* opened its gates to the conqueror. After this action, as the elector refused to march farther from *Prussia*, *Gustavus* left the command of his army to *Wrangel*, and repaired to *Lubeck*, to c terminate a treaty which his ministers negotiated with *Holland*<sup>m</sup>.

The emperor  
engages in a  
treaty with the  
kings of Den-  
mark and Po-  
land against  
the Swedes.

THE neighbourhood of the *Swedes* incommoded *Prussia* so much, that the elector of *Brandenburg* eagerly wished for an opportunity to break with them: the king of *Denmark* projected an irruption into *Sweden*, and the emperor set on foot a negotiation for raising the archduke *Leopold* to the throne of *Poland*, and procuring the resignation of *Casimir*; for which purpose he sent the baron *Lisola*, as his minister, to *Dantzick*; but that effort miscarrying, he concluded a treaty with *Frederick* king of *Denmark*, in which the *Muscovites*, *Tartars*, and the states of the empire, should be comprehended, and to which the elector of *Brandenburg* should be at liberty to accede, importing, that his *Danish* majesty should declare war against *Sweden*, and that the emperor should send sixteen thousand men into d *Poland* to join the *Poles*, and act against *Gustavus*. This league was approved by the cham of the *Crim Tartars*, who ordered an army of an hundred thousand men to march to the assistance of *Casimir*, while *Ferdinand* reinforced him with fifteen thousand horse and foot, and the king of *Denmark* declared war against the *Swedes* by a manifesto; but the emperor did not live to see the effect of these measures, for he died at *Vienna*, in the forty-ninth year of his age, and in the twentieth of his reign<sup>n</sup>.

He dies at  
Vienna.  
A. D. 1657.

His character.

THIS prince mounted the imperial throne during an obstinate war, which afflicted the *Germanick* body in all its parts; and it may be affirmed, that no emperor ever saw himself attacked by so many powerful enemies at once, or sustained such defeats and mortifications without sinking altogether under his misfortunes. He was religious even to superstition, e expressed on all occasions a tender regard to his subjects, and not wholly void of liberality, though very unfortunate in the distribution of his favours; for he seemed to think, that his bounty conferred merit on the undeserving; and, in consequence of this prejudice, he admitted into his councils several persons who engaged him in unlucky enterprizes, and were in a great measure the cause of his miscarriages (E).

It was at the diet of *Ratisbon*, in the reign of this emperor, that the session of the princes, and the other states in the general assemblies of the empire, was regulated; for the ancient order of sitting, having been confounded by the cession of several ecclesiastical fiefs to lay-princes, there was a necessity for establishing a new form; in consequence of which it was agreed, that the ecclesiastics should have the right hand, and the laics the left; f and that on the side of the former, there should be a cross bench for the administrator of

<sup>1</sup> LONDORP. tom. viii.

<sup>m</sup> Annales de Provin. Unie. a l'An. 1656.

<sup>n</sup> BARRE, tom. ix. pag. 873.

(E) He had three wives, namely, *Mary-Anne* of *Austria*, daughter of *Philip III.* king of *Spain*; *Mary-Leopoldina*, daughter of *Leopold V.* archduke of *Austria*, of the branch of the counts of *Tyrol*; and *Eleonora*, daughter of *Charles II.* duke of *Mantua*. By his first wife he had *Ferdinand-Francis*, king of *Bohemia*, *Hungary*, and the *Romans*, who died in 1654; *Mary-Anne*, who married *Philip IV.* of *Spain*; *Philippa-Augusta*, who died in 1639; *Maximilian-Thomas*, who died in the course of the same year; and *Leopold-Ignatius*, who succeeded

his father. By his second wife, he had *Charles-Joseph*, bishop of *Passau* and *Olmütz*, and grand-master of the *Teutonic* order; and by his third venter, *Theresa-Maria-Josepha*, who died in 1653; *Eleonora-Maria*, first married to *Michel-Koribut-Wiesnowiski*, king of *Poland*, and afterwards to *Charles V.* duke of *Lorraine*; *Maria-Anne-Josepha*, who married *John-William* count-palatine of the house of *Newburg*; and *Ferdinand-Lewis-Joseph*, who died in 1698 (1).

(1) *Struv.* per. x. pag. 3061. *Dian. Europ.* tom. viii. *Theatr. Europ.* t. vi. § vii.



- a *Magdeburg* : but as the elector of *Brandenburg* at present possesses that archbishopric as a lay-fief, this bench is occupied by the bishops of *Lubeck* and *Osnabrug*, when this last is Protestant, that is, when the bishopric is in the hands of a prince of the house of *Brunswick* ; because, by a regulation made in the diet at *Ratisbon*, approved by the emperor, the ecclesiastical princes of the *Augsburg* confession, can neither be admitted to the bench of the Catholic clergy, nor to that of the lay-princes °.

L E O P O L D.

- b **L**EOPOLD, already king of *Bohemia* and *Hungary*, though but seventeen years of age, governed his dominions under the tuition of his uncle the archduke *Leopold*, by whose directions he finished the treaty which his father had begun with *Casimir*, and sent an army into *Poland*, commanded by *Hasfeld* and *Montecuculli*, who besieged and retook *Cracovia*, without paying the least regard to the remonstrances of the king of *Sweden*, who complained of these hostilities as infractions of the peace of *Westphalia*. *Leopold sends an army to the assistance of Casimir.*
- At the same time the *Dutch* were embroiled with the princes of the *Rhine*, by a quarrel between the bishop of *Munster* and his subjects, in which those powers espoused different parties : at length the affair was accommodated by mutual agreement, importing, that the city of *Munster* should maintain three hundred foot-soldiers, and the bishop be contented with five hundred ; the commander of which should take the oath of fidelity to the magistracy, and attempt nothing contrary to the advantage of the place °.
- c IN the midst of these transactions the archbishop of *Mentz* convoked an electoral diet at *Frankfort*, in order to supply the vacancy on the imperial throne ; but the ambassadors of *France* represented, that, before the election of an emperor, the states should remove the obstacles which retarded the execution of the treaties of *Osnabrug* and *Munster*, effect an accommodation between the crowns of *France* and *Spain*, recal the *German* troops which were in *Italy*, revoke the commission of vicariat, granted to the duke of *Mantua*, confer the investiture of *Montferrat* upon the duke of *Savoy*, according to the tenor of the treaty of *Munster*, and declare void all the acts which had passed in the imperial court against the duke of *Modena*. *An electoral diet convoked at Frankfort, in order to elect an emperor.*
- d THE electors of *Mentz* and *Cologne* entered into the interests of *France*, and promised to use their utmost endeavours to obtain for them the satisfaction they demanded : as previous steps to which, the archbishop of *Mentz* reinforced the intrigues of the marechal de *Grammont*, and *Hugues de Lionne*, to traverse or retard the election of *Leopold* king of *Hungary* and *Bohemia*. They at first offered their interest to his uncle *Leopold*, who protracted the negotiation, and amused them with equivocal answers, until his nephew should have attained his majority, or eighteenth year ; and, in the mean time, he, at their pressing solicitations, influenced that young prince to send orders to *Montecuculli* to suspend his march into *Pomerania*. *The French ambassadors endeavour to traverse the election of Leopold.*
- e THE duke of *Neuburg* was also competitor for the imperial crown, and attempted to avail himself of the assistance of *France*, by which he was for some time cajoled ; but cardinal *Mazarine* actually employed all his address and insinuation to persuade the elector of *Bavaria* to aspire to the imperial dignity ; the king of *Sweden* backed the exhortations and promises of *France* ; every argument that could sooth his apprehension, gratify his pride, or influence his ambition, was employed by the *French* deputies : they even interested his wife and mother in their scheme ; but, in spite of all their united efforts, the elector persisted in his resolution to reject their offers, saying, “ He chose rather to be a rich elector than a poor emperor ; ” and his refusal paved the way to the election of young *Leopold*. Nevertheless, the electors were still divided in such a manner, that the vote of *Brandenburg* could make either scale preponderate. The *French* gained over *Charles* count-palatine with a sum of money ; the elector of *Cologne* hated the *Austrians*, because, in preference to him, the archbishop of *Mentz* had consecrated *Ferdinand* the fourth king of the *Romans* ; the electors of *Triers*, *Bavaria*, and *Saxony*, had declared for the king of *Hungary* and *Bohemia* ; and as for *Brandenburg*, who had not yet disclosed his sentiments, *France* not only tempted him with sums of money, but also intimidated him by threatening to assist the duke of *Neuburg* in making himself master of *Cleves*. The *French* exerted themselves in this manner, not so much with a design to prevent the election of *Leopold*, as to obtain from that prince, before his elevation, a capitulation, obliging him to renounce the *Spaniards* in the *Low Countries*, and prevent the infractions of the treaty of *Munster*. In pursuance of this aim, the ambassadors prevailed upon the four electors of *Mentz*, *Cologne*, *Palatine*, and *Brandenburg*, to sign a preliminary convention, interpreting the third article of the treaty of

° Id. ibid.

° Recueil des Traités des Paix, t. iii. p. 720.



Leopold is  
elected empe-  
ror.  
A. D. 1658.

*Munster*, in favour of *Lewis* the fourteenth, by which they obliged themselves to proceed to a new election, in case the future emperor should contravene this capitulation.

*FRANCE*, having gained this important point, raised no further obstruction to the success of *Leopold-Ignatius*, king of *Hungary* and *Bohemia*, who was unanimously elected emperor, and signed a capitulation, promising to take proper measures for the redintegration of the circles, to abstain from alienating aught belonging to the *Germanic* body without the consent of the circles; from citing the electors, princes, prelates, counts, noblemen, and other states, to any other than the ordinary tribunals of the empire; but to leave all of them in general, and each in particular, to enjoy their immediate justice and privilege of *non appellando*, according to the Golden Bull, and other ordinances of the holy empire: he obliged himself to preserve the liberty of the ten towns of *Alsace*, and their union with the empire, without prejudice to the prefectorial jurisdiction; to re-establish the electors and states in the possession of what had been taken from them by force, according to the treaties of *Westphalia* and the edict of *Nuremberg*; to favour the Protestant and Catholic religions equally in the restitution; to avoid entering into the war between the kings of *France* and *Spain*, as well as alliances with foreign powers touching the affairs of the empire, without the consent of the electors; and to maintain the privileges of the towns and princes<sup>a</sup>.

A treaty con-  
cluded between  
France and  
several princes,  
called the  
League of  
the Rhine.

WHILE this great affair was in agitation, the electors of *Mentz* and *Cologne* formed the project of a peace between the courts of *France* and *Spain*, which was presented to *Lewis* the fourteenth at *Amiens*, and to the count *de Pigneranda* the *Spanish* minister at *Frankfort*. Neither party was averse to the proposal; and *Lewis* desired it might be discussed before the election of the emperor, in the apprehension, that should it be delayed until a prince of the house of *Austria* should be settled on the imperial throne, he could not expect such favourable terms of accommodation: for that very reason the ministers of *Spain* endeavoured to protract the negotiation. He could not, however, prevent the ambassadors of *France* from forming at *Frankfort* the *League of the Rhine*, which was an offensive and defensive alliance between the *French* king, the electors of *Mentz*, *Triers*, *Cologne*, the count *Palatine*, the king of *Sweden* as lord of *Bremen*, the dukes of *Eunenbourg*, and the landgrave of *Hesse*, obliging the contracting parties to employ their utmost endeavours in the diet, and otherwise, to strengthen the peace of *Westphalia*, and to hinder the *German* troops from marching to the assistance of the *Spaniards* in the *Low Countries*: (F).

Leopold assists  
the Danes  
against the  
Swedes.

MEAN while, *Leopold*, having obliged the king of *Sweden* to make an accommodation with *Poland*, applied himself likewise to put a stop to his progress in the dominions of *Denmark*. *Charles-Gustavus* had seized upon the islands of *Funen*, *Langeland*, *Laaland*, *Falster*, and *Zeland*. These conquests forced the king of *Denmark* to a treaty, which was concluded at *Roschild*, but in terms very disadvantageous to him; therefore he sought an opportunity to evade them, in which disposition he was encouraged by the emperor and the *Dutch*, who promised to assist him with all their forces. The king of *Sweden*, being informed of this, suddenly embarked ten thousand men, made a descent upon *Zeland*, and even besieged *Copenhagen*; but was forced, after three months spent in the siege, to turn it into a blockade.

A. D. 1659.

The imperial  
troops invade  
Pomerania.

THE imperial troops, and those of *Brandenburg*, in the mean time, having entered *Pomerania*, met at first with some success, which encouraged the *Austrians* to besiege *Stetin*; but *Wrangel*, the *Swedish* general, having thrown great succours into the garrison, they were obliged to raise the siege with some loss. The elector of *Brandenburg* succeeded no better before *Gripwald*<sup>a</sup>.

THIS invasion of *Pomerania* by the *Austrians* and *Brandenburgers* was the subject of the deliberations of the diet, then assembled at *Frankfort*. The majority of the deputies were of opinion, that the emperor and the elector of *Brandenburg*, by acting against *Sweden*, had broke the treaty of *Ofnabrug*; and that the *Germanic* body, having guaranteed the execution of it, ought either to oblige these two powers to recall their troops, or send assistance

<sup>a</sup> THALDEN, l. ix. p. 270.  
reb. C. Guf. l. vi.

<sup>b</sup> DUMONT Corps Diplom. part ii. t. vi.

<sup>c</sup> PUFFEND. de

(F) In the course of this year died the celebrated *Gaspard Barth*, one of the most learned men of the age. In the seventeenth year of his age, he published a work of merit upon the *Latin* authors, which he is said to have composed in the space of four and twenty hours. He acquired great reputation by his writings, though he died poor; and his narrow circumstances were probably owing to the liberty with which he disapproved of the measures that were taken against the *Jews*, who

had been unjustly oppressed in *Germany* and *Hungary*, during the reign of *Ferdinand*, although they had done him great service in defending *Prague* against the *Swedes*. *Leopold* expelled them from *Vienna*, at the solicitation of his empress, who imagined her sterility proceeded from the toleration of the *Jews*; but after her death they were re-admitted, allowed to farm the customs under the emperor's protection, and even gratified occasionally with honourable titles (1).

(1) Basnag. Hist. des Juifs, l. ix. p. 35.



a to the king of Sweden. Leopold, fearing one of these two resolutions might be agreed to, wrote to the diet, that he transferred their assembly to *Ratisbon*, hoping at that place to over-awe their deliberations: but it was answered, that he claimed a right not granted to him by the constitution of the empire; and that the assembly, having been convoked at *Frankfort* to put the treaties of *Westphalia* in execution, could not be transported elsewhere, without the consent of the states. The deputies of *Saxony* and *Bavaria* did not approve of this answer; but the rest, supported by the promises of the king of *France*, payed no regard to the order of the emperor, but continued their session at *Frankfort*.

b THE duke of *Neuburg* was one of those who most stiffly opposed the undertaking of the emperor. He was supported by *France*, who promised to cause the dutchy of *Juliers* to be ceded to him, which had a long time been held in sequestration by the *Spaniards*. The ministers of these two crowns were then negotiating the peace of the *Pyrenees*, which was concluded in less than six weeks in the island of *Faisans*. It consisted of twenty-four articles, which, among other things, regulated the restitution of the conquests made during the war. The king of *Spain* renounced the province of *Alsace*, the treaty of *Querasque* was confirmed, *Pignerol* reserved to the *French*, and the city of *Juliers* given to the duke of *Neuburg*.

The peace of the Pyrenees between France and Spain, by which the city of Juliers is added to the dutchy of Neuburg.

c AT the same time the *French* and *English*, fearing that the *Dutch* and *Austrians* should become too powerful in the *Baltick*, by reason of the dissensions of the northern powers, pressed the states-general, by their ambassadors at the *Hague*, not to give any more assistance to the king of *Denmark*. And having concluded a treaty, called *The Convention of the Hague*, they obliged themselves to reduce by force that party which should refuse to come to an accommodation. The king of *Sweden* rejected it; but being defeated by the *Danes*, and obliged to retire with great loss, he consented to declare his resolution, after consulting the states of his kingdom, which assembled at *Gottenburg* in the month of *January*; yet delayed coming to any resolution about a peace, depending upon the success of next campaign: but the king of *Sweden* dying of a fever, a peace was immediately after concluded, to which the emperor and the elector of *Brandenburg* acceded.

d THE troubles of the North being composed, the emperor was threatened with an invasion from the *Turks*, who had advanced with an army to the borders of *Transylvania*, and demanded the head of young *Ragotski*, with all that his father had possessed in *Hungary*. That prince was then at war with them; and two years before, having represented to *Leopold*, that, if once they possessed *Transylvania*, there would be no barrier betwixt them and the hereditary dominions of the house of *Austria*, he had obtained from him three or four thousand men. This supply encouraged him to attack the vizier's army near *Atad*, which he defeated, after having killed five or six thousand of their troops. But elevated with this advantage, and advancing rashly, he was surprised by the *Turks*, his army cut in pieces, and his baggage and several cannon taken. In consequence of this defeat, the *Turks* made themselves masters of almost all *Transylvania*, and bestowed the government of it upon *Jacob Botskai*. But *Rago'ski*, being still in possession of some places, in the beginning of this year made an incursion into the territory of *Giula*, and, finding a considerable body of infidels, he attacked and routed them. As soon as the season would permit, he marched with his little army against the *Turks*, and judging there was no resource for him but in a desperate attempt, he resolved either to conquer or die. Finding them encamped between *Clausenburg* and *Alba Julia*, he fell upon them sword in hand, put their battalions in disorder, and was upon the point of gaining the victory, when, his helmet falling off, he received so violent a blow upon his head, that he fell to the ground from his horse almost dead. His army, astonished at this accident, made no more resistance; but retired with their wounded general, who died soon after at *Waradin*.

A. D. 1660. The Turks threaten the emperor with an invasion, and demand the head of Ragotski,

e f ZATHMAR and *Zambolick* were the fiefs which the Grand Seignior had demanded from *Ragotski*, and which, since his death, the emperor, at the intreaty of several lords of that kingdom, intended to take from the princes of *Transylvania*, and fortify their frontier places as barriers against the *Turks*. But, first using the means of persuasion, he sent to *Francis Ragotski*, son of the late vaivode, to engage him to cede these two provinces to him, as he was not able to defend them himself, in the present bad situation of his affairs. That prince consulting with the princess his mother, resolved to gratify the emperor, and gave the necessary orders for putting these two counties into the hands of the baron *Mierberg*, his envoy, judging that, by acquiring the friendship of the house of *Austria*, he might one day be enabled to recover *Transylvania*.

who attacks them, and is killed in the action.

His son surrenders Zathmar and Zambolick, the disputed counties, to the emperor.

g AFTER this session, *Leopold* immediately sent the count *de Souches* with ten thousand men into *Upper Hungary*. He encamped at *Trenchin*, where the emperor had called a diet of the states of that kingdom, which gratuitously offered to supply his troops with provisions.

\* BARRE, t. x. p. 9.

" Theat. Europ. t. ix. ad An. 1660.



That the *Turks* might take no umbrage at these proceedings, he ordered his resident to declare to the grand vizier, that he had disapproved of the bad conduct of the prince of *Transylvania*, and the *Porte* might be assured, that he would do nothing against the last treaty of peace; his only reason for sending troops into *Hungary*, being to take possession of the counties of *Zathmar* and *Zambolick*.

The Hungarians, dreading the enlargement of the emperor's authority, at first refuse to admit them, and even surrender *Waradin* to the *Turks*.

*DE SOUCHES* soon after appeared before *Tokai*, and wanted to take possession of it in the name of the emperor; but those who commanded in the place at first made some difficulties, pretending that the *Hungarian* garrison ought to remain, and that it was sufficient if they took the oath of allegiance to his imperial majesty. *De Souches* put an end to disputes, by shewing them the emperor's order to take possession of it by force, if they refused to deliver it voluntarily. Upon this the *Hungarian* garrison withdrew, and the *Germans* took possession of the town. After the same manner he entered *Zathmar*, and wanted likewise to put imperial troops into *Erschet*<sup>w</sup>; but the governor for princefs *Ragotski* opposed it. *De Souches* had received an order from *Vienna* to treat with the princefs, to induce her to allow *German* garrisons to be put into *Erschet* and *Onod*. The *Hungarians* opposed this negotiation, observing with regret the emperor enlarging his authority in *Upper Hungary*, and the princefs could not be prevailed upon to trust to their assurances of delivering them up again as soon as the *Turks* should retire. The lords likewise talked high of their privilege of not allowing any *German* troops to garrison their towns; and so averse were they to the imperial troops, that the inhabitants of *Waradin* chose rather to surrender to the *Turks*, than accept of the *German* assistance sent them.

THE surrender of *Waradin* obliged the count *de Souches* to take all precautions against the *Turks*. He supplied the frontier towns with all necessaries, and made the kingdom contribute to the expence of the fortifications: he repaired the out-works of *Kalo*, and secured the fidelity of *Erschet*. Afterwards settling his head-quarters at *Cassovia*, he even obtained from the princefs *Ragotski* leave to put a *German* garrison into *Onod*.

A. D. 1661. Leopold prepares for a war against the *Turks*.

THE emperor then applied himself wholly to provide for a war with the *Turks*. The *bascha* of *Upper Hungary* had laid several villages in the neighbourhood of *Zathmar* under contribution, and had published a manifesto, threatening with fire and sword the inhabitants of the county, if they refused to acknowledge the sultan for their sovereign: besides, the infidels made such great preparations, that it might easily be perceived they designed some important conquest. *Leopold*, preparing to oppose them, acquainted the *Transylvanians* with his intention, and demanded of them *Zekelheid* and *Kovar*, as places of arms, and securities for their fidelity. He sent *Montecuculli* with twenty thousand men into *Hungary*: *Zekelheid* was garrisoned with five thousand *Germans*: the fortifications of the frontier towns were repaired; the command of the army given to count *Staremburg*; and *de Souches* made grand master of artillery.

THESE preparations gave a great deal of uneasiness to the *Palatine*, and other *Hungarian* lords: they were persuaded that *Leopold* intended by them rather to conquer *Hungary*, than oppose the invasion of the *Turks*: they declared loudly that the imperial troops, by entering their country, violated their privileges; and that the emperor, by taking possession of the places of strength, wanted only to drive the Protestants out of *Hungary*, as he formerly had expelled them from *Bohemia*.

THESE discourses, which were not without foundation, made an impression upon the people. They assembled in a tumultuous manner, and requested of the *palatine* and archbishop of *Strigonia* to represent to the emperor, that he must recal his troops, as the articles which he had sworn to observe at his coronation prohibited him from bringing *Germans* into their country. These two lords promised to speak to the emperor, though they expected but little redress, as he could not draw off his troops without exposing the frontier to the invasion of the *Turks*. The *Hungarians*, observing no effect from their promises, absolutely refused to give winter-quarters and provisions to the troops. *Leopold*, being informed of this, sent for the archbishop and the count of *Nadasti*, and several other lords, to *Vienna*: having discoursed with them, he made them promise to allow winter-quarters for his army in *Upper Hungary*.

The *Germans* are obliged to leave *Upper Hungary*.

*NADASTI*, upon his return, assembled the deputies of the thirteen counties, and drew from them a promise of lodging the *Germans*; upon which *Montecuculli* marched directly with his army for *Cassovia*, where, after some difficulty, he was admitted: but the *palatine Wesselini* seeing his measures broke, assembled the states at *Cassovia*, and renewing in their minds their antient suspicions of the emperor's conduct, prevailed upon them to deny provisions and winter-quarters to the Imperialists; although *Montecuculli*, who was there, represented to them, that by so doing they would expose their country a prey to the *Turks*; but he being able to obtain nothing, and seeing his army diminish daily by sickness, was obliged to winter in *Lower Hungary*.

<sup>w</sup> BARRE, *ibid.* p. 11.



- a THE emperor being informed of this disposition of the diet of *Cassovia*, sent the count *A. D. 1662.*  
*Rbotal*, and the chancellor of the kingdom, to prevail with it to grant winter-quarters to his army: but the deputies persisted in their denial, and represented, that what was demanded of them was of dangerous consequence, and might be used as a precedent to complete the ruin of their liberties. They wrote to the emperor, entreating him to recal the *Germans* who oppressed them, and asking leave to defend their frontiers themselves, according to their laws and privileges: but finding no effect from this letter, and the *Germans* still continuing to oppress them, they at last proceeded to oppose them by force. The peasants, *and are attacked by the peasants on their march.* headed by some lords, attacked them on their march, killed many of them, and exposed their bloody cloaths to the wind, that all might know the vengeance they had taken.
- b ABOUT the middle of this year there was an appearance of peace with the *Turks*; upon which the emperor agreed with the states of *Hungary*, that nine thousand *Germans* should depart their kingdom; the rest should be subsisted by his imperial majesty, and such regulations settled for their marches and quarters, as should not be distressing to the kingdom. Nevertheless, the disturbances did not cease; for the Imperialists still continuing to pillage and plunder upon their march, were for this denied access to the *Hungarian* towns; and when they attempted it by force, they were repulsed. The *Germans*, in despite to see themselves thus treated, exercised, in their turn, the utmost violences against the *Hungarians*, which consequently greatly irritated them against the emperor.
- c THE negotiations of peace not succeeding, the grand vizier had orders to enter *Hungary* *A. D. 1663:*  
 with a powerful army. The emperor, upon this, demanded money and troops from the princes of the empire; who first petitioned for a general diet to be called, to regulate what each ought to send. The diet accordingly assembled at *Ratisbon* on the twentieth of *January*, and deliberated upon the means of defending the empire from the designs of the *Turks*; of putting the treaties of *Westphalia* in execution; and of regulating what could not be finished at the last diet. The division among the deputies prevented their coming to any resolution about the succours to be given to the emperor, till they were surprised with the news of *Newhausen's* being taken by the *Turks*, which happened on the twenty-fifth of *September*. Then they determined to assist *Hungary* with men and money; and the electors of *Mentz*, *Saxony*, *Brandenburg*, and *Bavaria*, sent troops to the emperor: but their march was
- d so slow, that they gave the *Turks* time to take up their winter-quarters in *Upper Hungary*.  
 THE emperor likewise wrote to the *Hungarians* to raise forces, and make other preparations for war: but they, either not thinking the danger so pressing, or being less afraid of the *Turks* than the *Germans*, acquainted *Leopold*, that they had resolved to assemble the *arriere ban*, and entreated his imperial majesty not to send any army till their troops were raised; but if he wanted to put garrisons in the towns, they consented to it, provided they were brought by water, and subsisted from the provisions which were in the magazines.
- e MEAN while the *Turks* were advancing with great speed, and directing their march *The Turks advance towards Friuli;*  
 towards *Friuli*. *Edward*, count of *Aversperg*, had taken the field with some *German* and *Croatian* regiments to defend the frontier; and hearing that the *Turks* were coming down from the mountains of *Jurevestein*, called a council of war, in which it was resolved to guard the passage of *Sluin*, and send count *Aversperg* to *Roclanoz*, to prevent the infidels from advancing any farther. The count of *Serini*, who was next in command, took possession of a little eminence covered with oaks, at the bottom of the mountain *Jurevestein*, and waited there for the coming down of the *Turks*. On the sixth of *October*, at break of day, a thousand janissaries, and four hundred spahis, came down into the valley, who were attacked *but are repulsed by count Serini.* by the *Croatians* with such vigour, that very few escaped, most of them being either killed, or taken prisoners. The *Turks*, struck with this resolution of the *Croatians*, and judging that they were much stronger than indeed they were, fled with precipitation, leaving their baggage behind them.
- f THE emperor being informed soon after, that the grand vizier was preparing to march against *Newhausen*, called an assembly of the states at *Presburg*, to press for the *arriere ban*, and put that place in a condition to maintain a siege; for though the twenty-fourth of *August* had been appointed for their general rendezvous at *Vaberg*, when the imperial officer came there, he did not find a man. This extraordinary conduct had surprised the court of *Vienna*, and therefore count *Rothal* was sent into *Hungary*, with full powers to treat with the states; who, being assembled in a diet at *Cassovia*, at last granted him what he demanded.
- g NEVERTHELESS, *Leopold* was still distrustful of them; and being likewise dissatisfied with *A. D. 1664.*  
 the lords of the *Germanic* body, he applied himself to foreign princes for assistance against *Leopold obtains assistance from foreign powers.* the *Turks*. The pope allowed him to raise the sixth penny upon the goods of ecclesiastics in *Austria* and *Bohemia*; the king of *France* sent him two thousand horse, and four thou-

y LONDORP. t. ix. p. 976.

z BARRE, t. x. p. 21.

a RICAUT. Hist. des Em. Turcs. t. iii.



sand foot, which were joined by a great number of volunteers; eight hundred horse, and six hundred foot, were obtained from the king of *Sweden*, upon condition of allowing liberty of conscience to the Protestants of *Hungary*, and granting to the *Swedes* the investiture of the duchy of *Bremen*, and of *Pomerania*. a

THE count of *Serini* began the campaign by burning the bridge of *Essak*, which was in the possession of the *Turks*. Soon after he took the city of the *Five Churches*, and many other places situated betwixt the *Drave* and the *Danube*. The count *de Souches*, who commanded a separate body, gained great advantages over the *Turks*: he made himself master of *Newtria*; and marching afterwards to besiege *Newhausel*, he met with four thousand *Turks*, whom he defeated. He pursued them to the banks of the *Gran*, where they, receiving reinforcements, again opposed him; but, being vigorously attacked, they were intirely routed, and their artillery and baggage taken. Immediately after, he marched to *Lewentz*, which he attacked with such fury, that the garrison, being struck with a panic, surrendered at discretion. b

THE bashaw of *Buda*, having assembled the troops of *Moldavia* and *Walachia*, thought of recovering the place before the breaches were repaired. In effect, he besieged it; but the count *de Souches*, passing the *Gran* with his little army, encamped within a league of the besiegers; and both sides drawing up in order of battle, the Imperialists attacked the *Turks* and *Tartars* with such vigour, that they soon put them to flight. The troops of *Moldavia* and *Walachia* went home, and their retreat passed for a revolt. The count *de Souches*, pursuing his victory, took possession of the city of *Barcem*; and, after that, led his troops to *Comora* for refreshment. c

The grand vizier is intirely defeated near St. Godard.

MEAN while the grand vizier, having made himself master of *Serinswar*, in sight of the *Austrians*, who neither durst assist the place, nor offer battle, animated by this success, passed the *Muer*, and formed the design of marching to *Vienna*. *Montecuculli*, who observed the *Ottoman* army, undertook to stop him near *St. Godard* upon the *Raab*. The *Turkish* general, having found a ford, transported a part of his troops with design to offer battle: but he committed a great error in deferring till next day to transport the rest; for there fell such a heavy rain all night, that the *Raab* overflowed its banks. *Montecuculli*, resolving to prevent the re-union of the *Turks*, drew up his army in order of battle, to attack those who had passed to his side of the river; and the *Turks*, still endeavouring to pass the river over a small wooden bridge, were repulsed by five hundred *French* volunteers (G). This memorable action began on the third of *August*, at nine in the morning, and lasted till four in the afternoon. The victory was long doubtful; but at last the *Turks* were intirely defeated, with the loss of twenty-two thousand men, and seventeen pieces of cannon. d

The *Turks* immediately conclude a peace.

THIS defeat appeared so considerable to the grand vizier, that he sent next day to offer a negotiation of peace, which was concluded at *Temeswar* the tenth of *August*. The *Hungarians*, and *Abassi*, the vaivode of *Transylvania*, astonished at this precipitation, complained, that, instead of consulting their interests, they had treated without them, and at their expence, they being still abandoned to the *Turks*, and exposed to the incursions of the garrison of *Newhausel*; that the emperor might have obtained much more advantageous conditions from the infidels, considering the terror in which they were; and that *Newhausel* ought certainly to have been delivered up, or its fortifications razed. The ministers of the emperor endeavoured to excuse themselves, by affirming, that they were obliged to have more regard to the sad state to which the empire was reduced, than to the uncertain consequences of a victory. But the truth was, that *Leopold* consented to it the more willingly, as he wanted to accomplish his marriage with the infanta of *Spain*, to prevent the designs of the *French* upon that crown. e

THE murmurs of the *Hungarians* were not appeased by this answer; but proceeded so far as to threaten a revolt, if there was no regard paid to their remonstrances. The malcontents, hearing that his imperial majesty's resident with the grand vizier was carrying the treaty to *Vienna*, to be ratified by the emperor, attacked him on the road, took his horses and money from him, and with difficulty restored to him the dispatches he was carrying to their sovereign. The emperor no sooner heard of this violence, but he sent for the principal lords of *Hungary* to *Vienna*; and prince *Lobskowitz*, president of the imperial council, told them, that the *Turks*, seeing their measures broke, had of themselves proposed a peace; in which it was agreed, that *Transylvania* should enjoy its liberty, though formerly claimed as a province by the infidels; that the counties of *Zatbmar* and *Zambolick* were f

b HEISS, t. iii. p. 233.

(G) *Heiss* relates, that the action began on the twenty-eighth of *July*; and though that day the *Turks* were repulsed with great loss, yet on the morrow they renewed the attack, forced the quarter of the marquis of *Baden*,

and would have intirely defeated him, if the count *de Coligni* had not come to his assistance with the *French*, who routed the infidels, and obliged them to retire with precipitation.



a likewise ceded to the emperor; the bounds of *Hungary* extended to the *Tibisque*, a rapid and deep river, and consequently a good frontier against the *Turks*; that his imperial majesty had reserved the power of building forts to restrain the garrisons of *Waradin* and *Newbausel*; and as he had resolved to recall all the *German* regiments from *Hungary*, provided they would put garrisons in their place, the lords of that kingdom ought not to make any difficulty of signing the treaty in the name of the states.

THE *Hungarians* appeared at first satisfied with the reasons of prince *Lobkowitz*: never- A. D. 1665. theless they told him, that all the officers of war, even to a general, who should serve beyond the *Danube*, must only be natives of *Hungary*; and they were not obliged to support *German* garrisons, repair the old, or build new fortifications.

b THE emperor, being able to obtain no more from the *Hungarians*, promised to exempt them from the lodging and subsistence of foreign troops; to leave them the command of all the towns beyond the *Danube*; a liberty of putting garrisons of their own choosing into those of the mountains; with a power likewise of bringing hussars and heyduques into the neighbourhood of *Newbausel*, till the fort which was proposed should be built. The lords, satisfied with these conditions, ratified the treaty, brought back the royal crown to *Presburg*, from whence they had taken it the year before, and returned quietly to their possessions.

AFTER the ratification of the treaty, the lords expected that the emperor would withdraw the *German* troops from *Hungary*; but he having ceded to *Michael Abaffi*, vaivode of c *Transylvania*, the places depending upon that province, the garrisons coming from thence were transferred to *Tokai*, *Zatkmar*, *Kalo*, and *Onod*. The *Hungarians* hoped that, at least, *Neutria* and *Lewentz* would be put into their hands; but, after they had earnestly demanded them several times, they were refused, and *German* garrisons put into both these places.

THESE absolute proceedings of the emperor, and manifest breaches of the liberty and privileges of the nation, re-united all the *Hungarians* against the house of *Austria*. They refused to pay the ordinary taxes, and universally complained of the government. The palatine and principal lords of the kingdom, far from opposing these commotions, even encouraged the discontents of the people, taking umbrage at *Leopold's* pretending to govern by himself, and not admitting them to any part in the administration. The Hungarians revolt.

d THE emperor, to quell the revolt in its beginning, sent fresh troops into *Lower Hungary*, which only contributed to irritate their minds; they imagined that he wanted to destroy the lords that were most considerable for their wealth and authority with the people, and to leave only in the kingdom peasants, manufacturers, and artificers. In this persuasion, they resolved to seize upon the person of the emperor; and solicited him to come to the diet, that was to assemble at *Presburg* on the twenty-eighth of *September*. But he, whether informed of the plot, or his council not thinking it safe for him to trust himself in the hands of the *Hungarian* lords, pretended a great many reasons for not coming.

ABOUT this time *Leopold* married *Margaret-Theresa*, infanta of *Spain*. The rejoicings of A. D. 1666. this solemnity were scarcely over, when he was alarmed with the news of the great preparations of *Lewis XIV.* of *France*, to take possession of the *Low Countries*, in right of his e his wife, as sole heir to the late king of *Spain* by his first marriage, pretending that the females of the first bed inherit to the prejudice of the males of the second. *Lewis XIV.* before he declared war, had secured the alliance or neutrality of several princes of *Germany*, and had likewise engaged the *English* and *Dutch* to conclude a peace, to prevent the first from joining *Spain*, and to put the last in a condition to assist him. After the conclusion of this peace, he made a treaty with *Sweden*, which engaged to keep twelve thousand men in the territory of *Bremen*, to act on the side of the empire, in case *Leopold* should join *Spain*, and declare war against *France*. Leopold marries Margaret-Theresa, infanta of Spain.

HAVING concerted these measures he took the field, and entering the *Low Countries* A. D. 1667. immediately seized *Charleroy*, *Binch*, *Aeth*, *Tournay*, *Douay*, *Alost*, and *Lisle*; and at the same time defeated the *Spanish* army which came to the assistance of this last place: afterwards he proposed to carry the war into *Franche-comté*. The king of *Spain*, alarmed at the proceedings, and hoping to engage the states of the empire to espouse his quarrel, represented to the diet at *Ratisbon*, that this province being one of the circles of the empire, the *Germanick* body was interested in its preservation; and that *France* could not attack it without declaring war against the empire: but the deputies, whether secretly in the interest of *France*, or employed in affairs that seemed to them of more importance, neglected this representation. Lewis XIV. attacks Spanish Flanders and Franche-comté.

g THE great concern of the diet then was to compose a new imperial capitulation, to remain constant and invariable, which the emperors should be obliged to sign at their election. This matter had been formerly treated of in some diets by the electors, at their

\* Theat. Europ. tom. x. p. 681. WAYNER Hist. Leopold, pag. 210.



own separate meetings; but being complained of by the princes and cities, it was again canvassed at this general diet, where they were all present, and a project for a perpetual capitulation was agreed upon; but this scheme, though approved in a general diet, has never yet received the necessary sanction to render it a law of the empire. The deputies had likewise under consideration, the differences betwixt the electors of *Mentz* and *Cologne*, and the duke of *Lorraine* on one part, and the count-palatine on the other; but determining nothing, the parties complaining proceeded to right themselves by arms.

The elector of Mentz declares war against the palatine.

A GREAT number of the villages of the *Palatinate* having been rendered desolate by the long wars, the count granted lands and privileges to all strangers who should come and settle in them<sup>f</sup>, and by a right called *Wildfangiat*, appropriated them as his subjects. The electors of *Mentz* and *Cologne*, the duke of *Lorraine*, and the cities of *Spire* and *Worms*, seeing the number of their citizens diminish, disputed this right with him; and the diet having decided nothing, the archbishop of *Mentz* declared war against the count-palatine, and began with the siege of *Ladenburg*, which he easily carried. Afterwards he took *Odernheim*, *Hek*, and some other small places; so that the palatine, too weak to make opposition, proposed an accommodation, which was broke off by the duke of *Lorraine*, who sent the prince of *Lillebonne* with some forces, engaging the archbishop to continue the war.

THIS prince, who had commanded in *Flanders*, was very earnest to bring the matter to a decisive action; but the palatine army, not able to act offensively, had intrenched itself partly behind an inaccessible marsh, and partly under the cannon of *Frankendal*. But the prince, after many skirmishes, drawing them to a general engagement by an ambuscade, routed them entirely. The elector-palatine, alarmed at this defeat, proposed an accommodation, and a truce was agreed to for four months; during which the deputies of the parties should assemble at *Oppenheim* to negotiate a peace: but he not waiting this decision, and impatient to attack the duke of *Lorraine*, broke the truce, and entered the county of *Falkenstein*. On the first news of these hostilities, the duke ordered a body of troops, who were in winter-quarters in the bishopric of *Spire*, to make reprisals upon the lands of the palatine. They accordingly made an incursion, and carried off six hundred horses and a great many cattle. The palatine having made several unsuccessful attempts upon *Kisloe*, and seeing his states threatened with approaching ruin, resolved again to enter into an accommodation. A suspension of arms was agreed to, and the prisoners on both sides were restored. These two articles were the preliminaries to a treaty afterwards concluded at *Heilbron*, on the seventh of *February*, by which the right of *Wildfangiat* was confirmed to the elector-palatine.

A. D. 1668.  
Lewis XIV.  
seizes Franche-comté.

A peace concluded between him and the Spaniards.

DURING this dispute between the electors, *Lewis XIV.* had caused his troops to march off towards *Franche-comté*, under the command of the prince of *Condé*. This general took *Besançon* on the seventh of *February*, while the marechal of *Luxemburg* made himself master of *Salins*. *Dole* likewise surrendered to the *French* on the fourteenth, *Gray* on the nineteenth, and, in less than a month, all *Franche-comté* was reduced under the power of *Lewis XIV.*<sup>g</sup> The *Hollanders*, concerned at the progress of the *French*, offered themselves, in conjunction with the *English* and *Swedes*, as mediators to procure a peace; accordingly their plenipotentiaries assembled at *Aix-la-Chapelle*, where the terms proposed by the *French* king were rejected by the *Spaniards*. Then he caused an hundred thousand men to march towards the frontiers, with intention to attack *Brussels*, *Ostend*, and *Luxemburg*; and by this appearance of a second invasion, which threatened the conquest of the whole *Low Countries*, compelled the *Spaniards* to accept of his terms. The peace was signed at *Aix-la-Chapelle* on the second of *May*; and by it *Courtray*, *Bergues*, *Furnes*, and all the country since called *French Flanders*, was ceded to *Lewis XIV.* on condition that he should restore *Franche-comté*.

THE *Hungarians* being still dissatisfied with the emperor's conduct, laboured to shake off the yoke, or lessen their dependence; therefore the deputies of *Upper Hungary* refused to come to the diet, which was convoked at *Presburg* for the coronation of the empress, unless the demands which they made at the last diet were granted to them. They complained likewise, that the office of palatine, vacant by the death of *Wesselini*, was neglected to be filled up by the emperor; and the Protestants also refused to come to the diet until their churches should be restored. *Leopold*, in order to suppress these complaints, promised to the deputies to grant their demands, and ordered *Ragotski* to restore to the Protestants their churches and the revenues belonging to them; in consequence of which condescension, many of the deputies came to the diet the sixteenth of *April*.

NEVERTHELESS a number of malcontents, uneasy at seeing a *German* garrison in *Tokai*, assembled at *Zemblin*, and sent deputies to the emperor, requiring it should be dismissed. They represented to *Leopold*, that the places of the kingdom, which ought to be garrisoned

<sup>f</sup> *Diar. Europ.* tom. xii.

<sup>g</sup> *WAYNER Hist. Leopold*, lib. iii. pag. 217. *Diar. Europ.* in *Append.* tom. xvii.



a by the militia of the country only, were filled with strangers, though directly contrary to their privileges; and that the Protestants received all manner of bad treatment from the Catholics. The emperor endeavoured to satisfy them; but his reasons having no effect, they assembled at the castle of *Kivar*, upon the frontiers of *Transylvania*, and a league was proposed between the *Hungarian* Protestants and the *Transylvanians*, to drive the *Germans* out of the kingdom, demolish *Zathmar*, and arm themselves for the defence of the reformed religion: but the difficulties which occurred put a stop to their resolutions, and they separated without having come to any conclusion.

b MEAN while the elector-palatine being dissatisfied with the peace concluded at *Heilbron*, in the beginning of the former year, again had recourse to arms, upon account of the right of *Wildfangiat*, and commenced hostilities by entering the country of *Falkenstein* and *Honec*<sup>h</sup>. Having passed the *Rhine* with his army, he marched against *Landstuhl* and *Homburg*, places ceded to the duke of *Lorrain* by the peace of *Munster*, which he made himself master of without any resistance, and afterwards took the castle of *Honec*. The duke, surprised at these hostilities, marched against him at the head of his troops; and the armies engaging near *Heidelberg*, after an obstinate dispute the palatine was at last defeated, and the emperor, who needed the assistance of *Germany* to calm the troubles of *Hungary*, writing to the parties to negotiate a peace, the elector answered, that he was very well disposed to an accommodation. The duke, not minding the solicitations of the emperor, and incensed at the fickleness of the palatine, ordered new levies, and proposed to raise c eighteen thousand men; but the king of *France* taking umbrage at that great armament, and representing to him that he must disband his troops, and conform to the general peace, which allowed him only one company of guards, and another of light horse, the duke replied, that he was ready to agree to these terms, provided his subjects were protected from the hostilities of his enemies; in consequence of this representation a truce was agreed upon for six weeks, which ended in a treaty of peace.

The elector-palatine renews hostilities against the duke of Lorrain.

A. D. 1669. but by the mediation of the French, a peace is concluded between them.

d DURING the negotiation of this peace, the duke formed a scheme of association with the archbishop of *Cologne*, the bishops of *Strasburg* and *Hildesheim*, and some other princes of *Germany*, which was concluded at *Nancy*. Each member was taxed a certain sum, and a number of horse and foot. The city of *Frankfort* was appointed for the place of the council of the union, in which each party had a deliberative voice; but if any one furnished a double contingent, he was to have a double voice; and in case of an attack made upon any of the confederates, the rest obliged themselves to arm in his defence.

e ABOUT this time also the count of *Nassau* demanded from the diet at *Ratisbon*, the restitution of the county of *Saaverdin*, then in possession of the duke of *Lorrain*. He founded his demand upon the treaty of *Westphalia*; but *Risaucourt*, the duke's envoy, represented, that his master, for want of a safe conduct, not being able to appear at the congress at *Munster*, it was not just to oblige him to the execution of an article made to his prejudice in his absence; that the county of *Saaverdin* had been adjudged to his highness after a process of an hundred years; and if the diet hearkened to the demands of the count of *Nassau*, he hoped they would likewise attend to the treaty, by which the emperor had obliged himself to make no peace, till that prince his ally, was re-established in his dutchies and pretensions. The diet, influenced by these reasons, obliged his highness only to restore to the count of *Nassau*, some villages depending upon the county of *Saaverdin*, till the affair should be judged to the bottom by arbitrators appointed for that purpose. After this decision of the diet, *Risaucourt* went to *Vienna*, and concluded an alliance betwixt the duke and the emperor, who made no difficulty of admitting him to the alliance of the house of *Austria*, and forthwith appointed him general of the *Austrian* horse, which were immediately to march into *Hungary*.

The count of Nassau demands restitution of the county of Saaverdin.

f THE malcontents of that kingdom had assembled at *Zathmar*, and resolved to raise a company of an hundred troopers, whose officers should be Protestants. At the same time, the count of *Strasolte* having received an order from *Vienna* to repair the fortifications of *Tokai*, the gentlemen absolutely refused to contribute to the fortifications, and made loud complaints of the violation of their privileges, by putting foreign garrisons into their towns. While the emperor was taking measures to stifle these discontents, the count of *Tattembach*, at a conference with the count of *Serini*, shewed him a paper written by the hand of *Nadasti*, concerning the preservation of their privileges, and the manner of driving the *Germans* out of *Hungary*. Next day they subscribed to this, and engaged never to forsake each other; but as they could not execute their design without the assistance of the *Turks*, they resolved to send deputies to *Constantinople*; and, that the emperor's resistant might not discover their negotiations, they employed *Transylvanians*, who, being g under the protection of the *Porte*, would not be suspected.

Count Tattembach and Serini enter into an association, and solicit the assistance of the Turks.

<sup>h</sup> BARRE, tom. x. pag. 35.



UPON the first overture made to the grand vizier, he promised to support the malcontents, if they would become tributaries to the *Porte*: but, rather than assent to that hard condition, they chose to continue faithful to the emperor; and he having sent regiments into *Hungary*, to prevent the irruptions of the *Turks* and *Transylvanians*, they were ready to sacrifice their lives in defence of their country, and his just rights: but far from meeting acceptance with the emperor, his mind seemed rather irritated against them. The *Hungarians* then despairing of having their privileges restored, again renewed their negotiations with the *Porte*: they intreated the grand vizier to send an hundred thousand men into *Hungary*; and offered, on their part, to enter the hereditary countries of *Austria* with a powerful army, and to ravage the frontier provinces of *Germany* with fire and sword, to prevent the subsistence of any troops that might come to the assistance of the emperor: they consented also that the *Turks* should keep the places which they had conquered, leaving the rest of the kingdom at liberty, and satisfy themselves with an annual tribute.

A. D. 1670.

which is discovered to the emperor by Tattenbach's servant.

THE sultan being then at war with the *Persians*, was not much disposed to break with the emperor: he therefore refused to engage with the *Hungarians*, unless the places of strength were put in his possession as a security, and even made no difficulty of revealing indirectly the secret negotiations with the malcontents. The emperor having notice of this from his resident at the *Porte*, was afterwards fully informed of the plot, by means of the count of *Tattenbach's* servant, who having been imprisoned by his master upon a suspicion of robbery, and thinking to be revenged and regain his liberty, sent some papers relating to the conspiracy, written by *Tattenbach's* own hand, to *Vienna*. *Leopold*, upon this discovery, sent orders to the chancellor of *Gratz*, diligently to observe the conduct of *Tattenbach*.

AT the beginning of *Lent* count *Serini* took the field, to the surprize of all those who were ignorant of the conspiracy. *Tattenbach*, to avoid suspicion of being concerned with him, offered to the chancellor to endeavour to discover his intentions, and soon after came to *Gratz*, to take his place at the council; but was immediately arrested, and an officer sent to his castle to seize his papers; upon which he confessed the engagements he had with count *Serini*, a copy of which information was sent to the emperor. While the count *Serini* was to act in *Croatia*, and keep up the spirit of the *Walachians*, who had already joined him with eight thousand men, *Ragotski* had promised to seize *Montasch* in *Upper Hungary*, where his father's treasures lay; and coming to *Tokay*, where he treacherously surprized the governor and some of his chief officers, he endeavoured to make himself master of the town; but being repulsed, he marched to *Montasch*, where the gates were shut against him by his mother, and the cannon pointed to answer his demands.

The emperor asks assistance from the diet of the empire.

THE emperor, finding that the malcontents were growing powerful, resolved to reduce them by force, and ordered the march of some troops into *Hungary*; and, that his conduct might be approved by the states of the empire, sent a copy of some of the conspirators letters to the diet at *Ratisbon*, and demanded the assistance of the states against the rebels and *Turks*. The diet promised an assistance of twenty-six thousand men; but not being able to agree upon the number that each member should furnish, they concluded nothing that year. Besides the troops that were sent into *Hungary*, major-general *Spankau* was sent with six thousand men and eight pieces of cannon against count *Serini* in *Croatia*, who was then greatly embarrassed, the *Walachians* having deserted from him for want of pay, and he having failed in his enterprize against *Copnanitz*, which he had promised to deliver to the *Turks*. The malcontents of *Upper Hungary* not rising as he expected, and the imperial army advancing to besiege him, he was persuaded to implore the mercy of the emperor: but while a monk mediated a reconciliation, *Spankau* besieged *Schaketorn* with the imperial army; and, denying any knowledge of a treaty, pressed the town so vigorously, that count *Serini*, despairing of defending it, endeavoured to escape with his brother-in-law, count *Frangipani*; but they were both taken, and carried prisoners to *Vienna*.

WHILE *Spankau* was reducing *Croatia*, *Ragotski* had besieged *Tokai* and *Zatbmar* in *Upper Hungary*, and had seized all the passes, to prevent the imperial army from coming to relieve them; but receiving a letter from count *Serini*, by a messenger of the emperor, asking the liberty of the governor and officers of *Tokai*, and exhorting him to submit to his sovereign as he had done; at the same time he judging it was impossible to continue the war without ruining himself, and glad to have propositions made to him by the emperor; immediately laid down his arms, and set his prisoners at liberty, praying their assistance to procure his pardon; which at length, by the mediation of his mother, was granted to him, together with the possession of all his former estates.

THE emperor, having now no more to fear from the malcontents, summoned to *Vienna* the chiefs of the nobility of *Upper Hungary*; and at the same time declared, that those who



a refused to appear should be judged guilty of treason, and proceeded against by military execution. Soon after *Pagiferents*, the secretary of the association, being taken at *Caſſovia*, there were found in his chamber five boxes full of letters and papers relating to the conspiracy, by which it was discovered that *Nadaſti* was alſo one of the conspirators. He, being ſeized, confeſſed himſelf guilty; and only requested of the emperor to ſpare his children, who had not been concerned in the crime.

By means of theſe letters *Leopold* being informed of every thing relating to the plot, appointed judges to try the rebels. *Serini*, *Nadaſti*, *Frangipani*, and *Tattembach*, were condemned to be degraded from their nobility, and to have their heads and right hands cut off: all their goods were conſiſcated, and their children obliged to change their names and coats of arms <sup>k</sup>. *Serini*, *Nadaſti*, *Frangipani*, and *Tattembach*, are condemned and executed.

To put a final end to theſe troubles, all the nobility and the deputies of the counties of *Upper* and *Lower Hungary* were ſummoned to a diet at *Preſburg*, which opened on the firſt of *January*; but the deputies of *Upper Hungary* refuſing to come, unleſs ſafe-conducts were granted to them, the aſſembly was prorogued till the third of *February*, when it was ſoon underſtood, that the *Hungarians* had no deſire to contribute to the ſubſiſtence of the troops; and for that reaſon they delayed coming to a concluſion of any affair <sup>l</sup>. The emperor being informed of this immediately, made ſeveral regiments that were in *Bohemia*, *Stiria*, *Moravia*, and *Austria*, march into *Hungary*; which the malcontents perceiving, they had recourſe to his clemency, and endeavoured by their ſubmiſſions to ſurpaſs his moſt faithful ſubjects: however, they demanded to be freed from the payment of money to the *German* ſoldiers, and propoſed to the emperor to aſſign their ſubſiſtence out of the conſiſcated eſtates; but he refuſed, and told them, that by their revolt they had loſt their privileges, and had no other part to chuſe but that of ſubmiſſion; and, far from granting what they deſired, he obliged them to maintain thirty thouſand men, to pay their uſual taxes, and to puniſh the ſeditious.

While the emperor was employed in ſettling the affairs of *Hungary*, *Lewis* the fourteenth was preparing to invade the *Dutch*, having taken umbrage at the triple alliance formed between them, the *English*, and *Swedes*, to preſerve the tranquillity of *Europe*, and chiefly deſigned to reſtrain his ambitious views. Having ſucceeded at the courts of *England* and *Sweden* in diſſolving the triple alliance, and ſecuring them to his intereſt, he likewiſe made a treaty with the elector of *Cologne*, the biſhop of *Munſter*, and ſeveral other princes of *Germany*; and alſo prevailed upon the emperor to obſerve a neutrality, provided he made no attempt upon the territories of the empire: but he could obtain nothing of the elector of *Brandenburg*, but an ambaffador ſent to *France* to diſſuade him from making war againſt the *Dutch*; on the contrary, that elector made an alliance with the ſtates-general <sup>m</sup>, and engaged to furniſh them with twenty thouſand men, one half of whom were to be payed by the ſtates, who, having foreſeen the deſigns of the *French* king, were taking all poſſible precautions to oppoſe him; and, by their ambaffador at *Madrid*, had engaged the court of *Spain* to furniſh them with money, and ſix thouſand men from *Oſtend*, beſides the recruits they were raiſing in the territories of ſeveral princes of *Germany*, and ſix thouſand *Swiſs*, brought by the count *de Dobna*. Other ſuccours were promiſed them, and conſiderable levies were expected from the prince of *Anhalt*; and the command of all their forces was given to prince *Waldeck*, and lieutenant-general *Wurts*: but the great preparations of *Lewis* the fourteenth, and the public calamity that threatened, ſo terrified the people of *Holland*, that they not only declared *William* prince of *Orange* captain-general and admiral of the republic, but in a tumultuous manner altered their preſent form of government, and elected him ſtadtholder and governor-general of their armies by ſea and land. That prince was then but nineteen years of age, and became afterwards the moſt indefatigable enemy of the ambitious ſchemes of *Lewis* the fourteenth.

f THE *English* began the firſt hoſtilities, by attacking the *Dutch* fleet returning from *Smyrna*; and, in the beginning of *March*, the *French* king marched with one hundred and twenty thouſand men towards the *Rhine*, the elector of *Cologne* having opened to him all the paſſes into his country. At the ſame time the biſhop of *Munſter* entered with all his forces into the northern provinces of the republic: the *French* immediately took *Orſoy*, *Burich*, *Wefel*, and *Rhinberg*; and paſſing the *Rhine* at *Tolkouſe*, they took *Arnheim*, the fort of *Shenck*, *Utrecht*, *Doſsburg*, *Zutphen*, *Nimeguen*, *Naerden*, the fort of *Crevecoeur*, the iſle and city of *Bornel* and *Bodegrave*; having, in a few months, paſſed three rivers, conquered the three provinces of *Guelders*, *Utrecht*, and *Overyſſel*, and taken forty towns. The troops of the biſhop of *Munſter* and the elector of *Cologne*, being joined, had taken *Grool*, *Borkelo*, *Lochen*, *Krewort*, and were ſet down before *Deventer*, which was obliged to ſurrender the twenty-ſecond of *June*, after having made a moſt vigorous defence. The biſhop of *Munſter*

<sup>k</sup> *Diar. Europ.* t. xxii. p. 289, and t. xxiii. p. 650.

<sup>l</sup> *BARRE*, t. x. p. 60.

<sup>m</sup> *Mem. de Brandenb.* p. 130. after-

The *English* attack the *Dutch* fleet, and the *French* king invades *Holland*.



afterwards took *Couvorde*, and on the twenty-seventh of *July* opened the trenches before *Groningen*, but was obliged to raise the siege with loss; and the *Hollanders* recovering *Couvorde*, drove the troops of *Munster* from all the places which they had possessed in the province of *Groningen*.

Leopold resolves to assist the states-general.

THESE rapid conquests of the *French* caused the emperor and several princes of *Germany* to declare for *Holland*; and, in the month of *August*, *Leopold* wrote to all the members of the empire to unite themselves for the common safety of the *Germanic* body, and to recall their troops which were in the service of *France* and *England*; and although the elector of *Bavaria* and the *French* ambassador, by their intrigues at *Vienna*, endeavoured to prevent any assistance being sent to the *Hollanders*, yet *Leopold* made a treaty with them, and engaged to furnish thirty thousand men to join the forces of the elector of *Brandenburg*; and the treaty being published, was followed with a manifesto, wherein the emperor declared, that, as guarantee of the treaties of *Westphalia*, which the *French* had broke, he proposed to hinder them from entering into the empire, and to stop their progress, which was now dreaded by all *Europe*.

A. D. 1673.

ON the thirty-first of *January* the elector of *Brandenburg*, at the head of twenty-six thousand men, and thirty pieces of cannon, and the duke of *Bournonville*, the imperial general, left *Lipstadt*, and marched towards *Loest*, where they learned that *Turenne* had left *Holland*, and was coming to meet them at the head of thirty thousand *French*. The only fruits of this diversion were, the evacuating of *Groningen* by the bishop of *Munster*, and the siege of *Maestricht* raised by the *French*; for though the elector of *Brandenburg* would have hazarded a battle, yet the imperial general, who had secret orders only to act defensively, would not give his consent. The elector not being powerful enough to act against the *French* by himself, was obliged to retire into the county of *Ravensberg*, while the Imperialists went towards *Lippe*; and the viscount *Turenne* following after him, and forcing the passes where he had left detachments, he was forced to quit *Westphalia*, and to retire into the bishopric of *Hildesheim*, while the *French* took possession of the dutchies of *Cleves* and *Marck*, and the city *Wesel* upon the *Rhine*. The bad success of this campaign making the *Hollanders* murmur against him, his friends represented to him, that he ought to make use of that conjuncture to be reconciled to *Lewis* the fourteenth. The states likewise, having omitted to pay the subsidies which they had promised, and all the provinces which the elector possessed in *Westphalia* being lost, he was disposed to make an accommodation with *France*; and a peace was concluded at *Wofen*, by which all his provinces were restored to him, except the cities of *Retz* and *Wesel*, which the *French* kept till the peace should be concluded with *Holland*: the elector promised not to give any more assistance to the *Hollanders*, reserving to himself, nevertheless, the liberty to defend the empire, in case it was attacked.

The elector of Brandenburg makes peace with the French.

THE *French* having put garrisons into too many places, which considerably weakened their army, and having neglected to possess themselves of *Amsterdam*, the soul of the republic; likewise *Montecuculi*, the imperial general, marching to join the prince of *Orange*, and prince *Maurice*, governor of *Friseland*, having gained several advantages over the bishop of *Munster*, *Lewis* the fourteenth saw that he could not long preserve his conquests; therefore accepted of the mediation of *Sweden* to negotiate a peace with the United Provinces. The place appointed for the congress was the city of *Cologne*; and the kings of *France* and *England*, and the states-general, sent their plenipotentiaries thither before the opening of the campaign. As a suspension of arms was not agreed upon, the prince of *Conde* arrived at *Utrecht* in the month of *June*, and formed a design of making himself master of *Muiden*; but being repulsed by the *Hollanders*, he endeavoured to let off the waters that overflowed the country, by opening the dykes towards the sea: but was obliged to desist from his attempt; for as the tide rose, he only let in more, which distressed his own army. The king of *France* succeeded better before *Maestricht*, which he besieged with an army of forty thousand men; and, though it was defended with the utmost bravery by the governor *Farjau*, obliged it to surrender on the thirtieth of *June*.

Lewis the fourteenth takes Maestricht, while the prince of Orange retakes Naerden and Bonn.

THE prince of *Orange*, not having forces sufficient to oppose the *French* army, employed himself in retaking the towns which the *French* had seized; and began with the siege of *Naerden*, which, after a week's defence, surrendered on the thirteenth of *September*. Afterwards marching his army into *Brabant*, he had a conference with the governor of *Spanish Flanders*, who promised to join him immediately with eight thousand men; and *Montecuculi* being then at *Coblentz*, the three armies marched in conjunction to besiege *Bonn*, which surrendered after nine days siege; as did *Kerpen* and *Duren* upon the first attack. These successes of the allies obliged the *French* to evacuate the three provinces of *Holland*, after having exacted heavy contributions, and secured the artillery and hostages at *Maestricht* and

The French evacuate the provinces of Holland.

<sup>a</sup> BARRE, t. x. p. 74. Mem. de Brand, ubi supra.

<sup>b</sup> Mem. de Brand. p. 135.

<sup>c</sup> BARRE, t. x. p. 79.

*Graves.*



- a *Graves*. Nevertheless, trusting to the advantages of the next campaign, they sought all means to retard the negotiations of peace, which was not now so impatiently desired by the allies, especially as they had conceived suspicions of the mediation of the *Swedes*, who, they believed, were too favourable to *France*; therefore the plenipotentiaries at *Cologne* spent their time more in ceremonies and entertainments than in business: and *William* count of *Furstenberg*, plenipotentiary for the elector of *Cologne*, having been seized and carried prisoner A. D. 1674. to *Bonn* by order of the emperor, gave occasion to *Lewis* the fourteenth to recal his ambassadors, and carry the war into the empire; although the emperor declared, that the reason why count *Furstenberg* was taken prisoner was, that, being a vassal of the empire and of the duke of *Austria*, he could not take upon himself the office of plenipotentiary against the interests of his master; that, besides, he was colonel of a regiment in the service of *France*, and had not obeyed the letters of revocation of the court of *Vienna*.
- b THE duke of *Noailles* having entered *Franche comté*, *Leopold* made a league with the *Dutch* and *Spaniards*: the elector of *Brandenburg* also promised to join the imperial army with six thousand men; and the elector *Palatine*, the dukes of *Brunswick*, and the landgrave of *Hesse*, acceded to the alliance<sup>1</sup>, which obliged the elector of *Cologne* and the bishop of *Munster* to abandon *France*; but the elector of *Bavaria* and the duke of *Hanover* remained neuter. *Lewis* the fourteenth, coming to the camp, began the campaign with the siege of *Besançon*, which surrendered in the end of *May*, the garrison being made prisoners of war. The *French* afterwards took *Dole*, *Salins*, the castles of *Joux* and *St. Anne*. Mean
- c while, the *German* troops desiring to enter *Alsace*, were prevented; the *French* having seized *Germerheim*, and the city of *Strasbourg* having denied them the use of their bridge; therefore they retired with their troops between *Heidelberg* and *Philipsburg*, where the duke of *Bournonville* was to join them with the imperial army: but the viscount *Turenne*, to prevent that junction, took the route of *Epingem*, and in five days came within sight of the *Germans*, who were encamped upon a rising-ground near *Sintzheim*, a small town of the *Palatinate*, under the command of the count *Caprara* and the duke of *Lorraine*. The two armies engaging, the *Germans* were defeated, and obliged to retire to *Heidelberg*<sup>2</sup>; from whence
- d from passing that river: but the viscount *Turenne* advanced with his army, and sent his cavalry to find out a ford, resolving to attack their intrenchments; upon which the imperial generals, declining an engagement, sent off their baggage, and in the beginning of the night decamped, and marched to *Frankfort*. The viscount *Turenne*, being now master of the *Palatinate*, not only allowed his army to live at discretion, but ravaged the whole country with fire and sword, destroying their woods, and setting fire to their houses and cornfields. These calamities of the elector-palatine awakened the other princes of *Germany*; and in less than a month the dukes of *Brunswick*, the elector of *Cologne*, and the new bishop of *Munster*, sent troops to join the imperial army, which was encamped between *Mentz* and *Frankfort*. These forces, when united, being greatly superior to the army of the viscount *Turenne*, he was obliged to repass the *Rhine*, and encamp at *Landau*; whilst the Imperialists passed over the bridge of *Mentz*, and, marching along the *Rhine*, encamped between *Spire* and *Philipsburg*, where, in a council of war, it was resolved to pass the *Rhine*, and take winter-quarters in *Upper Alsace*. Accordingly they passed over the bridge of *Strasbourg*, the emperor's resident having influenced the city to allow them, and encamping upon the river *Ill*, they waited for the elector of *Brandenburg*, who was coming to join them with a reinforcement of twenty thousand men. The viscount *Turenne*, though inferior in number, yet profiting of the advantage of the mutual jealousies among the allied generals, resolved to attack them before they were joined by the elector; and marching from *Wantzenau*, he advanced on the fourth of *October*, at break of day, in order of battle, where the duke of *Bournonville*, having placed a body of infantry with some cannon in a little wood, waited for him. The two armies looked at one another for more than an hour, without any action; but *Turenne*, fearing to be flanked from the wood, ordered it to be attacked; and, after a vigorous resistance, he made himself master of it, and took ten pieces of cannon. During the dispute in the wood, the allies fell upon the centre of the enemy's line, and, notwithstanding their heavy fire, broke through to the body of reserve; but being repulsed by some squadrons of horse, and the foot rallying and renewing their fire, they were intirely routed; and the night coming on, they retired beyond the *Ill*, leaving three thousand dead on the field<sup>3</sup>; and having encamped under the cannon of *Strasbourg*, waited for the arrival of the elector of *Brandenburg*, who, having been hindered by the difficulty
- g some princes made of letting him pass through their territories, did not join them till eleven

A new alliance  
against the  
French, who  
take *Besançon*.

*Turenne* de-  
feats the allies  
near *Sintz-*  
*heim*, and  
forces them to  
retire to  
*Frankfort*.

*Turenne*  
again defeats  
the allies, who  
retire under the  
cannon of  
*Strasbourg*.

<sup>1</sup> BARRE, t. x. p. 84.

<sup>2</sup> Diar. Europ. t. xxix. p. 101. WAYNER, l. v. p. 350.

<sup>3</sup> Diar.

Europ. tom. x. p. 229. Histoire d'Alsace, l. xxi. p. 238.



days after. This strong reinforcement obliged *Turenne* to quit his post, and intrench himself behind the lines of *Marleim*; but the Imperialists passing the *Brusch*, he encamped at *Wilfen*, to cover *Haguenau* and *Saverne*. The elector of *Brandenburg* not being able to prevail upon the imperial general to hazard a battle, the two armies lay eight or ten days within a league of one another, without any hostilities; and the *Germans*, not having any magazines, were soon distressed for want of provisions, and obliged to return to *Blaishheim*, from whence they separated into winter-quarters in the cities of *Upper Alsace*.

WHILE *Turenne* protected the frontiers of *France* towards the *Rhine*, the prince of *Conde* attacked the prince of *Orange* at *Senef*; and the action continued till night, when the victory remained doubtful.

WHILE the war was continued by both parties with such earnestness, pope *Clement X.* did not cease to exhort the emperor and king of *Spain* to renounce the alliance of the Protestants, and be reconciled to *France*. He likewise pressed the most Christian king to turn his views towards peace, which now seemed also to be desired by the allied princes of *Germany*. But the emperor, *Spain*, and *Holland*, seemed to be far from entering into a negotiation: nevertheless, the states-general made some proposals of peace, which were rejected by the *French* as too high demands; and the allies, thinking their affairs in a prosperous way, would not submit to any alteration in the plan of accommodation.

*Turenne surprises the quarters of the Imperialists, and defeats 6000 men near Mulhausen.*  
A. D. 1675.

THE viscount *Turenne*, having received a reinforcement of ten thousand men from *Flanders*, advanced to *Remiremont*, and fell upon the quarters of the Imperialists, took a regiment of dragoons prisoners<sup>u</sup>, and defeated six thousand horse near *Mulhausen*, taking the generals *Caprara* and *Tunewald*, with several other officers, the duke of *Bournonville* retiring in haste to *Colmar*, the quarters of the troops of the elector. *Turenne*, still advancing, attacked the allies, who were posted betwixt the rivers of *Turkeim* and *Colmar*. The Imperialists, giving way, were supported by the elector of *Brandenburg*; and night drawing on, the *French* retired, and stood under arms, expecting to renew the engagement next day; but the allies decamped at eight in the evening, and repassed the *Rhine* at *Strasburg*, the Imperialists taking up their winter-quarters near *Offenburg*, and the elector of *Brandenburg* in *Franconia*.

THAT the elector might be called from assisting the Imperialists on the *Rhine*, the *French* had prevailed with the *Swedes* to invade the Marches of *Brandenburg*, though two years before they had made a defensive alliance with that elector<sup>x</sup>. The *Swedes* at first observed an exact discipline, committing no great hostilities for three or four months; their general declaring, that he would retire with his army whenever the elector should make his peace with *France*: but provisions beginning to fail, they used violence; and not only pillaged the country, but raised contributions upon several towns. The elector, who was then in *Franconia*, ordered the prince of *Anhalt*, governor of *Pomerania*, to make no opposition<sup>y</sup>; but to shut the gates of the cities, and remain in *Berlin* till he should arrive. At the same time he complained to the diet of *Ratisbon*; and on the ninth of *March* presented a memorial, in answer to one that the king of *Sweden* had sent to the diet in the month of *December*: he concluded with desiring, that, since the king of *Sweden* had used hostilities against one of the most faithful members of the empire, the diet would be pleased to declare him an enemy, and proceed against him according to the laws of the *Germanic* body. Though this memorial and several others were supported by the emperor, yet it was not before the middle of *July* that *Sweden* was declared an enemy of the empire; the elector having left *Franconia*, and arrived at *Magdeburg*, a month before. During his absence, the *Swedes* had over-run all *Pomerania*, and taken a great many towns; but, from the moment of his arrival, affairs so suddenly changed their appearance, that in less than twelve days all the country was retaken, and the *Swedes* repulsed with considerable loss. As the *Swedes* met with no opposition, they had divided their army into several bodies, that their conquests might be the more extensive; but, as there were no posts then established in *Germany*, they had no information of the elector's long march, till they were surprised by him at *Rathenau*; upon which that part of their army that was at *Brandenburg* marched towards *Therbellin*, where they were to be joined by general *Wrangel*, with some other of their troops: but the elector not waiting for his infantry, but pursuing them with five thousand six hundred horse, and twelve pieces of cannon, immediately attacked them; and killing three thousand of their men, the remains of their army retired into *Therbellin*, and broke down the bridge after them; but not thinking themselves safe there, they retreated with precipitation into the dutchy of *Mecklenburg*.

*The elector defeats the Swedes at Therbellin.*

MONTECUCULLI, having got a reinforcement of some old regiments early in the spring, had advanced towards *Strasburg*, with a design to enter into *Alsace*; but *Turenne*, to

<sup>u</sup> BARRE, t. x. p. 104.  
<sup>y</sup> Mem. de Brandenb.

<sup>w</sup> Mem. de Brandenburg. p. 139.

<sup>x</sup> Mem. de Brandenb. p. 142.



- a cut off the communication between *Strasbourg* and the imperial army, resolved to pass the *Rhine*, and succeeded in his enterprize, before the Imperialists had any knowledge of his purpose. Having taken *Wilstadt*, he extended his army along the *Rhine*, to prevent the Imperialists from passing it; while *Montecuculli*, having thrown succours into *Offenbourg*, lay with his army at *Reuchen*. The viscount *Turenne*, after a sharp dispute, having posted himself at *Acheren*, obliged the Imperialists to retire to *Bibl*, leaving one hundred men in the castle and church-yard of *Salsbach*, with orders to defend them to the last extremity; but the *French* advancing, drew up their cannon against the castle; which *Montecuculli* observing, marched up with his army, with the design of an engagement, and about one in the afternoon brought his cannon to play upon the *French*. *Turenne*, finding that his batteries were too low to have any effect, and those of the Imperialists bore upon his camp, went, with some officers, to view a rising-ground, where a battery might be raised to dismount that of the enemy; and while he was talking to the officers, he received a ball upon his breast, and fell dead upon his horse's neck.
- b

AFTER the death of the viscount *Turenne*, the *French*, in a council of war, resolved to decamp, and repass the *Rhine* at *Altenheim*, where they had their bridges; and marching off on the twenty-ninth of *July*, in the evening, they were attacked by *Montecuculli* in passing the *Cheutre*; and after an action of ten hours, in which they lost many men, and a great part of their baggage, they were obliged to retire with precipitation to *Altenheim*, where passing the *Rhine*, they intrenched themselves on the other side.

- c THE emperor, to free *Montecuculli* from a part of his enemies, desired the princes of *Lunenburg*, and the duke of *Lorraine*, to march their troops towards the *Lower Rhine*, and make a diversion by besieging the city of *Triers*. The marshal *Crequi*, being informed of their intention, immediately marched to *Metz*: and having received a reinforcement from the army of the prince of *Conde*, he encamped on the *Saverne*, with a design of marching to the assistance of the besieged. The allies, not thinking it proper to wait for him, quitted their lines, and marched to attack him. The marquis of *Grana* began the engagement against the left wing of the *French*, and drove them from a rising-ground sword in hand. The cavalry of *Zell*, in the left wing of the allies, at first gave ground; but the duke of *Zell* rallying them, brought them back, and attacking the *French* in flank, their cavalry fled, and left the foot to be cut in pieces by the conquerors, who falling in sword in hand, entirely routed them. The *French* lost their cannon, mules, carts, and baggage, and almost all their generals were either killed, wounded, or taken prisoners. The allies returned to their lines; and having received a reinforcement, continued the siege of *Triers*, which surrendered on the twentieth day; and the dukes of *Brunswick* and *Lunenburg* having taken possession of the town, left the army, and went to secure their own territories, fearing that the duke of *Hanover* should declare in favour of the *Swedes*, against the elector of *Brandenburg*<sup>2</sup>. The duke of *Lorraine* dying soon after the battle, his nephew succeeded him, and led the troops of *Lorraine* into *Alsace*, to join the imperial army.
- d

The allies besiege *Triers*, and defeat the *French* army.

- e THE elector of *Brandenburg*, being assisted by the Imperialists, and having prevailed with *Denmark* and *Holland* to declare war against *Sweden*, attacked their provinces in his turn; and entering *Pomerania*, took *Wolgast*, and the island of *Wollin*; while the *Danes* made themselves masters of *Damgarten* and *Wismar*; and the bishop of *Munster*, at the head of seven thousand troops, invaded the duchies of *Bremen* and *Verden*, taking all the small fortresses of the country. Afterwards, the duke of *Zell* taking the command, and a reinforcement of three thousand *Danes* arriving, the allies besieged *Staden*, which, after a long blockade, was obliged to surrender, and completed the conquest of *Bremen*, which immediately became the subject of dispute to the conquerors, the bishop of *Munster* pretending it ought to be ceded to him as a reward for his services to the allies, was supported by the emperor, who desired to see the Catholic religion prevail in that duchy. On the other side, the king of *Denmark*, the elector of *Brandenburg*, and the dukes of *Lunenburg*, proposed to divide that country among themselves, to the exclusion of the bishop of *Munster*<sup>3</sup>, who had always disturbed the Protestants in the exercise of their religion; but at length a congress being formed at *Bremen* by commissaries from the emperor, a treaty was concluded, which settled the division.
- f

A. D. 1676. The elector of *Brandenburg* invades Swedish *Pomerania*, while the *Imperialists* conquer *Bremen* and *Verden*.

- g THE losses of *Sweden* did not greatly affect the king of *France*, as his arms were superior in the *Low Countries*; the marechal *d'Humieres* having taken *Lokeren*, and several other places in the country of *Vaes*; the marechal *Crequi* having taken *Conde* by an assault, and made the garrison prisoners of war, the citadels of *Liege* and *Hui* being destroyed, and the duchies of *Cleves* and *Juliers* ravaged. The prince of *Orange*, to repair these losses, sat down before *Maestricht*, but was obliged to raise the siege the twenty-seventh of *August*, upon the approach of marechal *Schomberg*, while the marechal *d'Humieres* took *Aire*, and the duke of *Orleans* made himself master of *Bouchain*.

The *French* take *Locheren*, *Conde*, and several other places.

<sup>2</sup> BARRE, t. x. p. 126.

<sup>3</sup> PUFFENDORF Introd. t. vii. p. 38. BARRE, t. x. p. 128.



The French  
are defeated in  
Alsace by the  
duke of Lor-  
rain,

THE *French* were not so happy upon the *Rhine*; for *Montecuculli* having obtained leave of a the emperor to retire to *Vienna* upon account of his infirmities, the command of the imperial army was given to the duke of *Lorraine*, one of the greatest generals that the house of *Austria* ever had. He, having passed the *Rhine* in the beginning of *May*, immediately formed the design of besieging *Philipsburg*, and took the fort of that city on this side the river in four days, and afterwards marched with his army into *Upper Alsace*, against the duke of *Luxemburg*, who was encamped near *Scelestat*. The two armies were in view of one another on the fourth of *June*, near the little river *Roubr*, which separated them. The duke of *Lorraine* marching towards *Saverne*, the duke of *Luxemburg*, to cover that town, marched in haste by *Ziberstzig*, leaving dragoons and infantry in the passes, to prevent the Imperialists from interrupting his march; but the *Germans* soon forced the *French* horse, and pursuing b their army, came up with it as the last squadron was passing the *Sorre*<sup>b</sup>. The *French* army having passed the river, and drawn up within pistol-shot of the bank, were attacked by the Imperialists with such fury, that they were quickly put into disorder, and would have been entirely routed, had not the *English* infantry supported the charge of the *Austrians*, till the duke of *Luxemburg* had rallied the *French*, who continuing their march, encamped under the counterescarp of *Saverne*. The duke of *Lorraine* followed them, and raising three batteries upon a rising-ground, cannonaded them for four days; but the elector-palatine making great complaints of the garrison of *Philipsburg*, the emperor sent an express order to the duke to besiege that city, notwithstanding he wrote to *Vienna*, that he would oblige the *French* army to surrender at discretion in fifteen days. Marching his army towards *Stras-* c *burg*, he there embarked his infantry and heavy cannon, and advanced with the rest towards *Philipsburg*. The trenches were opened on the twenty-sixth of *June*, and, after the siege was well advanced, an unexpected event put all into disorder; for the *Rhine* suddenly overflowing, washed down the tents, filled the trenches, and ruined the batteries; so that the besiegers had all to begin anew. The duke of *Luxemburg* likewise, at the head of forty-five thousand men, made several attempts to assist the town; but not succeeding, he endeavoured to draw off the duke of *Lorraine*, by marching to besiege *Friburg*. Having spent much time in building a bridge over the *Rhine*, the duke followed him with his cavalry, with the intention of engaging him. *Luxemburg*, surprised at his approach, retired under the cannon of *Brisack*, repassed the *Rhine*, and marched towards *Scelestat*. The duke of d *Lorraine*, returning to *Philipsburg*, summoned the governor to surrender, who at last capitulated on the tenth of *September*, the garrison having leave to march out with drums beating, and matches lighted. After the reduction of *Philipsburg*, the duke of *Lorraine* wanted to force the duke of *Luxemburg* either to repass the *Rhine*, or consent to a battle: for this purpose he advanced upon him, and drove him under the walls of *Brisack*, where his situation was so advantageous, that he could not be attacked; therefore the duke of *Lorraine* marching towards *Rhinfeld*, caused them to lay over a bridge of boats, as tho' he had a mind to repass the river at that place. The duke of *Luxemburg* apprehending this, repassed the *Rhine*, to observe him on the other side, and possessed the passes, to hinder the Imperialists from entering into the county of *Burgundy*: but the season being far advanced, the imper- e *ial* troops went into winter-quarters in *Suabia* and *Franconia*; and the *French* army having sent some of their forces into *Lorraine*, and others into *Burgundy*, remained in *Alsace*.

The baron de  
Montclar pur-  
sues the duke of  
Saxe-Eisenac,  
and obliges  
him to surren-  
der.

THE duke of *Lorraine*, having heard at *Florainville* of the raising of the siege of *Charleroi*, marched with his army towards *Alsace*, with a design to join the duke of *Saxe Eisenac*, who, with twelve thousand men, opposed the *French* troops commanded by the baron de *Montclar*, and had even shut them up in a place where they must have perished for want of provisions, had not the marechal de *Crequi* relieved them at the time when he was observing the march of the duke of *Lorraine* upon the *Moselle*. The baron likewise having received a reinforce- ment of men, now obliged the duke of *Saxe* to repass the *Rhine* at *Brisack*, and retire in his f turn to *Strasburg*; and following him at the head of ten thousand horse, forced him into an island of the *Rhine*, between the bridge and the city. The prince of *Saxe*, waiting for the arrival of the duke of *Lorraine*, endeavoured to subsist in that place as well as he could, with the assistance of the citizens of *Strasburg*, who had declared for the emperor<sup>c</sup>: but at length they, dreading the menaces of the marechal *Crequi*, ceased to send him provisions, and only acted as mediators betwixt the two generals, making a kind of accommodation, by which the duke of *Saxe* obtained the liberty of marching out with all his forces, and retiring into *Germany*, upon condition that neither he, nor his troops, should carry arms against *France* during the rest of the campaign.

WHILE the duke of *Lorraine* was marching to the relief of the prince of *Saxe*, he heard of his accommodation; but continuing his route, he passed the *Rhine* over the bridge of *Stras-* g *burg*, and following the *French* army, found it encamped near *Heckersberg*. Sending major-

<sup>b</sup> Hist. de Lorraine, t. iii. l. xxxix p. 811. BARRE, t. x. p. 135.

<sup>c</sup> Idem ibid. p. 141.



- a general *Schultz*, with a large detachment of cavalry, to observe the disposition of their army; there followed an engagement betwixt thirty-six squadrons of the *French* and the detachment, in which it would have wholly been cut to pieces, had not the duke of *Lorrain* come in person to their assistance, and forced the *French* to return to their camp. Soon after, the duke received orders from the court of *Vienna* to put his troops into winter-quarters, which he was obliged to submit to, although he represented, that it was to be feared that the marechal *Crequi*, who was still in arms, would form some enterprize against *Friburg*, as soon as the imperial army should be dispersed into quarters. The imperial camp was no sooner broke up, than *Friburg* was invested by the *French*; which when the duke of *Lorrain* heard of, he dispatched a messenger to the governor of the place, assuring him of immediate assistance; and drawing out the garrisons from the neighbouring places, he marched to his relief; but the town surrendered before he arrived, not without suspicion that the governor, major-general *Schultz*, had been gained by the *French*. Notwithstanding the advanced season, marechal *Crequi* marched against *Walkirck*, which he razed, with some castles in the neighbourhood. Afterwards he repassed the *Rhine*, and went into winter quarters. The duke of *Lorrain* marching to *Worms*, and putting garrisons into all the places near *Friburg*, went to *Vienna* to conclude his marriage with the princess *Eleonore*, sister of *Leopold*.

A. D. 1677.  
*Friburg* surrenders to the *French*.

- THE *Swedes*, who prevailed against the king of *Denmark*, had not the same success in *Pomerania* against the elector, who, having made himself master of the greatest part of *Pomerania*, now besieged *Stetin*, the capital. After a blockade of five months, he ordered the trenches to be opened the sixth of *June*<sup>c</sup>. The siege was maintained by the soldiers and citizens with the utmost vigour till the end of *December*, when, at last, the *Swedes* having failed in their attempts to relieve the place, the garrison, who were now reduced to three hundred men, were obliged to capitulate on the twenty-fifth of *December* for want of ammunition; and on the first of *January* marched out, drums beating, colours flying, with their arms and baggage, and were conducted to *Livonia*, the *Germans* only being detained, agreeable to the emperor's letters of avocation<sup>f</sup>.

The elector of *Brandenburg* makes himself master of *Stetin*.

A. D. 1678.

- IN *Pomerania*, after the taking of *Stetin*, the *Swedes* possessed nothing but the cities of *Stralsund* and *Gripswald*, which were likewise soon obliged to submit to the conqueror. The elector of *Brandenburg* having assembled several small vessels, under the command of admiral *Trump*, and having got a reinforcement of four thousand men, embarked his troops, and made a descent upon the island of *Rugen*: having defeated the *Swedes*, and taken *Febrschantz* and the port of *Putbus*, he passed over to *Stralsund*, where the count of *Konigsmarck* commanded, with one thousand six hundred horse and six hundred foot. Three thousand of the citizens had likewise taken up arms, and, with a resolution of vigorously defending the town, had themselves set fire to the suburbs; but the elector landing his artillery, so furiously bombarded the town, that in a short time one half of it was in flames. The citizens, affrighted, immediately raised a flag of truce, without the knowledge of the governor; upon which the elector ceased firing, and sent a trumpet into the town to know if they would capitulate; but the count of *Konigsmarck*, pointing the cannon of the ramparts upon the town, threatened to hang those that dared to mention a capitulation. The besiegers renewing their bombardment, and the bombs having set fire to seven places of the town, and burnt the magazine, the flag of truce was again raised, with the permission of *Konigsmarck*, and two deputies sent to the camp of the elector, who submitted to the terms of capitulation he prescribed. After *Stralsund* had surrendered, the elector ordered the baron of *Dorstin* to besiege *Gripswald*, which was likewise bombarded, and the garrison obliged to surrender at discretion, before the *Swedes* could come to their assistance. By the reduction of this place, the elector completed the conquest of *Pomerania*.

The elector takes *Putbus*, *Stralsund*, and *Gripswald*.

- THE duke of *Lorrain* having begun the campaign in *Alsace*, in the month of *May*, encamped near *Offenburg*, at the head of an army of forty thousand men, with a design to besiege *Friburg*; but he disposed his army, as though he had an intention of passing the *Rhine* at *Strasburg*, and marching into *Upper Alsace*. The motions of the duke obliged the marechal *de Crequi* to reinforce the garrison of *Friburg*, and encamped near *Colmar*, with a view to assist *Alsace*, or in case of need to enter into *Brissgaw*; but hearing that the prince of *Baden* was clearing the roads leading to *Friburg*, and preparing magazines for a siege, he passed the *Rhine*, and encamped not far from *Brissack*. The duke of *Lorrain* seeing all his measures broke, posted himself between *Brissack* and the *French* army, with an intention of bringing the enemy to an engagement; but the marechal *Crequi* leaving his camp, went and fortified himself within half a league of *Friburg*; but the duke cutting off supplies from him, he was obliged to march into *Alsace*; and that the Imperialists might be prevented from following him, he demanded of the city of *Strasburg* to have the fort, which commanded the bridge on the side of *Germany*, to be put into his hands, alledging, that

<sup>c</sup> Mem. de Branden. pag. 154.

<sup>f</sup> BARRE, tom. x. pag. 144. PUFFENDORF Introd. lib. vii. pag. 47.



it was to hinder them from breaking the neutrality. The magistrates having refused to deliver the fort, he ordered it to be attacked, and, on the seventeenth of July carried it, having killed or taken prisoners all those that defended it : afterwards razing the fort, and burning part of the bridge towards *Germany*, he entered *Alsace*, and continued in the neighbourhood of *Strasburg*. The duke of *Lorraine* fearing that he would undertake the siege of that city, immediately sent in boats one thousand foot, and four hundred horse, who were received into the town. *Crequi* regarding that action as a breach of the neutrality, ordered the two forts betwixt *Strasburg* and the *Rhine*, on the side of *Alsace*, to be attacked, while the duke of *Lorraine* passed that river near *Philipsburg*, and having made himself master of *Landau*, pillaged it, and afterwards defeated some detachments of French troops.

THE cause of the little success of the Imperialists this year upon the *Rhine* was chiefly owing to the neglect of the court of *Vienna*, in not furnishing the duke of *Lorraine* with money and magazines, for the subsistence of his troops, and undertaking the siege of *Friburg* ; besides, the princes of *Germany* disgusted with the war, did not serve with the same ardour as they had done in the beginning ; and the *Hollanders*, who wanted a peace, made such a weak resistance in the *Low Countries*, that the *French* were at liberty to send great detachments from thence to strengthen their army in *Germany* ; and the king of *Denmark*, and the elector of *Brandenburg*, wholly employed with their conquests in *Sweden*, thought of nothing but augmenting them ; the emperor also, more attentive to the troubles of *Hungary*, than the war in *Alsace*, thought chiefly of reducing the malcontents of that kingdom.

Leopold suppresses the office of palatine of Hungary, and appoints a viceroy for that kingdom.

LEOPOLD, considering the government of *Hungary*, and determining to suppress the office of palatine, because it put too much power into the hands of one person, adjudged it more proper to govern that kingdom by a viceroy, who, holding all his authority from him, and subject to be recalled at pleasure, would be always submissive to his orders. Accordingly, five years before, he had established at *Presburg* a sovereign court, under the direction of prince *John Gaspar Ampringen*, grand master of the *Teutnick* order, and prince of the empire. As this prince was a native of *Hungary*, it was thought that he would not be suspected by the nobility of that kingdom : but the change of government, far from appeasing the troubles, only augmented the number of malcontents ; and the proceedings of the sovereign court determined them at last to take arms, in defence of their privileges. They surprised some places, and had several engagements, in which they were sometimes superior, and at other times defeated, which obliged the emperor to send a reinforcement of ten thousand men to general *Spankau*, who commanded in that kingdom.

The malcontents threaten to throw off the yoke of Austria, and chuse a king of their own nation.

BUT this year the number of malcontents increased so much, that the imperial court was fully resolved either to quiet them entirely, or to ruin them. The use of three churches in *Upper Hungary* was offered to be restored to them ; but this offer provoked them the more, and they talked of throwing off the yoke of *Austria*, and chusing a king of their own nation. Some *Hungarian* troops likewise having taken up their quarters in the territory of *Waradin*, the emperor's general complained of it to the bashaw of that city, as an infraction of the peace. He answered, that he could not refuse lodging to those people, whom the sultan did not look upon as enemies ; that he had received them as *Hungarians*, and not as rebels and traitors, they living peaceably, and paying for the provisions which they bought.

They are supported by the Turks.

LEOPOLD, judging by this haughty answer that the *Turks* favoured the malcontents, sent *Hoffman*, secretary at war, to *Constantinople*, to complain to the grand vizier of the assistance which the bashaws of the frontiers gave to the rebels of *Hungary*. The vizier answered, that the invincible sultan, his master, was ready to renew the peace with the emperor, and refuse assistance to the *Hungarians* <sup>b</sup>, provided the emperor, in acknowledgment of that benefit, would pay an annual tribute to his highness, and grant him some claims which he had upon the frontiers. During this negotiation at *Constantinople*, the states of *Hungary* had assembled at *Oedenberg* ; it was there resolved to consent to the restitution of all the churches to the Protestants, and to abate in several other points, that the malcontents might be drawn off from their engagements with the *Turks*. Mean while, the *Hungarian* lords whom the emperor had ordered to *Vienna*, represented to him that the change which had been made in the government, terrified the nation, and that they could not be quieted but by re-establishing in some measure their former privileges ; that they would be contented with the re-establishment of the office of palatine of the kingdom, the convocation of a general diet, and the restoring of the churches to the Protestants. The imperial ministers consented to the re-establishment of the palatine ; but they limited his power in such a manner, that he would entirely have depended upon the emperor ; they

<sup>b</sup> BARRE, tom. x. pag. 147.



a wanted, that the diet should never be assembled but by the command of his imperial majesty; lastly, they eluded the demand of restoring the churches, so that the deputies understood the ministers only designed to amuse the *Hungarians*, by pretending to enter into an accommodation.

*ABAFFI*, vaivode of *Transylvania*, having defeated a competitor by the assistance of the malcontents, in return sent them the greatest part of his troops, commanded by count *Emerick Tekeli*, son of *Stephen Tekeli*, who had been one of the richest lords in *Upper Hungary*. As he professed the *Lutheran* religion, and had a great estate, he became so criminal in the eyes of the ministers of *Vienna*, that they persuaded the emperor to order him to be besieged in his own castle. He dying during the siege, his son *Emerick*, then fifteen years of age, seeing the garrison about to surrender, saved himself in the night with some of his friends, and afterwards fled to *Poland*, believing the king might procure his pardon with the emperor; but being soon undeceived, he retired into *Transylvania*, and so distinguished himself by his merit, and the wisdom of his conduct, that *Abaffi* made him his prime minister, and gave him the command of the troops which he sent to the assistance of the malcontents<sup>1</sup>. Soon after his arrival count *Wesselen*, their general, dying, they gave him the command of their armies, in consequence of which, and of the great success of his arms, he afterwards took the title of, *Prince and Protector of the Kingdom*.

*TEKELI*, at the head of an army of twelve thousand men, entered *Upper Hungary*, and marched directly for *Mongatz*, whither he was conducted by his affection for the daughter of count *Serini*, widow of *Francis Ragotski*. Her mother-in-law, a strict Catholic, had hitherto opposed the marriage, and sent some troops to fall upon the quarters of *Tekeli*; which being entirely defeated, and a son of count *Serini* taken prisoner, by his means the alliance was concluded, and the marriage soon after celebrated. Mean while the imperial army, being too weak to venture an engagement with the malcontents, retired under the cannon of *Eperies*. Then *Tekeli* published a manifesto, declaring his design of re-establishing the kingdom of *Hungary* in its antient rights, exhorting all honest *Hungarians* to join him, and threatening to treat those as enemies who should oppose his designs, or even be indifferent in the present conjunction. By this declaration he soon augmented his army to twenty thousand men, with which he marched in the month of *August* towards *Eperies*, which he carried in three days; and by the end of *September* saw himself master of all the places in the neighbourhood of the mountains of *Krapach*. Afterwards he took *Rosenberg*, and detached two thousand *Tartars*, who passed the *Wag* in sight of all the Imperialists, ravaged *Moravia*, and penetrated into *Austria* on this side the *Danube*. The season being advanced, it was resolved in a council of war to put the troops into winter-quarters, and wait for the succours that were sent from *Transylvania*. *Tekeli* marching towards *Stetin*, and hearing that count *Leslie*, who commanded the Imperialists, was at *Zathmar*, he resolved to attack him; and having routed his army, he pursued them over the mountains, putting all to the sword whom he found. About this time likewise, one named *Father Joseph*, who had turned Protestant, put himself at the head of six thousand men, and calling himself *Jeshua*, and the Deliverer of the persecuted *Hungarian Protestants*, entered into the hereditary countries of the house of *Austria*, where he spread so great a terror, that the inhabitants abandoned their houses, and fled for safety to *Vienna*. The cities in the mountains also declaring for the malcontents, *Tekeli* went and besieged *Altsohl*, which he took by storm, and afterwards made himself master of *Newsohl*, *Chemnitz*, *Bolsenaw*, and *Lipora*.

The court of *Vienna*, alarmed at all these conquests which the imperial army could not prevent, charged the bishop of *Strigonia*, primate of *Hungary*, to negotiate an accommodation. This prince declaring himself mediator of the differences, *Tekeli*, and the other chiefs of the malcontents, laid before him their demands: they required, that a general amnesty, without any exception, should be granted for all that was past; that the Protestants should be allowed the free use of their religion, and the churches should be restored to the *Lutherans* as well as *Calvinists*; that the confiscated estates should again be restored to those who were dispossessed of them; that the diet should be allowed to elect a palatine of their nation, who should enjoy all the antient prerogatives, rights, and authorities, annexed to that dignity. Though the emperor had no intention to grant these demands, yet as he heard that they threatened to deliver all the cities in the mountains to the *Turks*, and had offered to the bashaws on the frontiers, to oblige them to take an oath of fidelity to the Grand Seignior, he answered, that he would make known his intentions to the *Hungarians* that remained faithful, who might inform the malcontents.

during this negotiation, the imperial general, having received some troops that he expected, resolved to attack the malcontents; and having first taken possession of the passes in the mountains, to prevent the *Turks* from joining them, he marched against *Tekeli* and

*Tekeli publishes a manifesto declaring his intention of protecting the rights of Hungary.*

*He defeats the imperial general in several engagements.*

*The bishop of Strigonia negotiates a reconciliation between the emperor and malcontents.*

<sup>1</sup> BARRE, tom. x. pag. 154.



Tekeli takes the city of Bustruck, and agrees upon a truce with the imperial general.

A. D. 1679. The king of France and the allies conclude a peace at Nimeguen.

*Babam*, whom he found near *Alisöl*, in order of battle. Towards the end of the engagement, the Imperialists receiving a reinforcement obliged the malcontents to retreat under the cannon of *Alisöl*, having passed the mountains in good order, notwithstanding twenty squadrons of the enemy undertook to cut off their retreat. Next day *Tekeli*, having received a reinforcement of one thousand men, returned to the plain, and encamped under *Carpfen*. The city of *Bustruck* having broke the neutrality, and fired upon his army, he attacked it so vigorously, that in a few hours he made himself master of it, and caused the heads of the principal citizens to be struck off, as a punishment for their infidelity. After this expedition he agreed upon a truce for some months with the imperial general.

SUCH was the situation of the affairs of *Hungary*, while the powers of *Europe* were negotiating a peace at *Nimeguen*. In the month of *April* the *French* king had declared the conditions upon which he would conclude a peace with the empire. He demanded *Franchecomté* to be annexed to *France* for ever; likewise a part of *Spanish Flanders*, and the city of *Friburg* in the *Brisgaw*, upon condition of leaving *Philipsburg* and all its dependencies to the emperor<sup>k</sup>. He obliged himself also to restore *Lorrain* to prince *Charles*, but under such conditions as were never accepted of by that duke. The states-general being very desirous of peace, and, by the favourable offers of the *French*, being inclined to desert the allies, the emperor was at last obliged to consent to the demands of the plenipotentiaries of *France*: the treaty of peace was signed on the fifth of *February*, and afterwards ratified by the emperor<sup>l</sup>.

<sup>k</sup> HEISS, lib. iii. pag. 240. Mem. de Brand. pag. 157. BARRE, tom. x. pag. 159. <sup>l</sup> HEISS, lib. iii. pag. 240. PUFFENDORF Introd. lib. vii. pag. 53.

## C H A P. XXII.

*Containing the Wars between the Empire and France to the Peace of Ryfwick.*

DURING the negotiations of peace at *Nimeguen*, *Van Gale* the bishop of *Munster* died, at the age of seventy-one, after having reigned twenty-eight years. His death was the occasion of new disputes among the allies in the North, who, neglecting his successor, thought only of seizing his part of the duchy of *Bremen*; the elector of *Brandenburg* complaining to the court of *Vienna* of the invasion of the duke of *Lunenbourg*, who thought he justified himself by saying, he only prevented the king of *Denmark*. The emperor, displeased with the conduct of the duke of *Lunenbourg*, obliged him to restore to the successor of *Van Gale* what he had taken from him: but he did not long enjoy the new conquests; for soon after, making peace with *France* and *Sweden*, he was obliged to restore to the last all that his predecessor had possessed in the duchies of *Bremen* and *Verden*. The emperor likewise concluding a peace with that crown, it was agreed, that the pacification of *Westphalia* should be the rule and foundation of the treaty; and that all acts, decrees, and commissions, declaring *Sweden* an enemy of the empire, and depriving it of the advantages of the peace of *Munster*, should be null and void<sup>m</sup>.

The Swedes invade Prussia, but are repulsed by the elector.

THE elector of *Brandenburg* and the king of *Denmark*, seeing themselves thus abandoned by their allies, protested against these particular treaties. The elector hearing that sixteen thousand *Swedes*, under the command of general *Horn*, had invaded *Prussia*, burnt the suburbs of *Memel*, made themselves masters of *Tilse* and *Insterburg*, and over-run the greatest part of the country, leaving *Berlin* on the tenth of *January*, and putting himself at the head of nine thousand men, he passed the *Vistula* on the fifteenth. The *Swedes*, confounded at his approach, hastily retired; and *Gortz*, the elector's general, pursuing them, harrassed them in their march, which disorder ruined almost the half of their army. The elector, advancing to the gulph of *Frisch*, drew his infantry over the ice in sledges; and arriving at *Labiaw* on the gulph of *Courland*, he sent five thousand horse to interrupt the march of the *Swedes*; and using sledges likewise upon the gulph of *Courland*, he arrived within three miles of *Tilse*, the *Swedish* quarters, on the nineteenth of *January*. He learned the same day that his horse had defeated two regiments of the enemy; and that, upon the news of his arrival, the *Swedes* had abandoned *Tilse*, and retired towards *Courland*. *Gortz*, pursuing them towards *Quadjuc*, fell in with their rear, and entirely routed them, returning to the elector with much booty, and a great number of prisoners. The remains of the *Swedish* army that returned to *Livonia* scarce amounted to three thousand<sup>n</sup>.

THESE successes were of no advantage to the elector; for the time of the cessation of arms, which was prolonged to the first of *May*, being expired, *Lewis XIV.* rejecting all propositions made by the ministers of the elector for a particular accommodation, insisted

<sup>m</sup> PUFFENDORF ubi supra.

<sup>n</sup> Mem. de Branden. pag. 160, 161, and 162.



- a upon the intire re-establishment of the *Swedes*; and ordered general *Caino*, with the troops that were in the countries of *Cleves* and *Juhers*, to pass the *Rhine*, and enter the principality of *Minden*. The general of the elector, not being in a condition to oppose them, had a conference with the marquis *de Croissy*, and procured the cessation to be again prolonged to the nineteenth of the month. Mean while, his ambassador at the *French* court, still hoping to negotiate a particular treaty, delayed signing the peace till the day after the cessation expired<sup>o</sup>; so that the marechal *Crequi* had advanced to the gates of *Minden*, and beat general *Spaan*, who, at the head of three thousand men and some cannon, opposed his passing the *Wefer*, before the news of the peace had reached his camp. The treaty of *Westphalia* served as a foundation for this peace of *St. Germain*; only, to avoid future differences about limits, the king of *Sweden* ceded to the elector some lands beyond the *Oder*, and the property of all the customs of the ports in *Further Pomerania*. The elector, on his side, promised to restore to *Sweden* all the provinces that he had conquered, and not to assist the king of *Denmark*, upon condition that *France* evacuated his provinces of *Westphalia*, and payed him three hundred thousand ducats, to indemnify him for the damages committed by *Crequi's* army in his territories<sup>p</sup>. The king of *Denmark* soon followed the example of the elector, and on the twelfth of *September* concluded a peace with *France* and *Sweden* at *Fontainebleau*; by which he consented that the crown of *Sweden* should be re-established in all that it possessed before the war, and in all the provinces and cities that it had acquired by the three treaties of *Roschild*, *Copenhagen*, and *Westphalia*.
- b The general peace being concluded, *Lewis XIV.* still continued his conquests, by establishing at *Brisack* and *Mentz* chambers of re-union, which, by examining antient charters and records, adjudged to him cities and lordships, of which he took possession, under pretence that they were originally fiefs and dependencies of countries ceded to him by the peace. On the twenty-second of *March* the sovereign council of *Alsace* declared<sup>q</sup>, that the cities and villages of *Upper Alsace*, of the prefecture of *Haguenau*, of *Mundat*, and the chapter and provost of *Weissenburg*, ought to acknowledge the king of *France* as their sovereign. This declaration alarmed the possessors, who believed that the king of *France* wanted likewise to deprive them of the profitable dominion of their fiefs; but he declaring, that he did not pretend to deprive them of the propriety and advantage of their possessions, then the bailiffs of the *Rhingrave*, of the elector of *Triers* as bishop of *Spire*, of the count of *Hanau*, of *Oderburn*, of the bailiage of *Grevenstein*, of the barons of *Falkenstein*, and of the prince of *Berkenfeldt*, took the oath of fidelity to the king of *France*, promising to yield obedience to his orders, and to acknowledge the sovereign court of *Brisack* as their judge in the last resort<sup>r</sup>.
- c THE sovereignty of the bishoprics of *Metz*, *Toul*, and *Verdun*, having been ceded to *France* by the treaty of *Munster*, *Lewis XIV.* by a decree of the twenty-fourth of *July*, ordered all the mediate vassals of these bishoprics to deliver in their titles and papers, justifying their rights and pretensions. This decree was followed by another, dated the seventeenth of *September*, giving power to the commissaries to judge of all difficulties that should occur upon account of these inquiries<sup>s</sup>. The archives of the churches and abbeys of the dutchy of *Lorraine* having been examined, it was found that formerly many bishops, to oblige their relations, had favoured them with grants of their bishoprics, which were in their gift. These prelates had, indeed, received others in exchange; but the council of *Metz* thought it probable, that the value received was not so considerable: and, besides, they pretended that the dependence of the fief was unalienable; and though the faith and homage of the possessors had been transferred to others for several centuries, yet no prescription could justify a false right, and that the immoveable possessions of bishoprics were unalienable in their nature; therefore *France* had a right to claim all that had been withdrawn and usurped.
- d THE sovereignty of *France* over all the fiefs of *Alsace* still met with more difficulties. The king of *Sweden*, as duke of *Deux-ponts*, and the elector-palatine, as count of *Veldentz*, refused to pay homage to *Lewis XIV.* The court of *France*, being informed of this refusal, ordered the sovereign council of *Alsace* to judge of the affair. They decreed the duchy of *Deux-ponts* and the county of *Veldentz* to be re-united to the crown of *France*, if, within a limited time, the two princes, possessors of them, did not pay homage to *Lewis XIV.* As this decree likewise regarded the ten cities of the prefecture of *Alsace*, they, in conjunction with the king of *Sweden*, the counts of *Veldentz*, *Nassau*, &c. complained of this proceeding to the diet of *Ratisbon*. The empire, exhausted by a long war, contented itself with writing to the king of *France*, and to *Charles II.* of *England*, who had been mediator of the

A peace is concluded between the kings of France and Sweden, and the elector of Brandenburg.

The king of Denmark likewise concludes a peace with France and Sweden at Fontainebleau. A. D. 1680.

The duke of Deux-ponts, and the count of Veldentz, refuse to pay homage to the king of France.

<sup>o</sup> PUFFEND. Introd. l. vii. p. 55. <sup>p</sup> LONDORP. t. xiii. c. xxvi. xxxvi. xxxvii. &c. Mem. de Brand. p. 166. <sup>q</sup> STRUV. per. x. sect. xi. p. 3098. PUFFEND. l. xviii. <sup>r</sup> GRYPH. de Scriptor. Sæculi XVII. p. 152. <sup>s</sup> Recueil des Arrêts de la Chambre Royal de Metz, pour la Re-union.



congress at *Nimeguen*. In their letter to *Lewis XIV.* they affirmed, that, by the treaty of *Munster*, only the landgraviate of *Upper* and *Lower Alsace* was granted to him; and that the ten cities of the prefecture were not comprehended in that cession; but, to put an end to the differences, they prayed his majesty to determine these claims by the arbitrators that had been formerly agreed upon.

A. D. 1681.

THE king of *France* replied, that what he claimed was only in consequence of the rights ceded to him by the treaties of *Munster* and *Nimeguen*; but, rather than trouble the peace of his neighbours, he would consent to a revival of what his courts had decreed. The states of the empire, having received this answer, prayed *Leopold* to communicate to them the negotiations of his ambassadors at *Nimeguen*, and those of count *Mansfeld*, his minister at the court of *France*. They were sent to the diet to be examined, which afterwards agreed with *France* to appoint a congress at *Frankfort* to terminate the difference about the sovereignty of *Alsace*. The ministers of the *Germanic* body being personally obliged to *Leopold*, he prevailed on them to prolong the negotiations, that he might have leisure to provide for war. The king of *France*, to strengthen the frontiers of *Alsace*, cut off the *Germans* from passing the *Rhine* betwixt *Brisack* and *Basil*, and to awe the *Swiss*, who had promised not to grant the Imperialists a passage through their territories, ordered the village of *Huninguen*, within half a league of *Basil*, to be fortified with five regular bastions, and all necessary outworks.

*Lewis XIV.*  
surprises Stras-  
burg, under  
pretence of its  
being part of  
*Alsace*, ceded  
to him by the  
treaty of  
*Munster*.

LEWIS XIV. not contented with fortifying *Huninguen*, resolved likewise, under pretence of taking possession of *Alsace*, to seize upon *Strasburg*, which makes a part of that province. The *French* court thought that the exception in the treaty of *Munster*, regarding the immediateness and liberty of these cities, ought not to be any obstacle to the design their king had formed; therefore the marquis de *Louvois* ordered troops to enter *Lorraine*, *Franchecomté*, and *Alsace*, under pretence of employing them at working upon the fortifications in these provinces. But soon after they all assembled within a few leagues of *Strasburg*; and baron d'*Asfeldt*, taking possession of the ground betwixt the *Rhine* and the city, and the redoubt which covered the bridge, told the magistrates, that the *French* only took possession of these posts to prevent the Imperialists, who had a design of seizing them; but that the city had nothing to fear, since the king would take it under his protection. The twenty-eighth of *September* the baron de *Montclar*, at the head of an army, spoke a different language: he summoned the town to surrender; adding, that, if they made any resistance, they would be treated as enemies. While the magistrates and people, alarmed at this proposition, were deliberating what course to take, the marquis de *Louvois* arrived at *Illkirk*, and told their deputies, that the king his master being informed that they had desired the *Germanic* body to send a garrison into their town, he wanted to prevent them, and therefore required the city to be put into his possession; not that he desired to destroy their privileges, but rather to load them with his favours: that they might draw up articles of capitulation according to their desire, which would be granted them, if they were compatible with the sovereignty granted to *France* by the treaty of *Munster*. The magistrates and people, seeing themselves without resource, drew up articles of capitulation; by which the inhabitants were confirmed in their privileges; the Protestants were allowed the free exercise of their religion, and the possession of all their ecclesiastic property, and the churches which they then used, excepting the cathedral, which was given to the Catholics: but it was regulated, that the cannon, military stores, and arms in the public magazines, should be put into the hands of the *French*. These articles being signed by *Louvois* on the thirteenth of *September*, he took possession of the city.

A. D. 1682.  
*Leopold* pre-  
pares for war  
with *France*.

THE same day that *Strasburg* surrendered to *Lewis XIV.* *Casal*, the capital of *Montferrat*, received a *French* garrison, by an agreement with the duke of *Mantua*, its lawful sovereign. This city being a fief holding of the empire, *Leopold* suspected that the king of *France* wanted to dismember it, and ordered his ambassador in *France* to make complaints to *Lewis XIV.* concerning the surprising of *Strasburg*, and the possessing of *Casal* by the *French*. As he received only evasive answers, he resolved to prepare for war with *France*; but as his own forces were mostly employed against the malcontents in *Hungary*, he prevailed upon many of the princes of the empire to declare war against *Lewis XIV.* On the tenth of *June* he concluded a treaty with the plenipotentiaries of the circles of *Franconia* and the *Upper Rhine*; to which the princes of *Lunenburg*, the landgrave of *Hesse-Cassel*, and the electors of *Saxony* and *Bavaria*, acceded. The countries upon the *Rhine* were proposed to be the scene of action, where the allies were to assemble three armies, having the promise of assistance from the *Spaniards* and the states of *Holland*.

The elector of  
*Brandenburg*  
opposes his de-  
signs.

THE minister of the elector of *Brandenburg* opposed these proceedings, and declared that the emperor could not, in virtue of a treaty made with some states of *Germany*, engage the

<sup>1</sup> Histoire d'Alsace, l. xxiii. p. 264.

<sup>2</sup> Vita Leopoldi, p. 536.



a whole empire in a war, without the consent of the *Germanic* body. He had likewise private reasons for his opposition, being piqued at a defensive league of ten years, which the emperor had concluded with *Sweden* on the twelfth of *October*; therefore, to disappoint the emperor's designs against the *French*, he entered into an alliance with the king of *Denmark* and the bishop of *Munster* to preserve the peace of the empire, and mutually assist each other against any violences contrary to the constitutions of the empire, and the treaties of peace. A. D. 1537.

MEAN while the count *de Creffy* pressed the diet of *Ratisbon* to come to a determination, with regard to the sovereignty of the king of *France* over *Alsace* \*. The diet assembling on the twenty-second of *January*, it was resolved to examine the treaties upon which his most Christian majesty founded his right to the sovereignty of *Alsace*. After two months debating on that subject, the emperor, being threatened with an invasion from the *Turks*, proposed to the count *de Creffy* to conclude a truce with *France* for thirty years, which *Lewis XIV.* consented to; and accordingly, on the thirty first of *August*, a truce was agreed to by them, without either regulating the articles or time.

WHILE the negotiations were carrying on at *Frankfort* and *Ratisbon*, the *Hungarian* malcontents had broke the truce concluded at *Oedemburg*. Count *Tekeli* being joined with four thousand *Turks*, surprised the castle of *Zathmar*, and put the garrison to the sword: afterwards, marching to *Cassovia*, he made himself master of it, the fourth day after he had opened the trenches †; *Eperies* submitted to a body of janissaries, commanded by the bashaw of *Buda*, who likewise took *Leutcb*, the forts of *Zipt* and *Zendre*, and entered the county of *Scopus*. While the *Turks* were besieging *Tokai* and *Filek*, *Tekeli* went and ravaged *Silesia*. The grand vizier, to reward the services he did to the *Porte*, caused him to be declared king of *Upper Hungary*, and sent him a vest, a sabre, and standard, with the patent of the Grand Signior. The *Hungarian malcontents break the truce, and count Tekeli surprises Zathmar.*

THE sultan, in the midst of his conquests, made proposals of peace, which were rejected by the emperor, since he could not agree to them without opening a passage for the *Turks* into the dominions of *Austria*. *Leopold* hearing of the great preparations made by the *Turks* on the frontiers of *Hungary*, and not doubting but they were designed against *Germany*, made a league offensive and defensive against the *Turks* with *John Sobieski* king of *Poland*, who engaged to march in person to the assistance of *Vienna*, in case it were besieged †. He likewise addressed the princes of the empire, who engaged to furnish him with a certain number of auxiliary forces, and prince *Charles* of *Lorraine* was ordered immediately to join the imperial troops at *Presburg*. That prince, leaving his government of *Tirol*, arrived at *Vienna* on the eighth of *April*; and setting out from thence on the twenty-ninth of the same month, he arrived at *Kitsee*, where the imperial troops were encamped.

IMMEDIATELY he besieged *Newhausel*, and pushing the town vigorously, he had already made himself master of the suburbs, when being informed that the *Turks* were on their march, and threatened to enter *Stiria*, he raised the siege, and retired towards *Comorra*, to watch the designs of the enemy. Soon after, being informed that they intended to march towards *Albe-Royale*, or *Weissenburg*, he quitted his camp at *Comorra*, and passing the *Raab*, entered the island *Schut*, having sent four regiments to reinforce a body of *Hungarians* at *Neutra*, under the command of the palatine, and ordering general *Schultz* to march to *Schinta*, in order to cover the frontiers of *Moravia*.

THE grand vizier arriving at *Belgrade*, marched from thence to *Weissenburg*, at the head of fifty thousand janissaries, thirty thousand spahis, and two hundred thousand men, drawn from different garrisons, with artillery and baggage proportioned to such a multitude ‡; and encamping betwixt *Weissenburg* and the mountains of *Raab*, detached a great number of *Tartars* to ravage the country, from whence the imperial army was to draw its subsistence. Afterwards advancing to the mountains of *Raab* to take possession of them, he was repulsed with considerable loss, and was likewise opposed in attempting to pass the river of that name. In the mean time count *Tekeli* arriving at his camp, published a manifesto, declaring, that the sultan would take under his protection all those who should embrace the party of the malcontents; and that he would maintain them in their privileges, liberties, goods, laws, and religion; but that no quarter would be given to those who refused to submit. Tekeli publishes a manifesto in favour of the sultan.

THIS manifesto had so great an effect, that the cities of *Papa*, *Tot*, and *Vesprin*, immediately opened their gates to the malcontents: which example the emperor fearing that *Neutra* would likewise follow, he ordered count *de Schultz*, the governor, to withdraw the heavy cannon, arms, and ammunition, and to abandon the city. The same orders having been given to the governors of the towns in the mountains, the cities and counties of *Hungary*

\* Inform. Hist. sur les villes Imperialés d'Alsace, in 12mo.

† RINCK Leop. des grossen Roemisch, &c.

p. 817. BARRE, t. x. p. 178.

‡ Recueil de Traités, t. iv. p. 500.

Annals de l'Empire,

t. ii. p. 864. BARRE, t. x. p. 181.

declared



declared to the commissaries of the emperor, that they should be obliged to open their gates to count *Tekeli*, as they did not think that they ought, upon the bare hopes of assistance, to expose themselves to fire and sword. a

*The duke of Lorraine retires with his army under the cannon of Vienna.*

THE grand vizier having passed the *Raab* over the bridge of *Kirmeded*, which was abandoned by the Imperialists, entered the country, and put all to fire and sword: having afterwards passed the *Rabwitz*, he continued every-where the same devastation. Prince *Charles*, having only twenty-four thousand men, was not in a condition to resist so great an army; and fearing that they would cut off his retreat to *Vienna*, and the hereditary countries, he retired to *Berant*, to cover the river *Leitbe*, and watch the motions of the *Tartars*, who ravaged the country between the *Raab* and that river. The infidels advancing, attacked the guards commanded by the count *de Taaff*, supported by the regiment of *Montecuculli*, and several squadrons, and defeated them when the duke of *Lorraine* arrived, who rallied them, and bringing up several regiments to their assistance, repulsed the enemy, and afterwards retired with his army under the cannon of *Vienna*. b

MEAN while all was in the utmost consternation in that city. The emperor, with all his court, had abandoned it on the seventh of *July*, and retired to *Lintz*<sup>a</sup>. Great numbers of the citizens followed the court, and the roads were crowded with fugitives, and carriages loaded with furniture and valuable effects. The first advice of the flight of the regiments had made such an impression, that they believed all was lost; but the presence of the duke of *Lorraine* had, in some measure, removed their fears. As the defence of the city was of very great importance, they, with all dispatch, repaired the fortifications; and count *Staremberg*, who commanded the garrison of eight thousand men, foreseeing that the siege would be long, appointed the different quarters of the city to different general officers, and named subalterns to give an account of all that passed: the citizens likewise, the tradesmen, and the masters of the university, with the students, formed themselves into companies, to assist in defending the town. c

*The grand vizier besieges Vienna.*

*The duke of Lorraine recovers Presburg, and defeats Tekeli.*

AFTER the retreat of the duke of *Lorraine*, the grand vizier, leaving the bashaw of *Buda* to besiege the city of *Raab*, marched to *Vienna*, and on the thirteenth of *July* appeared before the city. On the sixteenth the trenches were opened, and soon after the city was wholly invested. The duke of *Lorraine*, being thus cut off from all communication with the garrison, marched against count *Tekeli*, who was on the other side of the *Danube*, and with twenty thousand *Hungarians*, and eight thousand *Turks*, besieged the castle of *Presburg*. After having come within sight of the camp of the rebels, he sent two hundred men to reinforce the garrison of the castle; and having obliged the malcontents to abandon the town, he afterwards defeated them intirely<sup>b</sup>, and burnt the wood and materials which they had provided for building a bridge over the *Danube*, in order to have a communication with the army of the grand vizier. *Tekeli* afterwards marching into *Moravia*, and summoning that province to pay contribution, the duke obliged him to desist, by threatening to order the emperor's garrisons in *Upper Hungary* to make reprisals upon the houses and lands of those of his party: then marching to the neighbourhood of *Vienna*, he defeated the *Hungarians* in several skirmishes, and prevented them from joining the *Turks* under the grand vizier. d

*John Sobieski, king of Poland, arrives to the relief of Vienna.*

MEAN while the siege of *Vienna* was carried on with great vigour: notwithstanding the bravery of the defendants, the *Turks* had made a breach of six fathoms in the body of the place, when *John Sobieski*, king of *Poland*, having joined the auxiliary troops of the circles, and passed the *Danube* over the bridge at *Kremps*, on the eighth of *September*, gained the heights of the mountain of *Calemberg* with his army, and, by lighting fires, informed the besieged that assistance was arrived. The grand vizier, having neglected to dispute the passage of the *Danube*, and allowed the imperial and *Polish* armies to gain the top of the mountain, continued the siege, hoping that the city would capitulate, before the allies could force him to an engagement, and only sent a body of ten thousand men to observe their motions, and harra's their march. On the eleventh of *September* the allies holding a council of war, regulated the order of battle: the *Polanders* had the right, and the duke of *Lorraine* the left; the elector of *Saxony* drew up his troops on the right of the duke of *Lorraine*; and the elector of *Bavaria* was posted on the right of the *Saxons*; while the king of *Poland* posted himself in the center of the army, which consisted of about sixty-four thousand men<sup>c</sup>. In this order they marched down the mountain. The *Turks* observing them, extended themselves from the *Danube* to the bottom of the mountain, and possessed themselves of the hedges, intrenchments, and hollow ways, from whence they could harra's them in their descent. Towards the evening, the king of *Poland* arriving at the plain at the foot of *Camaldoli*, ordered count *Leflie* to post his troops at the opening of a wood which extended to *Vienna*, and to raise a battery to secure the pass. Next day, about five in the morning, the *Turks* sending some troops to attack those who were working at the battery, the count e

<sup>a</sup> Annales de l'Empire, t. ii. p. 866. BARRE, t. x. p. 185.  
 nales de l'Empire, t. ii. p. 870. Anecdotes de Pologne, p. 149.

<sup>b</sup> VAYNER Vita Leopoldi, p. 399.

<sup>c</sup> An-



- a *de Fontaine* opposed them for some time, till the duke of *Croy* coming up to his assistance with some regiments, the infidels were repulsed, and forced to abandon their posts. The grand vizier at last coming out of his camp with thirty thousand horse, the king of *Poland* hastened his march, and about noon joined the right wing of the Imperialists, and attacking the *Turks* vigorously, they retreated from mountain to mountain, while the duke of *Lorraine* on the left advanced to their camp, which he attacked. Soon after, the king of *Poland* having received a reinforcement, vigorously charged the body of horse commanded by the grand vizier, and having broke through it, put them into confusion. The infidels, finding themselves so pressed by the king of *Poland*, and seeing their camp in danger, were struck with a panic, and fled with precipitation, leaving a decisive victory to the Christians, with the loss of only two hundred men, they themselves having scarcely lost a thousand: so great was their terror, that they left behind them the great standard of *Mahomet*, their tents, the greatest part of their baggage, their provisions, the warlike stores, and their artillery, which amounted to one hundred and eighty pieces of cannon and mortars; and their retreat was so precipitate, that, on the morrow after the action, the first of their troops had already passed the *Raab*.

Defeats the grand vizier, and forces his camp.

The Turks fly with precipitation.

WHILE the duke of *Lorraine* was giving the necessary orders to act against the *Turks*, the emperor arrived at *Vienna*, on the fourteenth in the evening; and next day went to the camp of the king of *Poland*, to see that prince, and testify the obligations which he had to him, for leaving his own kingdom, and coming to deliver *Vienna*, and save the empire. Altho' the grateful acknowledgements ought to have been above formalities, yet there were some difficulties about the ceremonials, which were at last overlooked, and the salutation was given on both sides at the same time.

THE king of *Poland* and the duke of *Lorraine*, being able only to prevail with some of the princes of the empire to continue with the army, advanced towards *Cemorra* by the island of *Schut*; and the king, being informed that the *Turks* had retired to *Barcan*, formed the design of attacking that place before the imperial troops were all assembled. The *Turks*, having passed the *Danube* over the bridge of *Strigonia*, had put a strong garrison into *Barcan*, and had ordered several platoons of soldiers into all the gardens in the neighbourhood. The king having no information of these dispositions, had marched within half a league of *Barcan*, when the *Turks*, beginning to come out of the gardens, attacked his van-guard; and tho' few at first, yet being insensibly joined by other squadrons and battalions, the king was drawn into an engagement, without having time to draw up in order of battle. At first he opposed them with his horse in one line; but the number of the infidels still increasing, and by their motions threatening to flank his right and left, the *Polanders* were put into disorder, and obliged to fly. At the same time the duke of *Lorraine*, who had heard of the engagement, coming up to their assistance, the *Turks* retired, not thinking it safe to pursue.

The Turks defeat the king of Poland at Barcan.

Two days after the defeat of the *Poles*, the *Turks* appeared in order of battle in the plain of *Barcan*. The Christian army, which still consisted of sixty thousand men, *Germans* and *Poles*, was so disposed, that the soldiers of both nations were intermixed by equal numbers; the king of *Poland* commanding the right wing; the great general of the crown the left; and the duke of *Lorraine* the center. The infidels began the charge upon the left wing of the allies with incredible fury; but being sustained with firmness, they lost a great many men, and the vizier of *Silistria*, and bashaw of *Caramania*, were taken prisoners. The *Turks* still continuing the engagement with the same ardour, the king of *Poland* on the right, making a motion to flank their army, they gave ground by degrees, and at last fled towards *Barcan*; whither the Christians pursued them, and killed a great number in the marshes. After this victory, the allies took *Barcan* by storm; and in a council of war resolved to besiege *Strigonia*, tho' the officers of the *Polish* army made some difficulty of agreeing to it, desiring to return home; and alledging, that the war was now carried on more with a design to deprive the *Hungarians* of their liberties, and subject them to the absolute will of the emperor, than to make conquests upon the *Turks*. But *Sobieski* assuring them, that the siege of *Strigonia* would not be of long continuance, it was at last undertaken on the twenty-second of *October*, and the *Turks* capitulated four days after. Thus all *Hungary*, on both sides of the *Danube*, was again reduced under the power of the emperor, as far as *Strigonia*, or *Gran*, which place had been in the possession of the *Turks* for more than one hundred and fifty years<sup>d</sup>.

The duke of Lorraine and the king of Poland defeat the Turks, and take Barcan and Strigonia.

AFTER the reduction of *Strigonia*, the elector of *Bavaria* and the marquis of *Baden-Durlach* marched home with their troops; and the king of *Poland* having proposed an accommodation with the *Hungarian* malcontents, the duke of *Lorraine* and their deputies assembled in his tent. The vice-chancellor of *Hungary*, after having shewn the solid advantages that would attend a peace, demanded the confirmation of their privileges, and

<sup>d</sup> Annales de l'Empire, t. ii. p. 872. BARRE, t. x. p. 201. HEISS, l. iii. p. 245.



liberty of conscience; the restitution of their confiscated estates, and the assembling of a free diet; a suspension of arms during the negotiation of peace; and the sovereignty of some counties for *Tekeli*, which had been offered to him the year before. The duke of *Lorraine* answering, that he had no power to conclude any article, but that every thing might be expected from the clemency of the emperor, the king of *Poland* immediately perceived that *Leopold* did not desire an accommodation; wherefore he resolved to withdraw with his troops to his own kingdom. Notwithstanding the duke of *Lorraine* pressed him to take winter-quarters in *Upper Hungary*, he parted from him, after reciprocal marks of the highest esteem; and, taking the route of *Lubonia*, arrived at *Cassovia*, on the twenty-fourth of *December*.

A. D. 1684. *LEOPOLD*, seeing the siege of *Vienna* raised, and the great success of his arms in *Hungary*, had hitherto prevented the diet of *Ratisbon* from agreeing about the articles and time of duration of the truce with *France*; and had even transferred the negotiations to the *Hague*, under pretence of an universal peace. The electoral college, offended at this removal, acquainted the emperor, that they accepted of the propositions made by *France*; and took no part in the congress assembled at the *Hague*. They wrote in the same terms to the king of *England* and the states-general; and forbade their ministers at the *Hague* to enter into any negotiation, the *Germanic* body having given them no power.

Lewis XIV.  
seizes upon  
Luxemburg  
and Triers.

WHILE the electors complained of the arbitrary proceedings of the emperor, who wanted to regulate the affairs of the *Germanic* body without their consent, the marshal de *Crequi* attacked *Luxemburg*, and made himself master of it, after twenty days open trenches. He likewise took possession of *Triers*, which he dismantled. *Lewis XIV.* after the peace of *Nimeguen*, had demanded *Luxemburg* from the *Spaniards*, in exchange for *Alost*, which he pretended belonged to him, as he had conquered it in the preceding war. Although the peace bore, that he was to restore to the *Spaniards* all that he had conquered from them, and the town had really returned under their power, yet he pretended that he had only left the keeping of it to the *Spaniards*, and therefore absolutely requiring either that city or *Luxemburg*, had ordered the last place to be invested; but the affair being referred to the mediation of the king of *England*, the blockade was afterwards raised. That mediation producing no effect, *Lewis XIV.* had recourse to arms, which obliged the states-general and the emperor to agree to the truce. Accordingly they agreed, that for twenty years *France* should be left in peaceable possession of *Strasburg*, the fort of *Kell*, and other posts on the *Rhine* between that fort and the city; and that in all these places his most Christian majesty should freely exercise the rights of sovereignty. *Lewis XIV.* promised to restore to the *Germanic* body, all the cities and lordships which he had seized, excepting *Strasburg*, and the forts thereon depending, without waiting for the decision of the chambers of *Metz*, *Brisack*, and *Besançon*; but he would not agree that his sovereignty over *Alsace* should be the same that the emperor had formerly exercised, but only granted to the proprietary lords the revenues of their fiefs, and refused them the advantages belonging to the sovereignty. The Protestants were allowed the liberty of their religion, and the enjoyment of the possessions belonging to the churches.

The Dutch  
and Germanic  
body conclude  
a truce  
with France.

The duke of  
Lorraine takes  
Wissegrade  
and Vatz, and  
besieges Buda.

THE greatest part of the *Hungarian* lords being struck with terror at the success of the duke of *Lorraine's* arms, were prevailed upon by him to return to their obedience to the emperor, and again to take the oath of fidelity to him. Afterwards the duke, being informed that the Grand Signior had made extraordinary preparations during the winter, to repair all his losses; that he had caused *Kara-Mustapha*, his grand vizier, to be strangled; and given the command of his army in *Hungary* to *Kara-Ibrahim*, whom he had raised to the same dignity, he left *Lintz* on the nineteenth of *May*, and assembling his army at *Karanitz*, marched to besiege *Wissegrade*, which capitulated after four days open trenches. The duke having likewise taken *Vatz*, and defeated the grand vizier's army, passed the *Danube*, and on the fourteenth of *July* encamped before *Buda*. His artillery having made a breach on the nineteenth, he gained the lower town by assault, where he fortified himself; but the vizier marching to the relief of the place, he resolved, if possible, to bring him to a general engagement, before he attacked the upper town, and ordered fourteen thousand men to march out of the camp in the evening without noise. On the twenty-second he came within sight of the enemy, who were drawn up in order of battle on the declivity of a hill, and attacking them, drove them from their ground. Afterwards, ordering a body of *Hungarians* to take possession of a rising-ground, and to fall upon the right of the *Turks*, they were forced to retreat, having endeavoured in vain to affright the imperial horses, by three hundred camels, mounted by men who held several standards of various colours. The duke of *Lorraine*, having disordered the camels by his artillery, commanded all his horse to attack the enemy in their retreat; which great motion obliged



a them to fly with precipitation to their camp, with the loss of a great number of men<sup>f</sup>. Two days after, the siege of *Buda* was again resumed, but the Imperialists were obliged to raise it, upon account of the sickness of the duke of *Lorraine*, who being seized with a violent fever, committed the care of the army to the elector of *Bavaria*, and the generals *Staremburg* and *Caprara*. Afterwards strong garrisons being put into several places, the rest of the army was sent into winter quarters in *Silesia*, *Moravia*, and *Bohemia*.

b LEOPOLD, being informed of the great preparations that were making at *Constantinople*, and that the *Turks* designed to take the field early in the spring, prepared for a proportional defence, and resolved, if possible, to prevent the infidels: he had recourse to the states of the empire, who engaged, by different treaties, to furnish him with thirty-five thousand men: the pope likewise promised to open the treasures of the church, to contribute to the support of an army that was to fight against infidels. The operations of the campaign were left to the conduct of the duke of *Lorraine*; only it was resolved to give nine or ten thousand men to count *Schultz*, to cover *Moravia*, and oppose the malcontents on that side; and that count *Leslie*, with such another body of *Croatians*, should act upon the *Drave*.

A. D. 1685.  
Leopold gets assistance from the princes of the empire against the Turks.

c THE elector-palatine dying on the sixth of *February*, without issue, the succession to his estates was the subject of new disputes betwixt the empire and the king of *France*. The elector having an only sister married to the duke of *Orleans*, she pretended to succeed to all his allodial possessions, and the greatest part of his moveables<sup>g</sup>, in virtue of the will of her father; in which claim she was supported by *Lewis XIV*. The duke of *Neuburg*, who was called by the will of the last elector, took possession of the allodial estates of the *Palatinate*, as of a male-fief, holding immediately of the empire. The king of *France*, though he allowed the duke of *Neuburg* to be the chief of the palatine branch, and nearest heir to the deceased elector, yet he insisted, that the allodial estates having been left to the duchess of *Orleans*, by the will of her father, could not be comprehended under that article of the *Golden Bull*, which declares the estates of electors unalienable from those who possessed the titles; and was preparing to make good the claim of the duchess of *Orleans* by arms, when the pope offering his mediation, the affair was left to be decided by his arbitration. The duke of *Neuburg* had likewise another competitor for the whole of the succession.

The elector-palatine dying, his succession is disputed.

d *Lewis-Leopold*, count-palatine of *Weldentz*, being nearer by one degree in the collateral line to the deceased elector, pretended that this proximity gave him a preference to the branch of *Neuburg*: but the duke being supported by the emperor, who had married his daughter some years before, and being called by the decision of the states of the empire, was put in possession of the electorate, the palatine of *Weldentz* only having a liberty to protest against his investiture<sup>h</sup>.

e DURING these discussions the duke of *Lorraine*, at the head of the imperial army in *Hungary*, had resolved to besiege *Newhausel*<sup>i</sup>. On the seventh of *July* he arrived before the town, and draining off the water that surrounded the place, on the night of the twelfth he opened the trenches: mean while the *Turks* advanced with an army of sixty thousand men, and having surprised the lower town of *Wissegrade*, which they plundered and burnt, they laid siege to *Gran*, or *Strigonia*, which they pressed with great vigour. The duke of *Lorraine* being informed when the *Turks* were preparing to give the assault, marched against them at the head of thirty thousand men, leaving twenty thousand under the command of *Caprara*, to continue the siege of *Newhausel*. The *Turks*, upon the news of his approach, left the siege of *Gran*, and drew up on a small rising-ground, with a marsh before them, and the *Danube* on their right. The duke having put some troops into *Gran*, feigned a precipitate retreat, with the intention of drawing the *Turks* from the marsh, and obliging them to an action. He succeeded in his design; and drawing them to an engagement, after several attacks he defeated them entirely, forcing two thousand into the marsh, and pursuing the rest so vigorously, that they abandoned their camp, in which was found plenty of provisions, with twenty-four pieces of cannon. The Imperialists returning to *Newhausel*, three days after took it by storm, sparing neither age, sex, or condition. In the town, besides one hundred pieces of cannon, there were provisions and ammunition for several months<sup>k</sup>. The duke of *Lorraine* hearing that the vizier was at *Buda*, resolved to besiege *Novigrade*, hoping thereby to draw him over the *Danube*, to hazard a new engagement. Before the arrival of the Imperialists, the *Turks* had evacuated *Novigrade* and *Wissegrade*; and soon after the vizier sent an aga to the duke, desiring a suspension of arms, in order to negotiate a peace. The duke of *Lorraine* sending the vizier's letter to the emperor, refused a suspension of arms; and marching with his army towards *Vatz*, found

The duke of Lorraine takes Newhausel, and defeats the grand vizier's army.

Novigrade and Wissegrade surrender to the Imperialists.

<sup>f</sup> WAYNER, lib. x.    <sup>g</sup> THUCELIUS *Act Publ.* tom. iii. pag. 189.    <sup>h</sup> DUMONT, tom. vii. part i. pag. 131.  
<sup>i</sup> PUFFEND. lib. xix. sect. xiii. xiv.    <sup>j</sup> PSEFFINGER *ad vitr.* lib. i. tom. xiv.    <sup>k</sup> Theat. Europ. tom. xii.  
<sup>l</sup> LEBEN. EUGEN. pag. 155.

that



that the vizier had passed the *Danube*, over the bridge of *Pest*, on purpose to avoid an engagement.

The Hunga-  
rian malcon-  
tents submit to  
the emperor.

THE retreat of the infidels, and other circumstances favourable to the Imperialists, determined the duke to employ the rest of the campaign in reducing the rebels of *Upper Hungary*, who seemed now despairing of the success of their arms, as every day some of them were coming into his camp, asking pardon. A detachment of ten thousand men, sent to join the body commanded by general *Schultz*, were employed in reducing the places which the rebels held in *Upper Hungary*, and the main body of the army, encamped in places convenient for provisions, with a design of observing the *Turks*. General *Schultz* having taken possession of *Eperies*, afterwards joined *Caprara*, and marched to *Cassovia*, which he besieged. Mean while the emperor, offering an amnesty to all those who should lay down their arms, many of the *Hungarians* accepted of it, and left the army of *Tekeli*.

Tekeli is made  
a prisoner by  
the Turks,  
and put in  
irons.

This desertion deprived him of the power of executing any enterprize; and the *Turks*, suspecting that he had a private intelligence with the king of *Poland*, and the house of *Austria*, the bashaw of *Waradin* ordered him to be taken prisoner, and put in irons, which entirely changed the face of the rebels affairs. *Petberasi*, who had been lieutenant to *Tekeli*, having obtained his pardon from the emperor, influenced a great number of the malcontents to submit to their prince. By offering rewards to some, and intimidating others with the power and resentment of the house of *Austria*, and by representing to all, that their obstinacy only exposed the kingdom to a general desolation<sup>1</sup>, he prevailed on the cities of *Tokai*, *Cassovia*, and *Filek*, with their territories, to return to their obedience to the emperor. The rebels in the other places submitted at the first appearance of the count *Caprara*, and the *Turks* surrendered without resistance, upon being conducted to *Buda*.

A. D. 1686.  
The elector of  
Bavaria takes  
Albe-Royale,  
and the duke of  
Lorraine be-  
sieves Buda.

THE duke of *Lorraine* having strongly represented to the emperor, that the taking of *Buda* would contribute to the security of his conquests, it was resolved in a council of war to besiege that city, after having taken *Erla* and *Albe Royale*. The army soon after assembling in *Hungary*, was commanded by the elector of *Bavaria*, as the duke of *Lorraine* had fallen sick at *Odemburg*. The elector began with investing *Albe-Royale*, which soon surrendered; and on the twelfth of *June* the army marched along both sides of the *Danube* for *Buda*, without waiting for the troops of *Brandenburg* and *Suabia*<sup>m</sup>. The duke of *Lorraine* returning to the army, which was then at *Pest*, immediately detached two thousand men to invest *Buda*. On the twentieth at night count *Staremburg* began the attack at the lower town, some field-pieces being advanced to defend the workmen: after a month spent in advancing their attacks, and possessing the batteries, the allies at last attacked the body of the place; and having made a large breach, the duke of *Lorraine*, and the elector of *Bavaria*, agreed to give a general assault, having disposed all the necessary preparations in the most secret manner. But notwithstanding their precaution, the enemy having notice of their design, reinforced their second and third retrenchments with janissaries, and prepared for a vigorous defence. The signal for the assault in three places being given at six in the evening, in an instant the grenadiers and heyduques, who marched first, removed the gabions that were laid in the breach, and being supported by fusileers, and others with pikes and halberds, advanced to take possession of the pallisadoes. The *Turks*, on their side, made a continual fire upon the Imperialists; and charging them with grenades, stones, and bombs, they at last appeared in a body upon the breach, and, sword in hand, repulsed the foremost of the enemy, and obliged them to retire. The duke of *Lorraine* observing this, and advancing to the foot of the breach to encourage his men, they, with new ardour, regained the ground they had lost, and made themselves masters of the pallisadoes. Immediately the *Turks* springing a mine, the Imperialists were almost all either buried or wounded. New troops instantly succeeding, mounted the breach and took possession of the pallisadoes; but the *Turks* springing several other mines through the whole extent of the breach, these gulphs of fire destroyed the Imperialists, and encouraged the besieged, so that the women and children ran to the breach with stones and grenades, to have part in the defence.

THE generals of the allies, encouraging their men, replaced the dead and wounded with fresh troops, who, notwithstanding the great fire of the enemy, began to force their retrenchments; and having made themselves masters of the whole extent of the breach, they made a lodgment upon the ruins. The attacks made by the troops of *Brandenburg* and *Bavaria* were not attended with so much slaughter, though no less vigorous. The loss of the *Turks* in the whole attack amounted to fifteen hundred janissaries; and that of the allies to above three thousand soldiers, and two hundred officers, killed and wounded<sup>n</sup>. The duke, being informed that the grand vizier was marching at the head of forty thou-

<sup>1</sup> Anecdotes de Pologne, tom. ii. pag. 46, 47.

<sup>n</sup> BARRE, tom. x. pag. 222.

<sup>m</sup> HAPPEL. Hist. Bell. inter Imper. & Turcas. ad An. 1686.



- a sand men to the relief of the besieged, resolved to increase the fire of his batteries, that the place might be forced to surrender before the arrival of the vizier's army, as his forces were not sufficient to venture an engagement, having only ten thousand foot fit for service. Mean while, three thousand of the enemy's horse appearing on the neighbouring hills, the duke determined to put all upon the issue of a general assault. On the first of *September*, all things being prepared for the attack, towards the evening the troops marched into the trenches; and the generals taking their posts, with a prohibition to the officers or soldiers to quit their ranks, next day, about five in the evening, the signal was given for the assault by six pieces of cannon. Immediately the Imperialists, marching to the different breaches, began the attack: though repulsed with the utmost resolution by the janissaries sword in assault.
- b hand, and exposed to the fire from the windows of the neighbouring houses, yet they formed themselves upon the right of the retrenchment which the *Turks* had been obliged to quit; and, charging the besieged, drove them to an entrenchment behind the breach, where, not having time to draw up, or oppose their chevaux de frise, they saved themselves by flight, some into the houses, and others over the wall of the covered-way, hoping to save themselves towards *Pest*. These last were taken by the *Bavarians*; while the Imperialists, who had entered the town, made a dreadful slaughter, men, women, and children, being all put to the sword.

- BUDA* being taken, after ten weeks siege, it was resolved to march with the army towards the bridge of *Esseck*, to cut off the retreat of the *Turkish* army, which though superior in number, and within sight of the town before the attack, yet did not dare to give any disturbance to the allies. But the vizier retiring precipitately, the duke did not march till the sixth of *September*; and on the nineteenth encamped near *Tolma*, within three leagues of the enemy, with design to bring them to an action: but they, to shun an engagement, repassing the *Drave*, and retiring between *Esseck* and *Walkomar*, the duke undertook at the same time the sieges of the *Five Churches* and *Segedin*, which last soon surrendered; but the *Five Churches* held out till the end of *October*. The Imperialists afterwards took *Siclos*, *Darda*, and *Kaproncza*, without any opposition; being masters of the whole country, on both sides of the *Danube*, as far as the *Drave*.
- c The *Turkish* army retires, and repasses the *Drave*, while the duke of Lorraine takes *Segedin* and the *Five Churches*.

- d THE allies having separated into winter-quarters, the *Turks* retired towards *Servia*; from whence the grand vizier wrote to *Vienna* to make propositions of peace. *Leopold*, having consulted with the duke of *Lorraine*, answered, that he would consent to a peace, if the sultan would engage to pay six millions of gold for the expences of the war; if he would restore all the places which the *Porte* still possessed in *Hungary*, and give full satisfaction to *Poland* and the republic of *Venice*. These propositions being rejected, *Leopold* promised to moderate them, provided the *Turks* gave proofs of sincerely desiring peace, he himself desiring nothing so much as to finish a war which had dispeopled the cities of *Hungary*, *Austria*, and *Moravia*, desolated the provinces, and exhausted his treasures°. Besides, having consented with great reluctance to the truce with *France*, he sought an occasion to break it, in order to recover *Alsace*, which *Louis XIV.* had united to his crown; and the duke of *Neuburg* still retaining the allodial possessions of the late elector-palatine, likewise desired a war, to protect himself, under a general alliance, from the arms of *France*. Therefore *Leopold*, having privately concluded a treaty with the elector of *Brandenburg*, who engaged to send seven thousand men to the assistance of the elector-palatine, in case he should be attacked, afterwards prevailed upon several states of the empire to conclude a league of alliance, on the ninth of *July*, at *Augsburg*. The purpose of this alliance was to preserve the liberty of the *Germanic* body, as well in general as particular; to guarantee the treaties of *Westphalia* and *Nimeguen*; and to confirm the truce of twenty years concluded with *France* two years before. The king of *Sweden* and the elector of *Bavaria* entered into the league: likewise the whole ducal house of *Saxony* consented to what the emperor desired, and the elector-palatine was the chief promoter of the alliance. The emperor engaged to furnish sixteen thousand men; the king of *Spain*, for the circle of *Burgundy*, six thousand; the duke of *Bavaria* eight thousand, and two thousand for the circle of *Bavaria*; the circle of *Franconia* four thousand; the *Upp.r Rhine* an equal number; and the house of *Saxony* two thousand. The contingent of the king of *Sweden* was not determined. For the support of the troops magazines were formed, and a common chest was resolved to be established at *Frankfort*: and to be assured that the troops of the league were in good condition, and fit for service; it was concluded that the army should encamp every year, for a month or six weeks, in a place appointed by the emperor.
- e A league concluded at *Augsburg* between the emperor and several states of the empire.
- f

- g MEAN while, the king of *France* fortified *Huningen*; and likewise caused a bridge to be built there over the *Rhine*, and a fort to be raised for its defence. These two works gave great offence to all *Germany*; and, complaints being made to the diet, the emperor wrote

° Vie du comte de Tekeli, p. 209.

P PUFFENDORF rer. Brand. l. xxix.



to his ambassador in *France* to represent to the court, that this innovation was contrary to the truce. It was answered, that the bridge of *Huningen* had only been repaired, and the fort was only added with a design to cover it; and that the measures his most Christian majesty had taken for the defence of his states were but just, as the treaty of *Augsburg* put it past doubt that the *Germanic* body designed to make war upon him, whenever the emperor should conclude a peace with the *Turks*.

A. D. 1687.  
The duke of  
Lorraine at-  
tacks the fort  
of the bridge  
of *Esseck*,

THE proposals of peace made by the grand vizier were designed only to amuse the emperor; for the *Porte* still hoping to repair the losses of the former campaigns by arms, the warlike preparations were carried on by the *Turks*, during the winter, with such diligence and assiduity, that their army was sooner ready, and much more numerous, than that of the emperor, who could not raise above sixty-six thousand men, fourteen thousand of which were designed for garrisons of the cities, and twenty thousand to act separately under the command of the elector of *Bavaria*: the rest were to be commanded by the duke of *Lorraine*, who arriving at *Strigonia*, on the second of *June*, found only sixteen thousand men. Soon after, having assembled all his troops, on the twenty-fifth of the same month he began the operations of the campaign, by attacking the fort which covered the bridge of *Esseck*. Having taken it by assault, on the first of *July* he marched towards *Olwar*, to secure the passage over the *Drave*. On the fifteenth, having joined the elector of *Bavaria*, who was encamped on the other side near *Valpo*, the two generals, after a great many marches and counter-marches, on the twenty-seventh came in sight of the *Ottoman* army, which had passed the *Drave*, and encamped at *Darda*. The grand vizier, having fortified his camp, declined coming to an engagement, and only watched the motions of the Imperialists, sending out his *Tartars* to interrupt their foragers, and skirmish with the advanced guards. The duke of *Lorraine*, seeing it impossible to attack the grand vizier's camp, resolved to march forwards, in order to engage the *Turks* to follow him; and on the twelfth of *August*, having passed some defiles, he put his troops in order of battle, and led them into the plain of *Sicles*. He had no sooner marched than he discovered large bodies of the enemy through the openings of the woods; but not thinking it proper to attack them, as they only intended a skirmish, he continued his march; which the grand vizier observing, sent out a great detachment of *Tartars* to fall upon the baggage of the elector of *Bavaria*. The duke of *Lorraine* immediately sending some regiments to the assistance of the elector, the *Tartars* were repulsed; but the whole *Turkish* army advancing, and with their artillery beginning to attack the electoral troops, the duke marched with all his forces against the enemy, who were posted in several lines between two woods, extending their front about a quarter of a league. The Imperialists advancing very near to the enemy, and receiving their first fire, immediately attacked them with such fury, that they routed the janissaries who guarded some redoubts, and pursued them to their camp. At the same time the elector of *Bavaria* forcing their retrenchments, and attacking the quarters of the grand vizier, the disorder became so general, that the whole army flying to *Esseck*, left their camp in possession of the victors. The grand vizier, afterwards reviewing his army, found he had lost twenty thousand men, some having deserted, the rest being killed or drowned. The duke of *Lorraine*, seeing that the grand vizier could give him no more disturbance, passed the *Danube* near *Mohatz*, and marched towards *Transylvania*, to take up his winter-quarters in that province, in consequence of a treaty concluded between the emperor and the vaivode on the twenty-eighth of *June*; by which it was stipulated, that the emperor should not make any alterations in the province; that the troops should evacuate the towns next spring; and no inquiry should be made after those who had favoured the revolt of the *Hungarians*: which treaty, far from being punctually executed by the emperor, was only used by him as a means to get possession of the strong places of that principality.

and after-  
wards defeats  
the *Turks* near  
*Mohatz*.

An assembly of  
the states of  
*Hungary* de-  
clare the king-  
dom hereditary  
in the house of  
*Austria*.

THE cause of the *Hungarian* malcontents being now intirely ruined, *Leopold* resolved to cause the archduke *Joseph*, his son, a boy of nine years of age, to be declared king of *Hungary*. Having called an assembly of the states at *Presburg*, he went thither with all his court on the thirtieth of *October*, and proposed to the diet to confirm the hereditary succession of the kingdom of *Hungary* in the house of *Austria*. The states consented to elect the archduke *Joseph*; but demanded to be left to enjoy their antient liberty, without proposing a hereditary succession: and likewise presented a paper, requiring their grievances to be examined and redressed, before the coronation of the archduke *Joseph*. The emperor replied, that though he could freely dispose of a kingdom, which he had reconquered from the infidels at the expence of much blood and treasure, nevertheless he desired to preserve their antient laws, as far as they were agreeable to the royal dignity; and that though the succession belonged to him already by so many different titles, yet it was proper to confirm a-new, by a solemn convention, the hereditary succession of the crown to the princes

<sup>1</sup> HAPPELIUS Hist. Bell. inter. Imper. & Turcas ad An. 1687, t. vii. p. 376. HEISS, l. iii. p. 256.

<sup>2</sup> Annales de l'Empire, t. ii. WERBENTZ Opus Tripart. Juris Hung. t. ii. p. 42, art. 31.



a of the house of *Austria*; and in the coronation-oath to repeal the clause of king *Andrew II.* in the year 1221, by which every private gentleman had a right to take up arms against his sovereign, if he attempted to violate the liberties of the nation, which only served the malcontents with a pretext to revolt. The states, being obliged to comply with the emperor's demand, confirmed the succession of the crown to the male descendants of the house of *Austria* in *Germany*; and, after their extinction, to the males of the *Spanish* branch; having obtained only, that the king should reside in *Hungary*, or in a neighbouring province: and that, in case of the extinction of the two male branches, the states should be at liberty to elect a sovereign of another house. The clause of the oath of king *Andrew II.* was likewise revoked, upon condition that the new conquests in *Hungary* should be incorporated into the kingdom: and, as a redress of their grievances, it was resolved to suppress the criminal chamber of *Eperies*, which had been established in the beginning of the year for the trial of the rebels, and had still continued; condemning great numbers without distinction, who were executed with barbarity<sup>1</sup>. It was likewise agreed, that the quartering and payment of the national and *German* troops should be directed by *Hungarian* and *German* commissaries; and that a chamber of finances, composed of persons of both nations, should be established at *Buda*.

The emperor having given his consent to these articles, the archduke *Joseph* was crowned on the ninth of *December* with pomp and magnificence, all things succeeding to *Leopold's* desires, even beyond his hopes; for, besides this happy change of government in *Hungary*, the *Turks*, by reason of their intestine divisions, retiring before the king of *Poland*, were bombarded by him in *Caminiack*: and the *Venetians*, having beat their fleet, had made themselves masters of *Patras*, *Lepanto*, *Castelterneze*, and *Mistira*, anciently *Lacedemon*. *Agria* also, in *Upper Hungary*, having surrendered, there only remained *Moncatch*, which was defended by the countess of *Tekeli*. That princess being in want of provisions and ammunition, and seeing all *Hungary* subdued, was prevailed upon to submit to *Leopold*, who promised to preserve to her all her estates, and the same rank she formerly held in the kingdom, and to cause her children to be educated at *Vienna*, according to their rank and birth. The capitulation being signed on the seventeenth of *January*, the princess was conducted to *Vienna* with her children, and shut up in the convent of the *Ursulines* with her daughter, her son being sent to be educated under the jesuits at *Prague*<sup>2</sup>.

The archduke Joseph is crowned king of Hungary. A. D. 1688.

The countess Tekeli surrenders Moncatch, and is conducted to Vienna.

d ALL *Hungary* being now reduced, the emperor directed his arms against the *Turks*, who, having dethroned their sovereign, *Mahomet IV.* and put his brother *Soliman* in his place<sup>3</sup>, were making great preparations for the ensuing campaign. The duke of *Lorrain* being seized with a dangerous sickness, and the elector of *Bavaria* refusing to take the command of the troops, the Imperialists acted in separate bodies, count *Weterani* taking *Cromstadt* on the twentieth of *May*; *Illock*, *Peterwaradin*, and *Titel*, surrendering to prince *Lewis* of *Baden*; and the city *Brodt*, in *Bosnia*, being surprised by count *Hofkirkin*. At length the elector of *Bavaria*, having the promise of a separate body to act by itself, in case the duke of *Lorrain* should recover his health, was prevailed upon to take the command; and on the twenty-eighth of *July* arrived at the army, which was encamped near *Peterwaradin*.

e THAT prince, eager to signalize himself by some enterprize, resolved upon the siege of *Belgrade*, and ordered a bridge to be laid over the *Save*. The bridge being completed on the eighth of *August*, on the sixteenth they marched in order of battle to force the *Turks*, who were intrenched near *Belgrade*<sup>4</sup>; but were agreeably surprised to find the camp abandoned, and abounding in provisions and forage. The elector having viewed and examined the city, and the heavy artillery being arrived from *Buda*, it was resolved to attack the upper town, because, the houses of the suburbs being less damaged by the fire, the soldiers might approach within three hundred paces of the counterscarp under shelter. The Imperialists laboured with such diligence, that, on the twenty-sixth of *August*, all their artillery was ready to do execution; and using thirty pieces of heavy cannon, and five mortars, they ruined several quarters of the town, notwithstanding the great fire of the besieged, which only animated their courage.

The elector of Bavaria takes the command of the army.

f THE duke of *Lorrain* having now recovered his health, and the elector not testifying any repugnance to the division of the command, but rather declaring his impatience to see him, he left *Vienna*, and arrived in the camp. Afterwards visiting the trenches with the elector, who demanded his advice upon the measures to be taken for the future operations, he complimented his highness upon the progress of the siege, and gave his opinion of the manner of passing the ditch, and giving the assault. On the fifth of *September*, the mines being ready, were sprung; and immediately after the Imperialists gave the assault: but were at first repulsed. Returning a second time to the charge, they forced all that was before them;

Belgrade taken by assault.

<sup>1</sup> Annales de l'Empire, t. ii. p. 875. BARRE, t. x. p. 238.

EUGENII, p. 259. Theat. Europ. tom. xii p. 833, &c.

<sup>2</sup> BIRKEN, p. 981, 982.

<sup>3</sup> BARRE, tom. x. pag. 240. LEDEN.

<sup>4</sup> PRICAUT Hist. de Turc. a l'An. 1688.



and having entered the town, made a dreadful slaughter, without distinction of age, sex, or condition. The bashaw, who commanded the castle, despairing of assistance, immediately surrendered, upon condition of life and safety for himself and the garrison. Some days after, the news arrived at the camp of a victory gained by prince *Lewis* of *Baden* over the *Turks*, near *Terven* in *Bosnia*.

The king of France commences hostilities against the emperor.

THE Imperialists were prevented from making any further progress in *Hungary* this campaign, the elector of *Bavaria* being obliged to leave the camp, to manage the affairs of his own states; and the duke of *Lorraine* not being able to bear the fatigues of the campaign, by reason of his bad health. Besides, the king of *France*, in breach of the truce, having begun hostilities on the *Rhine*, the attention of the emperor was chiefly engaged to put a stop to the progress of his arms.

THE reasons pretended by *Lewis XIV.* for his invading the empire, were, to procure the public repose; to support the pretensions of the dukes of *Orleans* to the succession of the late elector-palatine, altho' she had renounced all right to these bailiages by her contract of marriage; and, lastly, to assert the right of *William Egon*, of *Furstemberg*, to the archbishopric and electorate of *Cologne*. This electorate having become vacant on the third of *January*, by the death of the late elector, *France*, by its intrigues, procured the majority of the votes of the chapter in favour of the prince of *Furstemberg*; but neither of the candidates having the qualifications requisite for an election, they could only succeed by a postulation, in which case, two-thirds of the votes were necessary, besides the confirmation of the pope, and the investiture of the emperor. The pope, preferring prince *Clement* of *Bavaria*, gave him a dispensation for his want of qualifications for an election; which being obtained, his postulation became a legal election, tho' he had the minority of votes, because the other candidate had not fully two-thirds.

The marquis de Boufflers takes Philippsburg, &c.

THE king of *France*, having presented a manifesto to the states-general, and the diet of *Ratisbon*, declaring that he would look upon the enemies of the cardinal of *Furstemberg* as his own, soon after ordered the marquis *de Boufflers* to march with some troops towards *Cologne*. The marquis, having passed the *Rhine* on the twentieth of *September*, took *Keiser-Lauter*, afterwards *Oppenheim*, with several other towns, and, on the sixth of *October*, invested *Philipsburg*, which surrendered to the dauphin after some days of open trenches. *Lewis XIV.* then published a manifesto, offering to restore *Philipsburg* and *Friburg*, after having dismantled them, provided the cardinal *Furstemberg* was put in possession of the electorate of *Cologne*, the truce changed into a perpetual peace, and all the places which he had re-united to his crown by the treaties of *Munster* and *Nimeguen*, granted to him by a good treaty. The emperor refusing to consent to convert the truce into a peace, upon the conditions proposed by the king of *France*, because that would be to yield for ever the sixth part of the empire, which *France* had taken possession of, the *French* immediately entered the *Palatinate*, put a garrison into *Mentz*, took *Manheim*, *Frankendal*, and made themselves masters of *Triers*, *Spire*, and *Worms*.

A. D. 1689. THESE rapid conquests of the *French* alarming all *Germany*, the electors of *Saxony* and *Brandenburg*, the duke of *Hanover*, and the landgrave of *Hesse*, assembled at *Magdeburg*, where they resolved to declare war against *France*. The prince of *Orange*, who was now king of *Great Britain*, determined likewise upon a war with *France*, for invading the empire, in breach of the treaties guaranteed by *England*, and giving assistance to the Papists of *Ireland*, that refused to submit to the government then established. The preparations of the allies were interrupted by the dispute between the king of *Denmark* and the duke of *Holstein-Gottorp*, with regard to the sovereignty of some territories, which was at last determined by a treaty concluded at *Altena*, on the thirtieth of *June*.

The emperor and the states of the empire enter into an alliance against France.

SOME troops of the elector of *Saxony*, of the landgrave of *Hesse*, and the duke of *Hanover*, had marched towards *Frankfort*; the emperor sent six regiments of horse, and four or five of foot, towards the *Rhine*; the elector of *Brandenburg* repaired to *Wesel*, where his best troops were assembled; the bishop of *Munster* promised to throw eight hundred men into *Cologne*; and the marquis of *Brandenburg* to send two thousand. The states of *Holland* caused seven or eight thousand men to march into the country of *Juliers*, and sent others to take possession of the places in the electorate of *Mentz*, which the *French* had not yet conquered. At the same time eight regiments of *Hanoverians* advanced towards *Triers*, to cover *Coblentz*, and the country round. The emperor besides having engaged these princes, with *England* and the states of *Holland*, had likewise prevailed with *Spain*, *Denmark*, and *Sweden*, to enter into the alliance. The diet of *Ratisbon*, after having in a decree mentioned, that *Lewis XIV.* in breach of the treaties of *Munster* and *Nimeguen*, had seized upon many places belonging to the empire; that he had raised forts, and built bridges over the *Rhine*, cut down woods, and appropriated to himself entire countries, under pretence of re-uniting

England, Holland, Spain, Denmark, and Sweden accede to it.

<sup>y</sup> Mem. de Brandenburg, p. 175.

<sup>z</sup> BARRE, t. x. p. 248.

<sup>a</sup> Id. ib. p. 258.



a them to his crown; on the fourth of *March* declared him an enemy to the empire, and sent their declaration to the emperor at *Vienna*.

THE duke of *Lorraine* immediately leaving *Inspruck*, and arriving at *Vienna* on the first of *April*, consulted with the emperor upon the operations of the campaign. The command of the troops of *Hungary* being given to prince *Lewis* of *Baden*, it was resolved to assemble three armies on the *Rhine*, namely, thirty thousand men on the *Lower Rhine*, commanded by the elector of *Brandenburg*; thirty thousand men likewise on the *Upper Rhine*, to assemble at *Heilbron*, under the command of the elector of *Bavaria*; all the rest of the troops of the empire were to form the third body of forty thousand men, to assemble near *Frankfort*, and to be commanded by the duke of *Lorraine*.

b THE duke afterwards arriving at *Frankfort*, was surprised to find that many of the troops were but still on their march; that the magazines were but poorly furnished with provisions and warlike stores; and that there were no boats at *Coblentz* in order to build a bridge: the heavy cannon likewise were not yet arrived from *Hungary* and *Bohemia*, being detained by the overflowings of the rivers. The *French*, more vigilant and better served, had taken all possible precautions to prevent the Imperialists from passing the *Rhine*; and having added several new works to the fortifications of *Mentz*, had left a garrison in that place, consisting of twelve thousand men, among whom were two thousand officers.

c THE *French* having assembled several small camps upon the *Moselle*, with a design of attacking *Coblentz*, the duke of *Lorraine* reinforced the garrison of that place with several regiments; and some days after, the electors of *Saxony* and *Bavaria*, and the landgrave of *Hesse*, arriving at the camp, it was resolved in a council of war to besiege *Mentz*, as the armies then, by their situation, were so encamped as to be easily united. The ceremonial of rank among the princes of the allied army being regulated, and some officers of artillery being arrived from the camp of the elector of *Brandenburg*, who had taken *Kaiserwerth* and *Nuis*, the duke of *Lorraine* decamped from *Meyen*, and passing the *Nave*, encamped at *Binghen*. A few days after the elector of *Saxony*, and the landgrave of *Hesse*, advancing with their troops, and taking possession of the posts in the neighbourhood of *Mentz*, on the sixteenth of *July* the town was invested.

d Six days after the trenches were opened in three different places; the elector of *Saxony*, the landgrave of *Hesse*, and the duke of *Lorraine*, dividing the attacks. The *Saxons* and *Austrians* laboured at the trenches for several days, without being much disturbed by the *French*; but on the thirtieth the marquis *d'Uxelles*, who commanded the garrison, ordered five hundred men to make a sally, who at first put the besiegers into disorder, but were at last, after an obstinate engagement, repulsed. On the tenth of *August* the besieged making another sally, killed upwards of two hundred soldiers, with several officers; and six days after, two thousand of the best troops of the garrison sallied out at mid-day, and falling upon the *Saxons*, in a moment cleared the trenches; but the duke of *Lorraine* coming up with a reinforcement, the *French* were repulsed with the loss of twelve hundred men. On the eighteenth the besieged, having made two successful sallies within two hours of one another, they came out a third time with three thousand men, drums beating, and colours flying. The allies being fatigued with the two former sallies, and not expecting this third, the *French* fell upon five hundred men, whom they put to the sword, nailed two pieces of cannon, ruined the works of the allies, and posted the grand guards of the cavalry at the place where the trenches had been first opened. But the duke of *Lorraine* and the other generals, having rallied their men, repulsed the *French*, killing a great number of them, and regained their former posts. On the twenty-fifth the besiegers, having sprung a mine near the covert-way, made a lodgment in that place. The elector of *Bavaria* having made two lodgments upon the glacis, it was resolved to attack the counter-scarp; and having gained the palisadoes of the covert-way, they finished two good lodgments within three or four paces of the two points of the counter-scarp, with the loss of two thousand men, killed and wounded. Afterwards sending for a reinforcement of foot from the elector of *Brandenburg*, they extended their lodgments along the covert-way; but the besieged did not wait till they were finished, demanding to capitulate on the eighth of *September*; and on the eleventh they marched out of the town with the honours of war, and six pieces of cannon, and four mortars.

*Mentz surrenders to the Imperialists after a siege of seven weeks.*

THE princes having quitted the neighbourhood of *Mentz*, the duke of *Lorraine* repaired to the camp of the elector of *Brandenburg*, who had invested *Bonn* for some time, and was now carrying on the attacks with vigour. On the fifteenth of *October* the town capitulated, and the garrison marched out with all the honours of war. The duke of *Lorraine* proposed afterwards to besiege *Traerbach*; but the allies declining any new action that campaign, the camp broke up, and the troops retired into winter-quarters.

*The elector of Brandenburg takes Bonn.*

<sup>b</sup> Mem. de Brand. pag. 105. — MEISS, lib. iii. pag. 262.



The prince of  
Baden defeats  
the Turks in  
Hungary, and  
takes Nissa  
and Vidin.

A. D. 1690.  
The archduke  
Joseph is  
elected king of  
the Romans.

IN *Hungary* the arms of *Leopold*, under the conduct of the prince of *Baden*, were likewise successful. In the month of *July* he had advanced to the river *Morava*, to observe the *Turkish* army; and finding it consisted of fifty thousand men, he returned towards *Passarowitz*, in order to reinforce his army, which only consisted of about thirty thousand men, and to furnish himself with provisions from the magazines at *Semendria*. The *Turks* finding that he retreated, marched after him, and sent out a large detachment of cavalry to intercept his convoys. This detachment being defeated on the twenty-ninth of *August*, the next day the prince marched his army against the *Turks*, who were drawn up in order of battle beyond a wood. The Imperialists having passed the wood, by the favour of a thick fog, were attacked by the *Turks*, who had not observed them till they were forming their lines. After the engagement had continued an hour with doubtful success, the cavalry of the Imperialists falling upon the flanks of the infidels, broke them, and pushed the whole army as far as their camp. The prince of *Baden*, posting himself within half a league of the enemy, after a short repose, ordered the camp to be attacked, which the *Turks* immediately abandoned, leaving one hundred pieces of cannon, with their baggage, warlike stores, and provisions. On the twenty-third of *September* the prince defeated the *Turkish* army a second time near *Vidin*, and likewise forced their camp. Next day he entered *Nissa*, without any resistance; and having defeated the *Turks* a third time, made himself master of *Vidin*; where leaving a garrison, he passed the *Danube*, and marched into *Walachia*: leaving six regiments there, under pretence of protecting the hospodar from the incursions of the *Tartars*, and ordering the rest to march into quarters in *Transylvania*, he himself repaired to *Augsburg*, to be present at the electoral diet.

THE electors being arrived, the emperor proposed to their consideration two points; the first concerned the security of the empire against the designs of *Lewis XIV.* the second regarded the election of a king of the *Romans*, which he pressed with great warmth, as necessary to disappoint the expectations of the *French*, and proposed his son *Joseph*, king of *Hungary*, to be elected, with the proviso, that if the emperor should die before the designed successor had attained his eighteenth year, the vicars of the empire should govern in his name until he arrived at that age. After some objections to this discourse, as tending to render the imperial crown hereditary in the house of *Austria*, *Joseph* was at last elected on the twenty-fourth of *January*, and crowned two days after. The electors then renewed the league of *Augsburg*, and left the determination of the succession to the duchy of *Saxe-Lawemburg*, till the princes pretenders had produced their manifestoes.

THE *Germanic* body was now in a condition to march with all its forces against *France*; and on the sixteenth of *March* a general assembly being held at the *Hague*, at which the envoys of the confederate princes were present, it was resolved to send two armies upon the *Rhine*; the first consisted of the troops of the emperor, the elector of *Saxony*, the house of *Luncenburg*, and some other princes; of the king of *Sweden*, for the fiefs which he possessed in the country of *Bremen*; and lastly, of the elector of *Bavaria*, who commanded the whole army in chief, in the room of the duke of *Lorrain*, who died on the eighteenth of *April*, in the forty-eighth year of his age, much regretted by the whole empire, but particularly by the house of *Austria*. This army was to act upon the *Rhine*, near *Philipsburg*; while the second, composed of the troops of *Neuburg*, *Munster*, and the elector of *Brandenburg*, who commanded them in person, was to encamp in the neighbourhood of *Cologne*.

THE troops which *France* opposed to these being very considerable, and commanded by the dauphin, great exploits were expected from two such fine armies. Nevertheless, as the strength was nearly equal on both sides, each army wanted to preserve the advantage of its post, and only watched the motions of the other, without venturing to hazard a battle. Thus the whole campaign passing over without any action, the *French* repassed the *Rhine*, and took winter-quarters in *Alsace* and *Franche-comté*, while the *Germans* retired, disappointed in their design of retaking *Philipsburg*, and invading *France*.

The Grand  
Signior de-  
clares Tekeli  
vaivode of  
Transylvania,  
who defeats the  
Imperialists  
under the com-  
mand of  
Heisler.

THE *Turks* at *Constantinople*, exasperated at the bad success of their arms in *Hungary*, and the neighbouring provinces, had, in a mutinous manner, demanded the head of the grand vizier, and of the caimacam, for mal-administration of affairs. The new vizier being of an active disposition, and skilful in the art of war, made great preparations for the ensuing campaign; and the vaivode of *Transylvania* being lately dead, he prevailed with the Grand Signior to declare *Tekeli* his successor, while the emperor supported the eldest son of the late *Abassi*. Prince *Lewis* of *Baden* being arrived at the army in *Hungary*, ordered general *Heisler*, with four thousand men, and some of the militia of the country, to make himself master of the passes, to prevent the irruption of *Tekeli*, who appeared upon the frontiers of *Transylvania*; but *Tekeli*, at the head of fifteen or sixteen thousand men, marched over



a almost inaccessible mountains, attacked the body of troops commanded by *Heifler*, cut them in pieces, and made the general prisoner.

THIS victory obliged the prince of *Baden* to pass the *Danube* at *Semendria*, to support the *Transylvanians* of the imperial party; and in his absence the *Turks* made themselves masters of *Nissa* and *Vidin*, which last surrendered on the twenty-first of *September*. The grand vizier likewise, being informed that the breaches of *Belgrade* were not yet repaired, marched against that city, after having forced the palank at *Semendria*, and put the garrison to the sword. On the second of *October* the trenches were opened before the town, which, though weakly fortified, having only palisades in the old breaches, yet was taken by an accident sooner than was expected. On the sixth day of the siege, a bomb falling into the magazine of powder, it blew up with a dreadful noise, overturning a great many houses in the neighbourhood, and setting fire to others. The *Turks*, taking advantage of the disorder, attacked the palisades with such vigour, that they carried the place, and put all to the sword whom they found. Eight hundred soldiers and officers, who escaped, fled to *Esseck*, to endeavour to preserve that post, and were immediately besieged by a body of *Turks* from the grand vizier's army; but the Imperialists marching to the assistance of the town, the detachment of *Turks* retired with precipitation, leaving their cannon and part of their baggage.

*Nissa and Vidin surrender to the Turks, who likewise take Belgrade by storm.*

THE prince of *Baden* having received a reinforcement, which rendered his army superior, advanced against *Tekeli*, with a design of drawing him to an action; but that count chose rather to retire to the frontiers of *Moldavia* than hazard an engagement; and *Augustus* of *Hanover*, at the head of one thousand horse, harrassing him on his march, he attacked the *Germans*, killed the prince of *Hanover*, and cut in pieces the greatest number of the men, the rest saving themselves by flight. The grand vizier, instead of joining *Tekeli*, in order to oppose the prince of *Baden*, and make himself master of *Transylvania*, contented himself with taking *Lippa*, and putting provisions into *Giula*, *Temeswaer*, and *Waradin*. The rigour of the season not permitting *Tekeli* to improve his late advantage, he retired into winter-quarters in *Walachia*; and the Imperialists being cantoned in *Transylvania* and *Hungary*, the prince of *Baden* repaired to *Vienna*.

THE duke of *Savoy*, who had hitherto observed a neutrality, had this year acceded to the grand alliance; in consideration of the emperor's allowing his claim to the kingdom of *Cyprus*, and giving him the title of royal highness; and likewise to be freed from consenting to the imperious demands of the *French*, who desired to put a garrison into the citadels of *Turin* and *Vercell*. *Lewis XIV.* suspecting that he had abandoned his friendship, sent *Catinat* to *Turin* to expostulate with the duke; while, at the same time, an army of eighteen thousand men marched from *Dauphiny* into the duke's territories. The duke openly professing his engagements, *Catinat* left *Turin*; and advancing with his army, on the eighteenth of *August* defeated the duke near *Salusses*, and soon after made himself master of *Salusses*, *Savillana*, and several other places. On the tenth of *September*, prince *Eugene* arriving with the *German* auxiliaries, the allies marched to attack *Catinat*; but he, by a feint, declining the engagement, made himself master of *Susa*, and afterwards put his troops into winter-quarters.

*The duke of Savoy accedes to the grand alliance.*

A. D. 1691.

THE emperor, being informed that the *Turks* were making great preparations, ordered *Esseck* to be fortified; and that he might oppose them with greater vigour, he left the war upon the *Rhine* to be carried on by the *Germanic* body; and prevailed with the elector of *Bavaria* to represent to the diet of *Ratisbon* the necessity of this proceeding, who likewise offered to furnish the greatest part of the troops promised to the duke of *Savoy*, and to go and command them in person.

THE *French* having surprised the duke of *Savoy*, before he was in a condition to resist them, determined, if possible, to force him to abandon the alliance, and leaving only sufficient forces upon the *Rhine* to protect *Alsace* and *Lorraine*, they pushed the war in *Italy* with great vigour; and *Catinat*, taking the field early in the spring, made himself master of *Nice*, *Villa-franca*, *St. Auspice*, *Montalban*, *Villana*, and *Carmagnola*; which encouraged him to besiege *Coni*, a place situated on a craggy hill, and defended by a garrison of fifteen hundred men, one half of whom were Protestant *Vaudois* and *French* refugees. These rapid conquests of the *French* were chiefly owing to the slowness of the *Germans* and *Spaniards*, who had not yet arrived, and to the embezzling of the money allowed by the king of *England* and the states of *Holland*, for the payment of the *Vaudois* and *French* refugees: but the duke of *Schomberg* arriving at *Turin* on the eighth of *June*, though he found affairs in a desperate situation, the court removed to *Vercell*, and *Turin* itself apprehensive of a bombardment, yet he soon gave life and spirit to the army, by sending the officers often upon parties; and having relieved *Coni*, by a convoy under the command of prince *Eugene*, he

*Catinat takes Nice, Villa-franca, &c.*



Prince Eugene  
retakes Car-  
magnola,  
while the  
French make  
themselves  
masters of  
Montmelian.

obliged the *French* to raise the siege, and retire to *Villa Nova d'Asti*. Soon after the *German* auxiliaries arriving, to the number of eighteen thousand horse and foot, under the command of the elector of *Bavaria*, and *Caraffa*, the allies, by this reinforcement, being superior to the *French*, endeavoured to bring *Catinat* to an engagement; but he, retiring under the cannon of *Salusses*, sought only to preserve the conquests which he had made<sup>a</sup>. The allies, therefore, thought of recovering some of the places which they had lost in the beginning of the campaign; and prince *Eugene*, investing *Carmagnola* on the seventeenth of *September*, carried on the siege with so much vigour, that in eleven days the governor was forced to capitulate. After this conquest the allies going into winter-quarters, *Catinat* besieged the castle of *Montmelian*; on the seventeenth of *November* the trenches were opened before the place, and after a most vigorous siege, wherein they had to dispute as well with the rigours of the season as with the desperate defence of the garrison, that fortress was at last, on the twenty-first of *December*, surrendered to the *French* upon honourable conditions<sup>b</sup>.

*LEOPOLD*, chiefly intent upon opposing the *Turks* in *Hungary*, had sent the prince of *Baden* with upwards of forty thousand men to watch the motions of the grand vizier, who, at the head of sixty thousand *Turks*, intended to pass the *Save*, and besiege *Esseck*. On the tenth of *August* the prince appeared before their camp, and offered them battle; but the *Turks* would not hazard an engagement, detaching only a body of horse to harass the rear of the Imperialists. Some days after, posting themselves upon the rising-grounds near the *Danube*, with a design of cutting off provisions from the prince of *Baden*, they intercepted a convoy of two hundred waggons with provisions, cutting in pieces a regiment of dragoons who escorted it; and likewise falling upon the guards that conducted another convoy from *Esseck*, they routed them, and made themselves masters of the waggons<sup>c</sup>.

THESE actions, which were the most prudent the *Turks* had done during the war, made the prince of *Baden* and the other generals perceive, that they had to do with a vizier who understood how to conduct an army; wherefore, seeing themselves absolutely destitute of provisions, they resolved to force the camp of the infidels, since otherwise they must perish with famine. On the nineteenth of *August* they marched to attack the *Turks*, whom they found strongly intrenched: nevertheless, at three in the afternoon, the Imperialists, having regulated their disposition, began the attack with great fury; and though they were repulsed several times by the *Turks* with great resolution, yet at last, with the loss of a great number of men, they forced the intrenchments towards evening, when the janissaries retreated in good order, notwithstanding the death of the grand vizier, who was killed in the action. The prince of *Baden*, marching afterwards to *Peterwaradin*, repaired the fortifications; and dividing his army into two bodies; the one, commanded by the duke *de Croy*, took the road of *Esseck*; the other, conducted by himself, passed the *Danube* in the beginning of *September*, and marched to besiege *Grand Waradin*: but the attacks having little effect, by reason of the vigorous sallies of the besieged, and the *Turks* likewise opening the sluices and laying the country under water, the prince of *Baden* left a sufficient body of troops to continue the blockade, and put the rest into winter-quarters<sup>d</sup>.

A. D. 1692.  
The Imperial-  
ists in Hunga-  
ry take Filek.

Great Wara-  
din surrenders  
to the prince of  
Baden.

*LEOPOLD*, having reinforced his army in *Hungary*, was more successful this year than in the former campaign. The colonel *Poland* defeated the *Tartars* near *Filek*, upon the frontiers of *Transylvania*, and took *Garentzebs*. Count *Serau* took the fortress of *Calo* by assault: and the prince of *Baden*, who had during the winter blockaded *Grand Waradin*, expected to have forced the garrison to capitulate for want of subsistence; but the aga of the janissaries, who commanded in the place, having found means from time to time to procure provisions, and even troops, it was resolved to turn the blockade into a siege<sup>e</sup>. On the second of *May* the trenches were opened before the town; and, notwithstanding many sallies of the besieged, on the fourth of *June* the breaches were large enough to give the assault. The bashaw, seeing the danger to which he was exposed, immediately demanded to capitulate; and, marching out on the seventh, the Imperialists took possession of the place. Afterwards general *Heisler* marched towards *Segedin*, and from thence took the route of *Esseck*, where the prince of *Baden* arrived on the sixteenth of *August*. The army afterwards encamping in an advantageous post above *Peterwaradin*, threw two bridges over the *Danube* for the convenience of foraging and provisions, and watched the motions of the *Turks*. But the new grand vizier, *Haly*, continuing in his camp at *Belgrade*, the prince of *Baden* resolved to go and attack his intrenchments; yet the heavy rains that immediately followed, made him abandon that enterprize, and think only of putting his troops into winter-quarters<sup>f</sup>.

ON the *Rhine* the allies had two small armies, that acted separately, under the command of the landgrave of *Hesse-Cassel* and the margrave of *Bareilb*. But the duke of *Lorges* ad-

<sup>a</sup> BARRE, tom. x. p. 287.

<sup>f</sup> Europ. Hist. tom. i. p. 1086. Lettres Hist. Février, 1692, p. 222.

<sup>e</sup> Theat. Europ. ad An. 1692. Diar. Europ. ad An. 1692.



- a vancing towards the *Rhine* with thirty-six thousand *French*, and a great train of artillery, it was resolved, in a council of war, that the two armies should join, which was accordingly done: but the landgrave, marching afterwards to besiege *Eberenburg*, was informed, by an express from the margrave, that the *French* were advancing towards him. He immediately sent four thousand dragoons to his assistance; and the duke of *Wurtemberg*, advancing with four thousand horse, posted himself near *Edelsheim*, with a design to amuse the *French* till the margrave's army should be reinforced. But *Lorges*, taking the advantage of a great fog, surprised the duke in his camp, and, charging so briskly that the *Germans* had not time to put themselves in a posture of defence, he took the duke, with several officers, and about four hundred soldiers prisoners, and killed about one thousand of the enemy upon the spot. The duke being sent to *Paris*, the *French* afterwards penetrated as far as *Stuttgart*, the capital of *Wurtemberg*, laid the country under contribution, and obliged the landgrave to raise the siege of *Eberenburg*, and repass the *Rhine* above *Bingen*. The count of *Stirum* afterwards joining the landgrave to cover *Rhinegau*, they put their troops into winter-quarters in the circles of *Franconia*, *Suabia*, and the *Rhine*<sup>1</sup>.

The duke of Lorges defeat 4000 horse, commanded by the duke of Wurtemberg, and takes the duke prisoner.

- THE elector of *Bavaria*, who was now governor of the *Spanish Netherlands*, had put these provinces in a better state than formerly; yet he could not hinder the king of *France* from attempting the siege of *Namur*. *Lewis XIV.* invested the town himself, and pursued the siege with such vigour and diligence, that in four days he made himself master of all the outworks; after which the garrison surrendered the town upon articles, and retired into the citadel. The *French*, encouraged by the presence of their sovereign, pushed the siege with the utmost activity; and resolving to carry the place at all adventures, by repeated assaults they drove the besieged from their posts<sup>k</sup>, and on the twenty-first of *June* obliged them to surrender. All the attempts of the prince of *Orange* and the elector of *Bavaria* to relieve the place were ineffectual; the marechal of *Luxemburg*, at the head of an army of seventy thousand men, having orders to cover the siege, and the great rains that fell at that time preventing the allies from passing the *Meuse* to attack *Luxemburg's* army. When the citadel of *Namur* surrendered, the allies lay encamped at *Melle*: from *Melle* they passed over the *Stein*, and were joined by twelve thousand *Hanoverians*. On the second of *August* the allies being informed of the disposition of marechal *Luxemburg's* army, which possessed some posts near *Steinkirk*, they attacked the *French* infantry, before they had time to put themselves in a posture of defence. The duke of *Luxemburg*, trusting to the intelligence he had with the elector of *Bavaria's* valet-de-chambre, was surprised at this attack; but the treachery of the valet having been discovered, the allies forced him to give the *French* general false information, to conceal from him their real design<sup>l</sup>. *Luxemburg*, galloping to the right, found the brigade de *Bourbonnois* drove from the height in great disorder, and the allies masters of their ground and artillery. After two attacks without success, he put himself at the head of the brigade of guards, and forced the prince of *Orange* to retire. The duke of *Wurtemberg* came to the assistance of the prince, and sustained the attacks of the *French* for a long while; but the dragoons of the marquis de *Boufflers* coming fresh to the engagement, the allies were obliged to retreat.

The allies attack the duke of Luxemburg at Steinkirk, but are obliged to retreat.

- IN *Italy* the allies were superior to *Catinat*; for the *French*, chiefly regarding the war in *Flanders*, desired only to defend what they had gained on this side; but the duke of *Savoy*, having disposed of several parties into the vallies, and other places, for securing the country, marched in the month of *July* at the head of twenty thousand men into *France*; and pillaging several villages in *Dauphiny*, he made himself master of the castle of *Guillestre*. Afterwards he attacked *Ambrun*, which surrendered after nine days siege. Here he found twenty pieces of cannon, and one hundred thousand livres, by seizing the pay of the *French* king's troops, and laying the city and neighbouring villages under contribution. From *Ambrun* the army marched to *Gap*, a city upon the frontiers of *Provence*, whose inhabitants opened their gates, and readily consented to pay contribution, to preserve their houses from being pillaged and burnt; a treatment which near eighty castles and villages received from the *Germans*, in retaliation of the barbarities committed by the *French* in the *Palatinate*.

The duke of Savoy enters France, and raises contributions in Dauphiny.

- BUT the duke of *Savoy* falling sick of the small pox, a spirit of division breaking out among the generals, and winter approaching, the allies thought proper to abandon their conquests; and having burnt and plundered the country, they retired before the mountains should be shut up by the snow.

- THIS year the Protestant interest in *Germany* was strengthened by the creation of a ninth electorate in favour of the duke of *Hanover*. That duke, who had been long in the interest of *France*, had now entered into the grand alliance; and promised great supplies against *France* and the *Turk*, if he might be made an elector of the empire. King *William* con-

A. D. 1692. A ninth electorate created in the empire in favour of the duke of Hanover.

<sup>1</sup> BARRE, t. x. p. 295.  
LIET, p. 684.

<sup>k</sup> Europ. Hist. t. ii. p. 1197. Lettres Hist. Juin, 1692, p. 629, &c. JULI-  
<sup>l</sup> Europ. Hist. t. ii. p. 1231. Mem. de la Guerre, t. i. p. 154.



curing to press the matter at the court of *Vienna*, the emperor agreed to it, under pretence a that the number of electors ought to be unequal, to prevent the inconveniences of an election, where the votes might be equally divided<sup>m</sup>. The duke was supported in his claim only by the electors of *Saxony* and *Brandenburg*; the other electors, both ecclesiastic and laic, and the college of the cities, opposing it with great warmth<sup>n</sup>. Their deputies at the diet of *Ratisbon* represented, that it was with great astonishment they heard that the emperor designed to erect a new electorate, without the participation and consent of the states of the empire: nevertheless, they hoped that, regarding the antient customs and constitutions of the empire, he would suspend the investiture of this ninth electorate till the result of the deliberations of the three colleges should be known.

*LEOPOLD*, without having regard to these remonstrances, on the nineteenth of *De-* b *cember* gave the investiture of the new electorate to *Ernest-Augustus*, with the title of elector of *Brunswick*, and great marechal of the empire. The deputies at *Ratisbon*, being informed of the investiture, immediately drew up a manifesto, representing to his imperial majesty the grievances of their masters, and complaining of the investiture as contrary to the Golden Bull, and several capitulations confirmed by successive emperors; therefore they declared the investiture given to the duke of *Hanover* null<sup>o</sup>; and that they would not acknowledge him as an elector, resolving to adhere to the Golden Bull, the treaties of *Westphalia*, and other fundamental laws of the empire. This dispute continued for some time in terms of negotiation with the princes opposing the investiture, who contented themselves to renew their protestations afterwards in the conferences held at *Ryswick* for the general c peace.

A. D. 1693. THE emperor, finding his cities dispeopled, and his treasures greatly exhausted, had, during the winter, made proposals of peace to the *Turks*, which were by them rejected; therefore he resolved to begin the campaign early upon the *Rhine*, and in *Hungary*: and raising the militia of *Bohemia*, *Austria*, the *Milanese*, and other hereditary countries, he pressed the princes and cities to hasten the march of their troops. But many of the states of *Germany*, dissatisfied with the war, and the new electorate which *Leopold* had erected, were not much disposed to obey; so that they acted slowly, and with little vigour, and were likewise retarded by some private disputes about the command.

The French army, being assembled at *Little Holland* near the *Rhine*, on the seventeenth d of *May* passed that river near *Philipsburg*, without opposition; and the marquis *de Chamilly*, with twenty thousand *French*, encamped before *Heidelberg*; while the duke *de Lorges*, at the head of thirty thousand men, crossed the mountains to oppose the prince of *Baden*, who was encamped under *Heilbron* with a very small army. The marquis *de Chamilly*, finding that the prince of *Baden* was not yet in a condition to act offensively, pressed the siege vigorously; and having gained the suburbs, and killed five hundred of the garrison, he entered the town by the fort of *the Star*, which the besieged had abandoned. The governor of the castle, seeing the *French* masters of the town, where they put all to fire and sword, offered to capitulate; and the articles being signed, the garrison marched out on the twenty-fourth of *May*, with two pieces of cannon and all their baggage, and were conducted to *Wimpfen*. The *French*, being masters of the castle, set fire to it, and reduced it to ashes, not sparing even the tombs of the electors and palatine princes. Soon after the duke *de Lorges* advanced towards the *Neckar*, with a design to attack the prince of *Baden*; but being twice repulsed in attempting to pass that river, he was forced to abandon his enterprize, with the loss of near one thousand men. The dauphin afterwards, arriving with a strong reinforcement, resolved to force the intrenchments of the Imperialists; but marching to the rising-grounds at *Otmarshheim*, within cannon-shot of the enemy, he perceived that their camp was inaccessible; and not being able to force them to quit their intrenchments, he repassed the river; and having put a garrison into *Stuttgart*, and sent a detachment of twelve thousand men into *Piedmont*, and another of ten thousand into *Flanders*, he f returned in *August* to *Versailles*. After the departure of the dauphin, the allies obliged the *French* to evacuate the duchy of *Wurtemberg*, and then put their troops into winter-quarters.

In *Flanders* the *French* were prevented from entering *Brabant* by the diligence of king *William*, who had encamped at *Parke* near *Louvain*; but the duke of *Luxemburg* took *Huy*, and defeated the allies at *Landen*.

The duke of *Savoy* being recovered from his long indisposition, put himself at the head of the allies in *Italy*; and resolving to drive the *French* out of his territories, he began the campaign with the attack of *Fort St. George*, which completed the blockade of *Casal*: afterwards the army marching to *Pignerol*, bombarded the town; but while they were deliberating about the siege, *Catinat*, who had received a reinforcement of twelve thousand men

<sup>m</sup> BARRE, t. x. p. 299.  
P. 4013.

<sup>n</sup> Mem. de Brandenb. p. 199. RINCK, p. 1148. STRUV. per. x. sect. xi.  
<sup>o</sup> HEROLD. part i. p. 315. THUCELIUS Elect. Juris Publ. c. ii. and iii.



a from the *Rhine*, descended into the plains, and gave the duke such apprehensions for *Turin*, that he drew off from *Pignerol*, and encamped at *Marfaglia*. *Catinat* approaching, the duke, contrary to the opinion of prince *Eugene* and the duke of *Schomberg*, resolved to hazard a battle. On the fourth of *October*, about nine in the morning, the two armies engaged; and, after a desperate dispute on both sides, the honour of the action fell to the *French*. The duke of *Schomberg* died soon after of his wounds at *Turin*: the allied army having encamped under the cannon of that place; while the *French*, after raising great contributions, repassed the mountains, and took winter-quarters in *Dauphiny*, *Provence*, and *Languedoc*.

The duke of Savoy defeated by Catinat at Marfaglia.

b IN *Hungary* the Imperialists did nothing considerable this year; for the duke *de Croy* was obliged to raise the siege of *Belgrade* after thirty-two days open trenches, the grand vizier coming to the relief of the place, with an army of eighty thousand men. The duke *de Croy* having only eighteen thousand men, quitted his camp, and intrenched himself under the cannon of *Peterwaradin*, while the grand vizier arriving at *Belgrade*, sent out his *Tartars* to pillage the country, who every day had small skirmishes with the Imperialists. Afterwards thirty thousand *Turks* marching into *Transylvania*, and the bashaw who commanded them, leaving the heavy baggage at *Giula*, with three or four thousand men, count *Hofkirken*, who defended the frontiers, put himself at the head of six regiments of dragoons, and attacking the *Turks* who guarded the baggage, killed about one thousand of them, and returning with his booty to the *Feyffe*, posted six regiments of foot, and several c regiments of horse, along that river; by which disposition, the *Turks* being prevented from succeeding in their design, retreated, and afterwards put their troops into winter-quarters. The imperial camp being then very sickly, soon after broke up, and the duke *de Croy* repaired to *Vienna*, and represented to the emperor the great necessity of augmenting his troops, as the *Turks* threatened to return in the spring with greater forces.

By the persuasion of the prince of *Baden*, it was resolved to have a fleet this year upon the *Danube*; but the emperor's finances being greatly exhausted, to remedy this deficiency commissions were given to private persons, who being indulged with particular privileges, destructive of commerce, fitted out some saics; and to support the expences of the war in *Hungary*, a new tax was raised of three crowns upon each measure of salt. The difficulty d of raising money occasioned a great slowness in their proceedings, so that the army could not assemble in *Hungary* till towards the month of *August*. It was expected that the deposition of the grand vizier would have delayed the progress of the *Turks*; but his successor redoubling his efforts, had given express orders for the speedy march of the troops, the *Tartars* threatened an irruption into *Transylvania*, and the seraskier of *Belgrade*, having passed the *Danube* with an army, had invested *Titoul*.

A. D. 1694. The emperor prepares a fleet to act on the Danube.

THE court of *Vienna* was at this time greatly embarrassed for want of money to pay the troops, who demanded with great earnestness, the arrears of two or three months which were due to them. The people refusing to pay the taxes, some lords, faithful subjects of the house of *Austria*, borrowed considerable sums upon their private credit, to pay the gar- e risons of *Peterwaradin*, and the neighbouring cities. The negotiations of the emperor likewise, with the princes of *Germany*, advanced very slowly; for as his coffers were exhausted, the ministers of the other courts did not express such an ardor for his service: but *George* elector of *Saxony*, dying on the seventh of *May*, *Frederick-Augustus*, his brother, who succeeded him, consented to continue the *Saxon* troops in *Hungary*, and to augment those who were to march for the *Rhine*.

THE duke *de Croy* having refused the command of the army in *Hungary*, the emperor gave it to count *Caprara*, who left *Vienna* on the twenty-ninth of *July*, with the promise, that in a short time the money necessary for paying the troops, and for other expences, should be sent to him. Mean while the grand vizier, at the head of an army of ninety f thousand men, passed the *Save*, and invested *Peterwaradin*. Having encamped within a league of the place, and possessed the rising-grounds upon the banks of the *Danube*, he advanced his fleet of one hundred and ten vessels within cannon-shot of the Imperialists. The *German* army, with a design of assisting the besieged, had continual skirmishes with the *Tartars*, and the cannonading was continued every day with upwards of five hundred pieces of cannon, from both the fleets, and the batteries at land. The presence of the count *Caprara's* army, having prevented the *Turks* from making great progress in the siege, the heavy rains in the end of *September* obliged them at last to abandon it, and go into winter-quarters.

The grand vizier besieges Peterwaradin with ninety thousand men.

g FRANCE having suffered greatly by two successive bad harvests, the common people were reduced to misery, and great multitudes perished for want. The extreme poverty of the kingdom obliged *Lewis XIV.* to try all possible methods for bringing about a ge-



neral pacification, or at least a separate peace with some of the confederates. In the beginning of this year he made some offers to the duke of *Savoy*, who did not hearken to them: he likewise employed the mediation of the kings of *Sweden* and *Denmark*, for a peace with the emperor and *German* princes; but the preliminary propositions appeared so unsatisfactory to the allies, that they could not be persuaded that he sincerely desired peace, or at least such an one as they desired for their common safety<sup>p</sup>; therefore, as there was no prospect of a just peace, the allies made preparations for the campaign.

THE death of the bishop and prince of *Liege*, gave the *French* a fair prospect at this time, of embroiling the affairs of the confederates on that side: but the cardinal *Bouillon*, who was supported by the *French*, being rejected by the chapter, the major part of the capitulars chose the elector of *Cologne*, and the rest the grand-master of the *Teutonic* order, for their prince and bishop. Both the candidates sending to the pope and the emperor to have their respective election confirmed, it was still feared that the election would not be quietly concluded: but whilst both parties impatiently expected the decision of the see of *Rome*, the contest was determined by the death of the grand-master; so that the elector of *Cologne*, in some time after, obtained the peaceful possession of that bishopric and principality.

THE prince of *Orange*, and the elector of *Bavaria*, at the head of the confederate army in *Flanders*, were encamped at *Tillemont*, whilst the *French* army, under the command of the dauphin, were advanced as far as *Tongres*, where they were joined by the troops of marechal *Boufflers*. Both armies continuing for some time in their posts, the allies at last formed a design of passing the *Scheld* at *Pont d'Espieres*. With this view, on the twenty-fourth of *August*, they detached a body of troops, commanded by the elector of *Bavaria*, to endeavour to take possession of the bridge: but the dauphin, sensible of the danger of allowing the allies to penetrate into *French Flanders*, ordered four thousand dragoons, with each a footman mounted behind him, to march with the utmost dispatch to take possession of the bridge, and throw up some intrenchments to oppose the enemy. The elector of *Bavaria*, upon his arrival, finding the *French* strongly intrenched, did not think it prudent to pursue his enterprize.

The prince of Orange takes Dixmuyde and Huy.

THE prince of *Orange*, finding it impossible to attempt any thing on that side, resolved to dispossess the enemy of *Dixmuyde* and *Huy*. This last place, though well fortified, and defended by a good garrison, surrendered on the twenty-seventh of *September*, after eight days open trenches. By this conquest, which was the last expedition of the campaign, the *French* were totally expelled out of the bishopric of *Liege*.

ON the *Rhine* the Imperialists, commanded by prince *Lewis* of *Baden*, lying encamped near *Heilbron*, the marechal *de Lorges* having passed the *Rhine*, marched towards them with his army in order of battle; but finding that the prince of *Baden*, though not yet reinforced with the *Saxons*, had resolution to meet him, he retreated towards *Wislock*, passed the *Neckar*, burnt the town of *Laudenburg*, and ruined the flat country. The prince of *Baden*, desirous of engaging the *French*, advanced to *Wislock*, an advantageous post, of which he took possession after a sharp rencounter with the enemy, who passed the *Rhine* three days after, and encamped between *Manheim* and *Frankendal*. Soon after the allies decamped from *Stolhom*, and laying a bridge over the *Rhine*, entered *Alsace* on the fourteenth of *September*, and destroying a great quantity of forage, and some magazines, they laid the great bailliage of *Haguenau*, and part of *Lower Alsace*, under contribution. The marechal *de Lorges*, surprised with this sudden expedition, marched towards *Landau*, and designing to inclose the *Germans*, he detached the marquis *d'Uxelles*, that marching behind the mountains he might attack their rear, whilst he himself attacked them with the rest of the army: but the prince of *Baden* suspecting his intention, ordered his army to repass the *Rhine*, which then beginning to swell, immediately after overflowed its banks so much, that it was impossible for the *French* to follow him.

The elector of Brandenburg cedes the circle of Schweibus, in Silesia, to the emperor.

THE elector of *Brandenburg*, being ambitious of the title of king, in order to secure the good dispositions of the emperor, whose approbation would influence the votes of the whole *Germanic* body, by a treaty this year, put an end to the differences that had, for some time, subsisted between the houses of *Brandenburg* and *Austria*, with regard to their pretensions to some fiefs in *Bohemia* and *Silesia*. The elector ceded to the emperor the circle of *Schwiebus*, and his imperial majesty granted to the electoral branch of *Brandenburg*, the title of king of *Prussia*, the reversion of the principality of *East-Friesland*, and barony of *Limburg*, a place in the aulic council for a Protestant deputy, and promised to pay the elector two hundred and fifty thousand florins. The treaty was accordingly executed on both sides the year following.

<sup>p</sup> PUFFEND. Introd. lib. vii. pag. 75.  
Mem. de Branden. pag. 204.

<sup>q</sup> BARRE, tom. x. pag. 321.

<sup>r</sup> BARRE, tom. x. pag. 325.



a THE duke of Savoy, though he openly rejected the proposals made to him from France, after his defeat at *Marsaglia*, yet entering into a private negotiation he continued very inactive, and prevented the execution of the schemes formed by prince *Eugene*, general of the army of the empire. The taking of the castle of *St. George*, and the blockade of *Casal*, were the utmost of their expeditions, while marechal *Catinat* observed their motions, being encamped at *Fenestrelles*.

b THIS winter the court of France flattered their people with a speedy end of the war; A. D. 1695. and *Lewis XIV.* accepting the mediation of the king of *Sweden*, proposed to make the treaties of *Westphalia* and *Nimeguen* the basis of the negotiation, and that the truce concluded at *Ratisbon* should be turned into a definitive treaty, with some alterations: but some men, of great consideration, being sent by the allies as far as *Maestricht*, to see what powers those sent by France had brought, they found them so limited, and the preliminaries so high, that the negotiation was soon at an end, or rather never began: and the allies depended upon the success of their arms, as they had made great preparations in *Flanders*.

THE prince of Orange, in the Low Countries, invested *Namur*, which he reduced after an obstinate siege, while *Villeroi* reduced *Dixmuyde* and *Dense*, and bombarded *Brussels*.

c THERE was not any action this year upon the *Rhine*, both armies being so equal in strength, that they could not lie on the defensive. In the month of *May* the French raised some redoubts along the *Rhine*, and the Germans ordered the fortifications at *Heilbron* to be repaired, and a camp to be marked between the *Rhine* and the *Maine*, from whence their hussars might harraßs the French soldiers and workmen.

d IN *Montferrat*, the duke of Savoy and prince *Eugene* had ordered six thousand Imperialists, and as many Spaniards and Piedmontese to march in the beginning of *April*, with twenty-four pieces of cannon, to attack *Casal*: but after the siege was well advanced, there fell such a quantity of snow, that the allies were obliged to go into winter-quarters again. In the month of *June* their army again taking the field, encamped before *Casal*, which capitulated a few days after the trenches were opened. It was agreed that it should be restored to the duke of *Mantua*, after all the fortifications were destroyed; that the demolishing the out-works should be at the expence of the allies, while the king of France demolished the rest. A truce being agreed to during the dismantling of *Casal*, the work went on so slowly, that the whole summer was spent before it was finished. The allies take Casal.

e IN *Hungary* the Imperialists were obliged to remain upon the defensive, the Turkish army being upwards of one hundred thousand men, exclusive of the *Tartars*, and commanded by the Grand Signior in person. Besides the power of their enemy, the court of *Vienna* had to struggle with domestic difficulties; for, notwithstanding the heavy taxes upon the people, they were still in great want of money for the necessary expences. The fleet upon the *Danube* was unserviceable for want of sailors; and a great many officers delayed joining their regiments, till they had assurances of being payed their arrears. The reinforcements likewise of Saxons and Brandenburgers were yet upon their march, though the summer was far advanced. In the beginning of *August* the elector of Saxony, who was to command the German army in *Hungary*, repaired to *Peterwaradin*; and being informed that the sultan had made a bridge at *Panzowa*, with a design of taking *Lippa*, and entering *Transylvania*, he left count *Herbeville* with a body of troops to cover *Peterwaradin* and *Titoul*, and marched towards *Betsch* with the rest of the army: from thence he passed the *Teyße*, resolving to go to the assistance of *Veterani*, who guarded the frontiers of *Transylvania*. But the Turks, having the advantage of several days march, sent a detachment of twelve thousand men to take possession of *Titoul*; likewise carried *Lippa* by assault; and afterwards attacking *Veterani*, intirely defeated him, though with very great loss to themselves. The remains of his army, to the number of three thousand men, under the command of general *Truchses*, retired to the *Iron-gate*, one of the principal passes on the frontiers of *Transylvania*. At last, after thirty days hard march, the Imperialists, under the command of the elector of Saxony, encamped within a few leagues of general *Truchses*. The sultan, being informed of the elector's arrival, on the sixth of *October* repassed the *Danube* with his troops, and, taking the route of *Adrianople*, left the grand vizier to order the preparations for next campaign, which he resolved to begin early. The Sultan defeats the Imperialists under Veterani.

f THE emperor, seeing the necessity of having a strong army in *Hungary*, engaged the German princes to augment their contingent; and treated with the king of *Denmark* for some regiments; but that prince, having then some difference with the duke of *Holstein*, would not consent to part with his troops. *Frederick*, duke of *Holstein*, having succeeded his father, who died this year on the fifth of *January*, proposed to call an assembly of the g states, that the clergy and nobility of the two duchies of *Holstein* and *Sleswick* might pay

<sup>1</sup> PUFFEND. lib. vii. pag. 76. BARRE, tom. x. pag. 340.



him their ordinary homage; and wrote to the king of *Denmark*, joint sovereign of the duchy of *Holstein*, for his approbation. As *Frederick* had not named the regencies of the cities of *Lubeck* and *Hamburg* among those who ought to pay homage, and as this omission had been practised during the last duke's reign, against which the *Danish* deputies had protested, in order to preserve the rights of their master, the king of *Denmark* desired the duke to defer the solemnity of the homage, assuring him, that the delay should be no prejudice to the common rights.

A. D. 1696.

THE duke, not hearkening to the representations of the king of *Denmark*, had entered into an alliance with *Sweden*, and taken some troops of that crown into his service, designing to cause the homage to be paid him, without any more regard to the king of *Denmark*. The king being informed of this, declared to the duke, that, notwithstanding the irregularity of his conduct, he would still observe mildness and moderation, and not oppose the exercise of the acts of common government; provided that he first communicated the testament of the duke his father, renewed the antient unions, which ought to be done at the beginning of each reign, and dismissed the troops which he had taken into his service. The duke refusing positively to comply with these conditions, the king immediately prohibited the exercise of the acts of common government; and was preparing to have recourse to force, when the princes, mediators of the treaty of *Altena*, prevailed with the two parties to terminate their difference in an amicable manner in a congress held at *Pinneberg*; but the treaty was not faithfully observed by either of the parties.

The allies burn the French magazines at Givet.

THE allies, though weary of the war, yet hoping, from the late success of their arms, to oblige the king of *France* to offer more reasonable conditions than those already proposed by him, they made great preparations for the campaign; and on the thirteenth of *March* forty squadrons marching from *Namur*, the greatest part of them invested *Dinant*; while the rest, under the command of lieutenant-general *Coehorn*, burnt the *French* magazines at *Givet*. *Marechal Villeroy* having taken the field, the prince of *Orange* soon after appeared at the head of the allies, and encamped near *Wavre*. Afterwards quitting that post, and marching towards *Gemblours*, he obliged *marechal Boufflers* to decamp, and pass the *Sambre*, to cover the places situated on that river, and on the *Maese*. Both armies seemed to have grand designs, yet they executed nothing; but fatigued one another by marches and counter-marches betwixt the *Maese* and the *Schelde*. The generals on both sides practised all the stratagems of war, and fought the advantages of a victory without the effusion of blood.

ON the *Rhine*, as well as in *Flanders*, both armies continued on the defensive. About the twenty-third of *June* the *French* passed the *Rhine*, and encamped within a league of *Eppingen*, where the *Imperialists* were intrenched. Towards the end of the campaign the prince of *Baden* passed the *Rhine* in his turn near *Mentz*, and advanced to *Newstadt* against the *French*; while general *Thungen* was to have passed the *Rhine* near *Philipsburg*, and attacked them in rear: but the *French*, having notice of his design, detached the marquis *d'Uxelles* to oppose him. The *Germans*, therefore, after having raised great contributions, repassed the *Rhine* in the beginning of *October*, and then marched into winter-quarters.

The duke of Savoy concludes a separate peace with France.

THIS year the duke of *Savoy* was drawn off from the grand alliance by the intrigues of the *French* court, seconded by the pope's nuncio and the *Venetian* envoy, who were desirous of sending the *Germans* out of *Italy*, and afraid of the increase of heresy, by the encouragement given to the *Vaudois* and the *French* Protestants. As the duke could not conclude the treaty at *Turin*, being narrowly observed by the lord *Galway*, in the beginning of the year he went, with a small retinue of his own naming, to our *Lady of Loretto*, under pretence of a religious vow. There having concluded the treaty, by the mediation of the agents of *Rome* and *Venice*, he returned to his capital, and, in conjunction with the allies, made great preparations for the campaign. In the mean time *marechal Catinat* marched towards *Turin* with an army of fifty thousand men, with a pretended intention of bombarding that place; but in reality to support the duke, when he should publish his acceptance of the treaty. On the twelfth of *July*, the *French* army threatening the town, he concluded a truce with them for a month, which was afterwards continued to the fifteenth of *September*. The treaty was at last published on the twenty-third of *August*, under the title of the *Neutrality of Italy*; when the duke wrote to the emperor, and the electors of *Bavaria* and *Brandenburg*, desiring them to accede to the neutrality; otherwise he should be obliged to join his arms with those of *France*, to force the *Germans* to observe the peace, or to retire from *Italy*.

IN conformity to the treaty, the king of *France* made a solemn resignation of all pretensions to *Savoy*, and the duke's territories<sup>u</sup>; *Pignerol* was demolished; four millions of *livres* were to be allowed to the duke for reparation of the damages sustained during the

<sup>u</sup> Europ. Hist. tom. ii. pag. 1771. LEBEN. EUGENII, pag. 498.



- a war; and a marriage immediately treated of between the duke of *Burgundy* and the princess *Mary-Adelaide*, to be consummated as soon as they should be of age. In the mean time, the allies began to retire out of a country where they were already looked upon as enemies; and marching into the *Milanese*, were followed, at the expiration of the truce, by the duke of *Savoy*, at the head of the *French* and his own troops. Thus, by an adventure not to be paralleled in history, the same general commanded two contending armies in one campaign. Four days after the duke's arrival, he besieged *Valentia*, in order to oblige the allies to evacuate *Italy*, or to accept of the neutrality. After the siege was far advanced, the allies at last consented to accept of the neutrality, upon condition that three hundred thousand crowns were paid to the *Germans*, in lieu of winter-quarters. Thus was concluded the particular peace of *Italy*, which hastened the general one the year following.

- b THE elector of *Saxony*, who commanded in *Hungary*, began the campaign with the siege of *Temeswaer*; but some days after was obliged to abandon his enterprize. Being informed that the *Turks* advanced, with a design to force his intrenchments, he marched himself towards them, in order to give them battle <sup>w</sup>. The grand vizier was then encamped in the plain of *Temeswaer*, with the river *Beghe* in his rear, a marsh on his left, and in his front three rows of waggons, fastened together by chains and ropes. The elector, resolving to fall upon the *Turks* before they had fortified themselves better, ordered six battalions, supported by two regiments of dragoons, to begin the attack. But the *Turks*, sending out twelve thousand chosen horse, repulsed the *Germans*; and forcing the chevaux de frise, which covered their infantry, they penetrated to their second line, cutting in pieces all that opposed them. The janissaries also advancing, put the *Germans* into such disorder, that they were obliged to retire, with the loss of six or seven thousand men, killed and wounded, and twenty-three pieces of cannon taken. The Imperialists soon after repassed the *Beghe*; but were attacked on their march by one thousand *Turks*, who put them in disorder, killed many of their men, took a hundred cattle, and several waggons laden with baggage. For eight days together the *Turks* harrassed the march of the *Germans*, who were extremely fatigued, having had no rest, being in great want of provisions, and tormented with thirst. At length, by the great care of the elector of *Saxony*, they arrived, on the thirtieth of *August*, at *Ollasch*, where they found refreshments.

- d THE elector, having afterwards distributed them into winter-quarters, returned to *Dresden*, to endeavour to procure the throne of *Poland*, which was now vacant by the death of *John Sobieski*. The election of a successor having been delayed almost a whole year, by the artifices of the bishop of *Gesna*, was at last fixed to the twenty-seventh of *June*. During this delay, the elector having gained many of the palatines, and agreed to renounce *Lutheranism*, and profess the *Roman Catholic* religion, proposed himself as a candidate for the throne, and marched his troops towards *Poland*, to be ready to support his interest. On the day of the election, he was proclaimed king of *Poland*, and great duke of *Lithuania*, by the bishop of *Cujavia*; tho' the prince of *Conti*, the other candidate, had the majority of votes. Being thus called to the throne, he immediately entered *Poland* at the head of his troops, and being joined by those of the crown, which declared for him, he strengthened his authority thro' the kingdom; and having forced the prince of *Conti* to retire, secured the quiet possession of it to himself.

- In the mean time, the hopes of a general peace were not so certain, but that each party thought it necessary still to prepare for war, at the same time naming the generals for the armies, and the plenipotentiaries for the negotiations of peace. On the *Rhine*, the allies, after having thrown up intrenchments along the *Neckar* and the *Rhine*, encamped at *Eppingen*; whilst the *French* army, commanded by marechal *Choiseul*, passed the *Rhine* on the fourth of *July*, and posted themselves at *Stolhoff*. The two armies afterwards lay several days in sight of each other, but declined coming to an engagement; and the *French* marching towards *Strasburg*, the marquis of *Baden* passed the *Rhine*, and ordered major-general *Ogilvy* to besiege *Eberenburg*, which surrendered after eight days.

- f THE *French*, having withdrawn their forces from *Italy*, sent *Catinat* into *Flanders*, who, at the head of forty thousand men, laid siege to *Aeth*; while *Villercy* and *Boufflers*, with two other armies, opposed the allies, who made some motions to secure the place; but as they must have hazarded a battle against an army much superior to theirs, they resolved, in a council of war, to entrench themselves in an advantageous post, in order to secure *Brabant*. *Aeth* surrendering to the *French*, they afterwards proposed to take possession of the post of *Anderlack*, by means of which they could have made themselves masters of *Brussels* and *Vilvord*; but finding the allies so advantageously situated, and the prince of *Orange* having sent a great reinforcement to *Brussels*, they thought proper to alter their design.

- g THE north of *Germany* was at this time disturbed with new commotions: the duke of *Strelitz* having called in *Swedish* troops to enable him to take possession of the duchy of *Gustrow*,

The elector of Saxony attacks the Turks, but is defeated.

A. D. 1697: Is afterwards chosen king of Poland.

The prince of Baden takes Eberenburg. Aeth surrenders to the French.



pretending to the succession of the late duke *Gustavus Adolphus*, who died without male issue. <sup>a</sup>  
 The envoy of the emperor representing to the directors of the circle of *Lower Saxony*, that the duchy of *Gustrow* ought to be put under sequestration, till the rights of the pretenders to the succession were determined, the duke of *Strelitz* submitted to the commission; but the *Swedish* troops refused to evacuate the city of *Gustrow*, without orders from the king their master, and likewise denied admittance to the duke of *Mecklenburg*, who was declared successor by the emperor. The directors of the circle joined their forces to those of *Sweden*, pretending that their privileges were violated by *Leopold's* determination.

THE plenipotentiaries of the allies being arrived at the *Hague*, while those of *France* resided at *Delft*, it was resolved to hold the conferences at a palace of the prince of *Orange*, situated betwixt these two places, and close by the village of *Ryswick*; and the preliminaries being settled, baron *Lillieroot*, the mediator, appointed the first conference to be held on the ninth of *May*. Some days after, the imperial plenipotentiaries delivered to the mediator their demands in the name of the emperor and empire; and some of the *German* ministers, at the same time, gave in the particular pretensions of the princes their masters. The *French*, in their turn, proposed the conditions, according to which they were ready to make a peace, and declared, that, if the allies did not accept of these offers before the twenty-first of *September*, they would reckon themselves free to propose new articles \*. The imperial ministers made a tedious answer to the plan proposed by *France*, as the emperor sought all means to retard the peace, and desired the continuance of the grand alliance, to assist him in the design he had of placing the archduke *Charles*, his youngest son, upon the throne <sup>b</sup> of *Spain*, in case of the death of his Catholic majesty, who was at present in such a declining state of health, that the imperial court thought he had but a few months to live. The same reason that made the emperor desire the continuance of the grand alliance, obliged the king of *France* to hasten the peace; for he likewise intended the succession of that monarchy <sup>c</sup> for the duke of *Anjou*, the second son of the dauphin: therefore, desiring chiefly to satisfy the rest of the allies, he made large offers to the states of *Holland* and *Spain*. The day fixed by *France* for the termination of the conferences being at last come, the *English*, *Spanish*, and *Dutch* plenipotentiaries signed the treaty; while the imperial and electoral ministers, who were present in the hall, entered a protestation against the proceedings of the allies.

Peace concluded between the emperor and France.

NEVERTHELESS, the Imperialists thought proper to agree to a cessation of arms; and express <sup>d</sup> were dispatched to the respective armies upon the *Rhine*, to discontinue all acts of hostility. The plenipotentiaries of the empire and *France* then resuming their conferences, endeavoured to settle the remaining points in controversy: but the *French* now seeing the empire under the necessity of accepting the conditions proposed by them, absolutely refused to part with *Strasbourg*, but ceded *Philipsburg*, *Friburg*, *Brisack*, and the forts on the other side the *Rhine*, as equivalents. At length the emperor, considering that *Brisack* and *Friburg* were places belonging to his hereditary dominions, consented to the exchange; and all other articles being agreed upon, the treaty was signed on the thirtieth of *October*, and ratified by the emperor on the seventh of *December*, in his own name, and the name of the empire. <sup>e</sup>

By the treaty, *Lewis XIV.* engaged to restore to the emperor and the empire the fort of *Kell*, *Philipsburg*, *Friburg*, and all his other conquests beyond *Alsace*; and likewise that all the re-unions made by the chambers of *Metz*, *Besançon*, and *Brisack*, since the treaty of *Nimwegen*, should be made void: that *Lorraine* should be restored according to the conditions of that treaty; only that the fortifications of *Nancy* should be destroyed <sup>f</sup>. On the other side, *Strasbourg*, and all depending upon it on the left side of the *Rhine*, were ceded to *France*; the duke of *Neuburg* was re-established in the *Palatinate*; the pretensions of the princess, which were disputed by the duke, were referred to the arbitration of the pope, and, till the difference was decided, the elector was obliged to pay every year one hundred thousand florins of the *Rhine* to the dukes of *Orleans*.

DURING the negotiations at *Ryswick*, the ambassadors of the Protestant princes delivered a memorial to the mediator, demanding, that in *Strasbourg*, and all the other cities of *Alsace* to be ceded to *France*, the *Lutheran* religion should be tolerated, and enjoy all the rights and privileges secured by the treaty of *Westphalia* <sup>g</sup>. The *French* desiring some time to answer, afterwards, in concert with the imperial plenipotentiaries, neglected this representation, and inserted in the treaty, that the *Roman Catholic* religion, in the places to be delivered up, should remain in the same state in which it was at that time. Thus, no notice being taken of the Protestants, several churches were to be left to the Papists, which, according to the laws of the empire, and the preliminaries of the treaty, ought to have been taken from them, and restored to the Protestants. The ministers of the electors, and other Protestant princes, refused to sign the treaty till this clause was altered; and published a memorial justi-

\* BARRE, t. x. p. 365.

† Histoire de Alsace, t. ii.

‡ Memoires de Ryswick, t. iv. p. 121.



a flying their refusal, and shewing, that this article in the treaty was contrary to the laws of the empire, the peace of religion, and the treaty of *Westphalia*: but as the Popish princes and the emperor had made no objection, the *French* refused to make any alteration in the treaty for the sake of the Protestants, and only allowed them six weeks to accede to it, threatening them, after that time, with the whole forces of *France*, in case of their refusal.

C H A P. XXIII.

Containing the Progress of a new Alliance against France:

b THE elector of *Saxony* being engaged in quieting the tumults in his new kingdom of *Poland*, *Leopold* gave the command of his troops in *Hungary* to prince *Eugene*, who had already become famous by his actions upon the *Rhine*, and in *Italy*. The prince repairing to *Virismarton*, in *Upper Hungary*, put himself at the head of the Imperialists, and ordered prince *Vaudemont* to disperse a body of malcontents, who, commanded by one of *Tekeli's* captains, ravaged the country, took *Tokai*, and several other places, putting to death all who offered to resist them. Upon the approach of prince *Vaudemont*, the malcontents retired into *Tokai*; which place was attacked with so much vigour by the Imperialists, that they carried it by assault in a few days, putting most of the malcontents to the sword. Those that remained having fled to *Potack*, the prince pursued them, cutting to pieces all that resisted, and forcing the rest to deliver up their captain, and lay down their arms.

Prince Eugene commands the army in Hungary.

c IN the mean time, the *Turkish* army, which was three times the number of the Imperialists, and commanded by the Grand Seignior, marched from *Belgrade*, with an intention of besieging *Peterwaradin*; while the fleet, composed of one hundred and six vessels, sailed up the *Danube*, and passed the *Save*. Prince *Eugene*, being too weak to oppose the enemy, waited for a strong reinforcement from *Transylvania*, and put a garrison into *Titoul*. After the reinforcement had joined him, he marched his army towards the sultan; who, judging it impossible to besiege *Peterwaradin* in sight of the imperial army, resolved to make an irruption into *Transylvania*. Having taken and burnt *Titoul*, he passed the *Danube*, and d marched up both sides of the *Theysse*. Prince *Eugene* having heard that *Tekeli* had persuaded the Grand Seignior to besiege *Segedin*, sent a strong detachment to reinforce the garrison, and continued his march to watch the motions of the *Turks*<sup>a</sup>. The sultan being encamped near *Zenta*, on both sides of the *Theysse*, over which he had thrown a bridge, prince *Eugene* formed the resolution of attacking his camp. On the eleventh of *September*, in the morning, he put his army in march in twelve columns, and about four in the afternoon, having formed them in order of battle, he advanced against the enemy, who were defended by three intrenchments, and seventy pieces of heavy cannon<sup>b</sup>. The *Turks* began the engagement with their artillery, which was answered by the Imperialists, who, at the same time, advanced with their right towards the river, and their left towards the country. About six in the e evening, coming up to the intrenchments, they attacked them with such impetuosity, that the *Turks* were immediately broke, and put into confusion; and the grand vizier being killed whilst he was endeavouring to rally them, they made no more resistance, but fled in disorder. The right of the Imperialists, having broke down the bridge, intercepted those that fled, and put them all to the sword, not sparing even the bashaws, who offered them money to spare their lives. The ground was covered with twenty thousand dead, and ten thousand more were drowned in the *Theysse*. The loss of the Imperialists was very considerable, having only four hundred and thirty men killed, and fifteen hundred wounded. There were taken from the infidels nine hundred waggons, six thousand camels loaded with provisions, seven thousand horses, seventy-two heavy cannon, seven horse-tails, fifteen thousand tents, with that of the Grand Seignior, and his chariot, in which were ten women of the seraglio, the military chest, in which were found three millions, and the archives of the chancery of the sultan<sup>c</sup>.

The sultan takes Titoul.

Is intirely defeated by prince Eugene, with the loss of 30,000 men, &c.

f THAT prince had fled to *Belgrade* with a small body of horse, and left the remains of his army intrenched on the opposite bank of the *Theysse*; while prince *Eugene* marched into *Bosnia*, took *Seraglio*, the capital, by surprize, destroyed the fortresses of *Dobay*, *Magloy*, and *Brandack*, and loading his army with booty, led them back into winter-quarters, returning himself to *Vienna*.

g THE troops that had been employed upon the *Rhine*, and in *Italy*, having now marched into *Hungary*, and being assembled at *Salankemen*, between *Peterwaradin* and *Belgrade*, prince *Eugene* repaired thither early in the spring, with a design to open the campaign, before the

A. D. 1698.

<sup>a</sup> Theat. Europ. t. xv. p. 118, &c. <sup>b</sup> LEBEN. Eugen. part. i. p. 516, &c.

<sup>c</sup> Eur. Hist. t. ii. p. 1869.

Batailles de Prince Eugene, t. i.

<sup>c</sup> BARRE, t. x. p. 376.



*Turks* were joined by the khan of the *Tartars*, who was on his march with thirty thousand a men. The prince made many attempts to draw the enemy to an engagement; but they still continuing in their camp, he proposed in a council of war to besiege *Temeswaer*, which, if it was taken, would confine the infidels to *Walachia*, and prevent them from giving any assistance to the malcontents of *Transylvania* and *Upper Hungary*; but the place was so well provided with every thing for a siege, and the *Ottoman* army was now so strongly reinforced by the junction of the *Tartars*, and the garrisons of several towns, that it was thought proper not to undertake that enterprize. Prince *Eugene*, afterwards hearing of a great convoy that was preparing for *Temeswaer*, made all the necessary dispositions to intercept it; but his design being betrayed by a hussar that deserted to the enemy, the convoy was stopped, and the Imperialists obliged to return to their camp. Thus the whole campaign having passed b over without any action, both parties now waited the issue of the conferences for peace to be held at *Carlowitz*, a small town upon the *Danube*, near *Peterwaradin*.

A peace concluded between the emperor and the Turks at Carlowitz.

THE emperor, tho' he was now delivered from the war with *France*, yet, as his revenues were quite exhausted, he very willingly hearkened to proposals of peace; and the Grand Seignior, fearing a revolution upon his bad success, had prevailed with the king of *Great Britain*, and the states-general of the United Provinces, to act as mediators in negotiating a peace. The first conference was held on the first of *November*, and the preliminaries being quickly agreed upon, the treaty was signed on the twenty-sixth of *January*, in the year following, between the sultan on one part, and the house of *Austria*, the *Venetians*, *Poland*, and *Muscovy*, on the other. *Transylvania* was ceded to the emperor, with the conquests which he had made in *Hungary*; and a truce was agreed to between the emperor and the *Porte* for twenty-five years. The *Turks* being able to obtain nothing for *Tekeli*, as an acknowledgement for his services, they ceded to him *Lugos*, *Carinsibes*, and *Vidin*, with the title of a principality. c

THIS year there was some opposition to the execution of the treaty of *Ryswick* by the Protestants and the elector-palatine. The Protestants complained to the diet against the fourth article of the treaty, concerning religion, as a formed design between the emperor and the king of *France* to destroy the Protestant religion in *Germany*: but far from having that satisfaction which they desired, they were only told, that the article in the treaty, concerning religion, was conformable to that of *Westphalia*, the Catholics being left to enjoy the free d exercise of their religion in Protestant countries, and Protestants enjoying the same privileges in Catholic countries. The elector-palatine, under pretence of not being fully re-established in all his rights, refused to pay the one hundred thousand florins to the duchess of *Orleans*, according to his agreement. To prevent this refusal from troubling the peace of the empire, both parties consented to refer their reciprocal pretensions to the arbitration of the emperor's ministers at *Frankfort*.

Death of the duke of Hanover.

ERNEST-AUGUSTUS, duke of *Hanover*, dying on the twenty-fourth of *June*, without ever having been admitted into the electoral college, his son *George-Lewis*, who succeeded him, met likewise with the same opposition; for though he received the investiture of the electorate from the emperor, in the month of *January* following, yet the electors and princes e opposing him, presented a memorial to the kings of *France* and *Sweden*, guarantees of the treaty of *Westphalia*, shewing, that the erection of that electorate was contrary to the Golden Bull, and other constitutions of the empire. The two kings laid these complaints before the court of *Vienna*, who did not much regard them, hoping that the opposition would insensibly drop, when the fear of the tendency of the emperor's proceedings was abated.

A. D. 1700.

MEAN while, the king of *England* and the states of *Holland* took measures to preserve peace between the houses of *Austria* and *Bourbon*. As the king of *Spain*, whose life was now despaired of, had no children, and the young electoral prince of *Bavaria*, whom he had appointed his heir, was lately dead, it was thought prudent, in order to avoid a war, to regulate the succession to his estates by a treaty of partition before his death. The only pretenders to succession, by birth, were the dauphin, and *Joseph* king of the *Romans*. f The dauphin, being the son of the eldest daughter, seemed to have the best title; but *Maria-Theresa*, his mother, having renounced all right to the succession of *Spain*, the emperor justly insisted upon a preferable claim. *Lewis XIV.* from a pretence of moderation, and love of peace, did not insist upon the whole succession for the dauphin, but acceded to the partition; by which the dauphin was to have the kingdoms of *Naples* and *Sicily*, with their dependencies, the duchy of *Lorraine*, the marquissate of *Final*, and the province of *Guipuscoa*; the duke of *Lorraine* was to have the *Milanese*; and the archduke all the rest of the *Spanish* monarchy. The *French* king and his son appeared satisfied with the partition, and bound themselves not to accept any will, testament, or donation, contrary to the treaty. Nevertheless, the g greatest part of the troops of *France* moved towards *Spain*; and the ministers of *Lewis XIV.*

\* DUMONT. Corps Diplom. a l'ann. 1699. Bat. de Prince Eugene, t. i. p. 61.

\* Mem. de George I. t. i.



- a at that court, having gained over the cardinal *Portocarrero*, and many of the grandees, who had an aversion to the *Germans*, they persuaded their king to sign a will upon his death-bed, in favour of the duke of *Anjou*, second son to the dauphin. The emperor, who had all along refused to accede to the treaty of partition, as being rightful heir to the whole, now likewise declared against the will. He protested against all that had been done as null and void; and that he might not give apprehensions to the princes of *Germany*, by claiming the succession himself, he declared the archduke *Charles*, his second son, king of *Spain*, and only claimed the *Milanese* as a fief of the empire. The king of *Spain* dying on the first of *November*, *Lewis XIV.* immediately accepted of the will. He sent the duke of *Anjou* into *Spain*, ordered *French* garrisons into the *Spanish Netherlands* and the duchy of *Milan*, and sent a squadron of ships to the *West Indies*.

- b THE *French*, by sending garrisons into the *Milanese* and *Flanders*, greatly alarmed the emperor and the *Dutch*. *Leopold*, claiming the duchy of *Milan* as a fief of the empire, devolved to him by the death of the king of *Spain* without issue, ordered prince *Vaudemont*, governor of the *Milanese*, and likewise the cities of that duchy, to swear allegiance to him; but *Philip V.* the new king of *Spain*, had prevented him, and received the homage of the governor and the states before the arrival of the emperor's messenger. *Leopold*, then resolving to have recourse to arms, ordered a body of twenty-nine thousand men to march into *Italy* under the command of prince *Eugene*, and negotiated alliances with the other powers in *Europe*. The kings of *Denmark*, *Sweden*, and *Poland*, refused to engage in a league against *France*; and the *Swiss* cantons, and the republic of *Venice*, declared that they would observe an exact neutrality: but the elector of *Brandenburg* having for a long time been ambitious of the title of king, *Leopold* secured him to his interest, by consenting to acknowledge him as king of *Prussia*; for which favour the elector engaged to furnish ten thousand men at his own expence during the war, and likewise maintain a company in the garrison of *Philipsburg*. The king of *Portugal*, after many delays, at last made a treaty with *France* and *Spain*. The king of *England* and the states of *Holland* had not yet declared themselves: but the *French*, uneasy at their preparations, endeavoured to amuse them, by sending count *d'Avaux* to the *Hague*. After many conferences, the negotiation was at last broke up, the *French* refusing to evacuate the *Spanish Netherlands*, or give any satisfaction to the emperor.

The elector of Brandenburg acquires the title of king of Prussia.

- d PRINCE *Eugene*, having arrived in *Italy*, made a feint of passing the *Po* near *Ferrara*. Having thus amused the *French*, he passed the *Adige* near *Carpi*, and advanced to *Albaro*, within two miles of *Verona*. Upon his approach *Catinat* decamped, and posted five thousand of his men at *Carpi*, and the rest at *Ostiglia*. Prince *Eugene* attacking the forces posted at *Carpi*, after a brisk engagement drove them from their posts, took one hundred prisoners, and the greatest part of their baggage. In several other skirmishes the *Germans* having the advantage, *Lewis XIV.* sent *Villeroy* into *Italy*, with orders to march against the enemy. Prince *Eugene*, having then no place of defence to retire to, in case of a defeat, had fortified his camp at *Chiari* with strong intrenchments; and, being informed of the design of the enemy, disposed his army in order to receive them. On the first of *September* the *French*, having passed the *Oglio*, attacked the *German* camp with great resolution; but being received with firmness, after an engagement of four hours they were repulsed, with the loss of five thousand men. Afterwards, their army being attacked with sickness, they quitted the field, and retired into winter-quarters. Towards the end of the campaign the *Germans* laid all the *Mantuan* under contribution, except *Mantua* and *Goits*; and, continuing in motion all the winter, they took several places on the *Oglio*, which greatly enlarged their quarters.

Prince Eugene defeats the French at Carpi,

and afterwards at Chiari.

- f As the war between the emperor and *France* did not directly regard the empire, but only the succession to the crown of *Spain*, several princes of the empire assembled at *Heilbron*, and concluded a treaty of neutrality. The electors of *Bavaria*, *Cologne*, and *Mentz*, and the circles of *Suabia* and *Franconia*, engaged to take no part in the present war. But the emperor having prevailed with the greatest part of the princes to take part with him in the war, the dukes of *Hanover* and *Zell* marched with their troops into the territories of the duke of *Wolfembutte*, and made themselves masters of several places, which obliged that duke to quit his engagements with *France*, the elector promising to take into his service those troops he had raised to serve *Lewis XIV.* The *Dutch* likewise, being informed that the elector of *Cologne* desired some *French* troops to enter his country, marched into his territories, and took possession of several of his towns. Representing to the king of *England*, that the *French* had put formidable garrisons into the strong towns in *Spanish Flanders*, were drawing a line from the *Schelde* to the *Maese*, were making great magazines in *Brabant*, *Guelderland*, and *Namur*, and building forts under the cannon of the towns belonging to

\* Mem. Negoc. par LAMBERTI, t. i. p. 381.



An alliance  
concluded be-  
tween the em-  
peror, Eng-  
land, and  
Holland.

the states, that prince concluded an alliance with them and the emperor, which was signed at the *Hague* on the seventh of *September*, and known afterwards by the name of the *triple Alliance*. By this treaty it was stipulated, that if, in the space of two months, the *French* king did not give satisfaction to the demands of the allies, the parties concerned should mutually assist each other with their whole strength.

MARECHAL *Villeroy*, having left his head-quarters at *Cremona*, and repaired to *Milan* with several of the officers of the garrison, to be present at the diversions celebrated in that city in the month of *January*, prince *Eugene* formed the design of surprising *Cremona*. Having ordered prince *Thomas* to march from the *Parmesan* with eight thousand men, to be ready at a certain time to take possession of the bridge upon the *Po*, he himself marched secretly on the other side of the river towards the town; and sending in a small body of men, through the ruins of an old aqueduct, who quickly made themselves masters of one of the gates, he entered the city with four thousand men, before the garrison had any apprehension of his being near them<sup>k</sup>. The *Germans* were opposed by one regiment at first, till the rest of the garrison put themselves in a posture of defence; then the skirmishes became very warm, the Imperialists still pushing forwards to the other side of the town, wanting to make themselves masters of the gate of the bridge. *Villeroy*, who had returned from *Milan* the evening before, awaking with the disturbance, ran out into the street, and was taken prisoner by the *Germans*<sup>l</sup>. The garrison, by this time, being thoroughly alarmed, had secured the gate of the bridge; and the body of troops, that marched from the *Parmesan*, coming too late, had no access, which delay obliged prince *Eugene* to think of a retreat. Finding it impossible to keep possession of the town with the few troops he had, after skirmishing the whole day, he retired at night by the gate of *St. Margaret*, carrying marechal *Villeroy*, and several other prisoners, with him.

THE *French*, having then no other enemy to contend with but prince *Eugene*, in the beginning of *March* sent twenty-five thousand men into *Italy*, under the command of the duke of *Vendome*, who was to succeed marechal *Villeroy*. The duke having marched thro' the *Venetian* territories, to avoid prince *Eugene's* posts upon the *Oglio*, arrived at the *French* camp, and began with the relief of *Mantua*; which had been blockaded by prince *Eugene* for eight months. In the beginning of *June*, the *French* army encamped within a league of the Imperialists, with the design of offering a battle; but as they were greatly superior, prince *Eugene* declined an engagement, till he should be reinforced by the junction of several garrisons. Hearing that the *French* had a design upon the castle of *Luzara*, the prince marched on the fifteenth of *August* with a design to attack them: at five in the evening the artillery began to play upon the enemy, and soon after both armies engaged; the battle continued for two hours very desperate, and night putting an end to the engagement, both sides claimed the honour of the victory<sup>m</sup>, the *Germans* having possessed the field of action, and the *French* afterwards making themselves masters of *Luzara* and *Guaftalla*.

England and  
Holland de-  
clare war  
against  
France.

QUEEN *Anne*, who succeeded to the throne of *England* after the death of king *William*, supported the engagements which he had entered into, and on the fourth of *May* declared war against *France* and *Spain*. The *Dutch* having sent some troops to the siege of *Kaiserwert*, as auxiliaries to the emperor, followed the example of queen *Anne*, and became principals in the war. *Kaiserwert* having been put into the hands of the *French* by the elector of *Cologne*, and endangering the circle of *Westphalia*, and the states of *Holland*, the emperor ordered the prince of *Nassau-Saurbrug* to besiege the place. The garrison being frequently reinforced by count *Tallard*, who was encamped on the other side of the *Rhine*, the allies did not make themselves masters of the town before the fifteenth of *June*, after fifty-nine days open trenches<sup>n</sup>.

THE duke of *Burgundy* arriving at the *French* camp on the tenth of *June*, marechal *Boufflers* decamped privately with a design of surprising *Nimeguen*; but the earl of *Athlone*, who then commanded the confederate army, hearing of his intention, marched immediately to prevent him, and arrived at the outworks of the place half an hour before him. The *French*, thus disappointed of their design upon *Nimeguen*, fled off towards *Cleve*, venting their rage upon the defenceless country, which they rifled and laid waste.

WHILE the *French* army encamped at *Cleve*, the earl of *Marlborough* arrived at *Nimeguen* to command the army of the allies; and drawing all the detachments from the garrison that could be spared, he passed the *Maese* below *Grave*, and took the route of *Brabant*. The duke of *Burgundy* being informed of this, advanced towards *Ruremond*, and reinforced the garrisons in *Spanish Guelderland*: then finding himself obliged to retreat as the confederates advanced, he left the command of the army to marechal *Boufflers*, and departed for *Paris* on the sixteenth of *September*. The allies having taken several small places without

<sup>k</sup> LEBEN. EUGENII, part ii. p. 100. Lettres Hist. Mars & Mai, 1702.

<sup>m</sup> LEBEN. CAROLI. part i. p. 741. Lettres Hist. Sept. 1702.

<sup>l</sup> BARRE, t. x. p. 411.

<sup>n</sup> Hist. de Prov. Unies, tom. i. lib. xvi.

p. 437.



a any resistance, endeavoured to bring the *French* army to an engagement; but the deputies of the states-general, who followed the army, having represented to him that it was much more for the advantage of *Holland* to dispossess the enemy of the towns they held in *Spanish Guelderland*, he detached several parties, who took *Venloo*, *Maseick*, *Stevenswert*, and *Ruremond*. Marechal *Boufflers*, fearing that the allies had a design upon *Liège*, went and posted himself at *Tongres*, with a view of securing that place; but the confederates advancing, obliged the city to capitulate, and afterwards took the citadel by storm. The allies take Venloo, Maseick, Ruremond, &c.

b THE emperor having prevailed with the greatest part of the princes of the empire to abandon a neutrality, employed those troops that were raised for the preservation of the peace of the empire, in the war against *France*; and having assembled a powerful army, gave the command of it to the prince of *Baden*. The troops being encamped between *Spire* and *Worms*, began the campaign by laying siege to *Landau*. Some days after the opening of the trenches, the king of the *Romans* arrived at the camp, in order to make his first campaign<sup>o</sup>; but with so large a train, and so splendid an equipage, that the expence of it threw all the emperor's affairs in disorder, the most necessary things being neglected, while the treasure was wasted in supporting this needless pomp. The siege was stopped for some weeks for want of ammunition; but at last the citadel was taken by storm on the ninth of *September*, and on the twelfth the city surrendered. The king of the Romans takes Landau.

c AFTER the taking of *Landau*, the king of the *Romans* encamped at *Bischweiler* near *Straßburg*, with a design of attacking the *French* army commanded by marechal *Catinat*; but seeing the *French* strongly intrenched, and always upon their guard, he quitted the army, leaving the command to the prince of *Baden*. Afterwards, the imperial army being greatly weakened by several detachments, which the neighbouring circles and princes had called away to defend themselves against the enterprizes of the elector of *Bavaria*, the design of attacking the *French* army was laid aside. That elector having, from the beginning, secretly favoured the succession of the duke of *Anjou*, his nephew, was now prevailed upon by the offers of *France* to declare publicly in their favour; after he had, on the eighth of *September*, surprised the free city of *Ulm*, and taken *Kiechberg*, *Biberach*, and some other places<sup>p</sup>. The elector of Bavaria declares for France, and seizes Ulm.

d THESE proceedings of the elector of *Bavaria* alarmed the diet at *Ratisbon*: the credit of the emperor being very great in that assembly, it was resolved, by a decree of the twentieth of *September*, to declare war against *France*; and a memorial was presented to the emperor, requesting him to proceed against the elector, according to the constitutions of the empire. Mean while, the *French* army being now superior to the prince of *Baden*, took possession of *Neuburg* on the *Rhine*, over which river they laid a bridge, notwithstanding the great fire of the Imperialists; and marechal *Catinat* sent a detachment of ten thousand men, under the orders of count *Guiscard* and the marquis *de Villars*, to march towards *Huningen*, in order to cut off provisions from the prince of *Baden*. The prince being informed of the motion of the *French*, decamped from *Fridlinguen* on the thirteenth of *October*, in order to go into winter-quarters; but being observed by the marquis of *Villars*, who was encamped near *Huningen*, the *French* passed the *Rhine*, and attacked him on his march. Marquis of Villars attacks the prince of Baden on his march.

e After an obstinate and bloody engagement, which continued for near two hours, the prince, being greatly inferior to the *French*, began to think of a retreat; but his infantry falling upon the *French* foot with fresh vigour, broke their ranks, and drove them from their ground into a wood. The prince, after he had been five hours upon the field of battle, directed his march towards *Stauffen*. Nevertheless the *French* claimed the honour of the victory; and *Lewis XIV.* honouring *Villars* with a marechal's staff, ordered *Te Deum* to be sung. The prince of *Baden*, soon after having received a reinforcement, advanced within half a league of *Neuburg*, with the design of a second engagement; but marechal *Villars*, not thinking fit to wait his approach, repassed the *Rhine*, and encamped at *Otmarfen*.

f MARECHAL *Villars*, being thus prevented from joining the *Bavarians*, wrote to count *d'Arco*, their general, that he would march towards him by the forest-cities; but the *Swiss*, having put garrisons in these towns, declared that they would take up arms against him, if he undertook any thing to the prejudice of the liberty of these places. The *Bavarians*, though they failed in being assisted by the *French*, took *Kempten* and *Weissenburg*, and beat count *Palfi*, who commanded the Imperialists in that province. Towards the end of *October* likewise the *French* made themselves masters of *Triers* and *Traerbach*; while, on the other side, the prince of *Hesse-Cassel*, marching from *Liege* with ten thousand *Hessians*, retook *Zinck*, *Brisack*, and *Andernach*, from the *French*. The French take Triers and Traerbach.

g LEWIS XIV. being assisted by the elector of *Bavaria*, resolved to carry the war into the empire; and apprehending that the duke of *Lorraine* would declare for the house of *Austria*, he obliged him to receive *French* troops into *Nanci*, and his other fortified towns. A. D. 1703.

<sup>o</sup> DE BREAND Journal du Siege de Landau, An. 1702. 287. Contin. of Rapin, v. i. p. 364.

<sup>p</sup> BARRE, t. x. p. 418. HEISS, l. iii. p.



The duke of Savoy concludes an alliance with the emperor.

He likewise desired to continue the alliance with the duke of Savoy; but that duke beginning to reflect, that if the French king drove the Imperialists out of Italy, and became master of the Milanese, he must be exposed to his mercy; and finding that the emperor was willing to make him large offers, he abandoned the interests of France, and concluded a treaty with the emperor on the fifth of January, Leopold having ceded Montferrat to him, with some cities of the Milanese. Lewis XIV. being informed of this treaty, ordered the duke of Vendome to seize and disarm the troops of Savoy that were in his army, and demand the fortresses of Vercell, Verjur, and Susa. The duke, instead of complying with this demand, published a manifesto against France, and sent envoys to England and Holland to solicit assistance, while count Staremberg received positive orders from Vienna to endeavour to join him with fifteen thousand men. That count made himself famous by his remarkable march; having left the Modenese in the worst season of the year, when the roads seemed almost impassable, by reason of the rains that had fallen, he marched through the enemy's country, having the French frequently both before and behind him; and, notwithstanding all obstructions, joined the duke of Savoy at Canelli.

The elector of Bavaria takes possession of Ratisbon.

THE emperor being informed that marechal Villars had orders to join the elector of Bavaria, with the army then encamped at Strasburg, sent the prince of Baden with an army to watch his motions; while the counts of Stirum and Schlick had orders to march with two different bodies to enter Bavaria, the one on the side of Saltzburg, the other on the side of Neumark. Stirum, having taken Neumark, defeated a body of Bavarian troops, and made himself master of Freystadt and Neufchatel. At the same time count Schlick, having passed the Inn, took possession of several small places on the other side of Bavaria, and published the evocatory letters of the emperor, discharging the magistrates from their oath of fidelity to the elector their sovereign. To put a stop to the progress of the imperial generals, the elector assembled his army near Brenau, and, to deceive count Schlick, reported that he was going to besiege Passaw. The imperial general, considering the importance of that place, marched towards it with the greatest part of his infantry: the elector having thus succeeded in dividing the count's army, marched towards the bridge of Schardigen, and attacking the body of troops commanded by general Plesse, he routed them, and made himself master of the tents and baggage, and a few days after took Neuburg on the Inn. Afterwards marching towards Ratisbon, with a design of making himself master of that city, count Stirum raised the siege of Amberg, and went to encamp between that place and Neumark, resolving to engage the elector with the first opportunity. The elector, without giving the Imperialists time to entrench themselves, marched towards them all night, and at eight in the morning attacking their camp, routed them in less than half an hour, having killed and taken prisoners about three hundred men, the prince of Brandenburg-Anspach being among the number of the first. The elector having formerly proposed to the city of Ratisbon to observe a neutrality, and not to allow a passage to the imperial troops, to which proposal he had never got any satisfactory answer, now marched to that city, and obliged the magistrates to deliver up the bridge and two gates upon the Danube. Notwithstanding this the emperor refused to ratify the conclusion of the diet for the neutrality of the city; therefore the elector still kept possession of the city, and the deputies fearing to be over-awed in their deliberations, transported the diet to Lintz.

WHILE the elector of Bavaria was employed in protecting his territories from the imperial troops, marechal Villars had passed the Rhine, and taken the fort of Kell over-against Strasburg, and several redoubts built upon the banks of the Rhine. Afterwards attacking the lines of the prince of Baden at Stolhoffen, with an intention of joining the elector of Bavaria, he was repulsed with great loss, the prince having received a reinforcement of eight Dutch regiments during the time of the action. Notwithstanding this unsuccessful attempt, Villars, having received repeated orders, resolved to endeavour to join the elector by the Black Forest, where the passes were but slightly guarded, it being thought impracticable to march that way, by reason of the great rains; and overcoming all difficulties, he at last joined the elector near Dutling, on the nineteenth of September.

Count Stirum is defeated by the French and Bavarians.

THE combined army immediately marched to attack the lines of count Stirum; but that general, being informed of their design, quitted his intrenchments, and marched to join the prince of Baden. The duke of Bavaria and marechal Villars, pursuing him, defeated his army near Donawert, and obliged them to retire under the cannon of Norlingen, leaving all their baggage, thirty-three pieces of cannon, and three thousand dead upon the field, besides losing three thousand prisoners, and many standards. The French likewise, with another army of forty thousand men, commanded by the duke of Burgundy, besieged Brisack, which surrendered after three days open trenches, for which the governor afterwards lost his head; and count Marfigli, who was second in command, was degraded, and had his sword broke over his head by the hand of the hangman.

<sup>a</sup> BARRE, t. x. p. 428.

<sup>c</sup> Mem. de Lamberty, tom. ii. pag. 601, &c.



- a WHILEST the emperor was thus overpowered in Germany by the French and Bavarians, the affairs of the confederates upon the Lower Rhine, and in Flanders, were in a more prosperous situation. Count Lettum, general of the Prussians, having taken Rhimbreg, blocked up Gueldres; and the duke of Marlborough having invested Bonn, opened the trenches in three different places, on the eighth of May, and carrying on the siege with great vigour, obliged the city to surrender on the fourteenth. While the duke of Marlborough was employed in the siege of Bonn, the rest of the confederate army, then assembled at Maestricht, proposed to march to Tongeren; but the marechals Boufflers and Villeroy advancing with forty thousand men, the allies were obliged to retreat under the cannon of Maestricht. The French afterwards took Tongeren, where two battalions were quartered; but the duke of Marlborough joining the confederate army at Maestricht, with the troops that formed the siege of Bonn, they abandoned that place, after they had blown up the walls and the tower, and retreated to Hannuyt. The French thus declining an engagement, the allies resolved to attack them in their intrenchments: accordingly baron Spaar was appointed to attack the lines towards Ghent; while general Coeborn passed the Scheld with another detachment, to make an attack near Liefkenshoek; and general Opdam, with the rest of the army, made an attempt before Antwerp. On the twenty-seventh of June, in the morning, baron Spaar feigning a march towards Eruges, immediately altered his disposition, and attacked the lines in the country of Waes, near Steken, where, after a bloody and obstinate dispute, he forced them sword in hand. About the same time, general Coeborn attacking them at the point of Callo, after a short resistance, broke through, with very inconsiderable loss. Next day baron Opdam, who was posted nearest Antwerp, marched to Eckeren, with design of appearing before that city, and preventing them from sending any detachments over the bridge into Flanders. He remained two days without seeing any enemy; but, on the thirtieth of June, marechal Boufflers and marquis Bedmar appeared at the head of thirty-two squadrons and thirty-two battalions, and using the advantage of their superiority, immediately attacked the allies. The action was very warm on both sides, and the French pushing on within pistol-shot of the place where general Opdam was, cut him off from the army; upon which he fled to Breda, with thirty horse: but the Dutch, tho' forsaken by their general, rallied again, and maintained their ground with such firmness, that the French were obliged to retire. As the loss was pretty equal on both sides, each party claimed the victory. The allies soon after joining all their forces together, took Limburg and Huy; and Gueldres at last surrendered to the Prussians, on the seventeenth of December.

The duke of Marlborough takes Bonn.

The allies take Limburg and Huy.

ON the Upper Rhine, after marechal Villars had joined the Bavarians, the elector marched into Tirol, reviving his antient claims upon that province; and having taken Inspruck the capital, and raised great contributions on the other towns, he marched towards Trent, to meet the duke of Vendome, who was to join him from Italy; but count Staremberg detaching a body of troops to secure the passes and castles upon the road, and the boors of Tirol rising against the Bavarians, the elector was obliged to retire out of the country before the duke of Vendome could join him.

- e THE duke of Burgundy having left the command of the army after the reduction of Brieg, marechal Tallard was ordered to besiege Landau, which had been taken by the king of the Romans the year before. The place being of great importance, the prince of Hesse-Cassel set forwards from the Netherlands with a body of troops, in order to raise the siege, who having joined the general of the Palatine forces near Spire, they concerted measures for the relief of the place. The French, hearing of the prince's departure, ordered monsieur Præcontal, with a body of ten thousand men, to follow him with all expedition. Marechal Tallard having received this reinforcement, did not wait for the Imperialists in his lines, but marched out to meet them, and attacking them before they had time to form, he defeated them with the loss of three or four thousand men. Afterwards returning to his camp before Landau, the governor of the city expecting no more relief, surrendered on the sixteenth of November. The elector of Bavaria still keeping the field, on the sixth of December invested Augsburg, which surrendered soon after.

The French take Landau.

The prince of Hesse is defeated at Spierbach.

- g ABOUT the end of this month, Charles, king of Spain, arrived in England from Vienna, in order to embark from thence for Lisbon, the king of Portugal having now made an alliance with the emperor, upon consideration of having several places in Spain, and the country beyond Rio de la Plata in America, ceded to him. Leopold, who, in the beginning of the war, had ceased mentioning his claim to the crown of Spain, and only insisted on his right to the Milanese, as a fief of the empire, judging that the Germanic body would not consent to his adding that monarchy to his hereditary dominions, this year ceded his right to the Spanish monarchy to the archduke Charles, who was proclaimed at Vienna, on the twelfth of September, king of Spain, by the name of Charles III.\* In England he was received

A. D. 1704.

\* BARRE, tom. x. p. 441. HEISS, l. iii. p. 290.



with great magnificence; and the queen behaved towards him in a very noble and obliging manner. Orders being immediately given to fit out the fleet with all expedition, he sailed soon after for *Portugal*, where he arrived on the ninth of *March*, with about nine thousand men, raised by *England* and *Holland* for his service. *Charles*, upon his landing at *Lisbon*, published a manifesto in *Portugal* and *Spain*, promising a pardon to all those who should abandon the party of *Philip* duke of *Anjou*. This prince, on the other side, published a manifesto, which he supported with a strong army, and entering *Portugal*, took several towns, which the *Portuguese* retook at the end of the campaign. The prince of *Darmstadt* foiled an attempt on *Barcelona*, sailed with the combined fleet to *Gibraltar*, which he reduced in the month of *August*, and surrendered into the hands of the *English*.

In *Italy* the *French* seized upon *Modena*, because the duke had declared for the emperor. The Imperialists retaliated upon the prince of *Mirandola*, protected by *Lewis*; and the duke of *Mantua*, perceiving his dominions become the theatre of war, retired to *Paris*, where he married madame d'*Elbauf*. Nothing, however, could obstruct the conquests of *Vendome*, who over-ran the territory of *Victor Amadeus* with surprising rapidity. *Vercel* and *Touré* fell an easy prey, and were demolished; *Susa* experienced the same fate; but *Verue* sustained a siege of five months open trenches, though the garrison at length yielded to the superior fortune of the *French* general.

Disturbances  
in Hungary.

WHILE the imperial court was under great affliction for the losses sustained in *Italy*, the *Hungarian* malcontents ravaging the duchy of *Austria*, pushed their incursions to the gates of *Vienna*. To prevent their destroying the suburbs, the emperor ordered a deep ditch to be formed from the mountains to the *Danube*, and defended by strong redoubts, mounted with cannon. Three years had now passed since the court had arrested *Ragotski*; about this time he made his escape, and no sooner found himself at liberty, than he fomented a rebellion in *Hungary*, in defence of the religion and privileges of that kingdom. The allies, apprehending the disturbances in this quarter might occasion an unreasonable diversion, and draw the emperor's attention from the affairs of *Spain*, and the more immediate object of the confederacy, offered their mediation. They pleaded so warmly the general interest of the empire, that the *Hungarians* consented to send deputies to *Vienna* to represent their grievances. They demanded, in consequence of the royal capitulation, that all civil and military employments should be given to natives; that the prince *Ragotski* should be set at liberty; that the sentence pronounced against the prince should be revoked, and all his possessions restored. The imperial court was unwilling to accept these conditions; but fearing they could not obtain better by force of arms, they proposed, that the kingdom of *Hungary* should be elective at the death of the king of the *Romans*; that this prince should renounce the hereditary act passed in favour of his family, provided the nobility and people renewed their oath of fidelity to his person; that the Catholic and Protestant religions should be mutually tolerated and restored to their former privileges; that the emperor and king of the *Romans* should grant a general amnesty without exception; that all new taxes should be abolished, and the people suffered to engage in every species of industry and commerce, on paying the antient duties regulated by the states of the kingdom; that, in three months after the ratification of this agreement, a general diet of the nation should assemble, to examine the grievances of the people; and that, for the three succeeding years, the same diet, if they thought proper, should meet, to deliberate on the general affairs of the kingdom; finally, that the *Hungarians* should be permitted to send residents to *Vienna*, vested with the character of counsellors to the king.

THESE terms would appear more favourable to the *Hungarians* than the conditions demanded; but they were thought too general. *Ragotski*'s ambition and revenge were not satiated; his influence was great, and he found himself supported by a powerful army. In person he commanded a body of twenty thousand *Hungarians*; general *Forgats* was at the head of eight thousand; count *Caroli* had under him nine thousand men; *Esterhazi* four thousand; and *Bereccini* was assembling an army of twenty-five thousand strong. So formidable an armament elevated the courage, and raised the demands of the *Hungarians*: they grew indifferent to an accommodation, and were preparing to drive matters to extremities, and begin the war with vigour. Their conduct greatly embarrassed the court at this critical juncture. Already the *French* army, under the elector of *Bavaria*, occupied the chief posts on the *Neckar* and the *Danube*, after having reduced *Augsburg*, *Passau*, and other considerable places. *Lewis* had promised to assist him with all his forces; but all the passes were guarded, and the lines of *Stolhoffen*, *Kinchel*, and *Bebel*, possessed by the prince of *Baden*. Marechal *Tallard*, however, surmounted these difficulties by an ingenious feint: under pretence of a design to march through the *Swiss* territories, he drew off the imperial forces from their posts, and penetrated by forced marches the *Black Forest*. Nothing could

Defeat of the  
elector of Ba-  
varia and  
French.



- a now have saved the empire besides the vigilance and ability of *Marlbrough*, who flew with incredible rapidity from the *Netherlands*, joined the prince of *Baden*, forced the lines at *Schellemburg*, obliged the elector to retire from *Dillingen*, his troops to abandon *Donawert*, after burning the magazines, and several cities of the electorate to submit to the superior fortune and conduct of the confederates. It was now that the most advantageous propositions were made to that prince, with a view to detach him from the *French* monarch. He amused the allies, under the pretext of deliberating upon their proposals; but shewed, by the event, that nothing was capable of shaking his constancy and fidelity to his engagements. The battle of *Blenheim* was lost, after prodigious slaughter; the electress constrained to implore the protection of the imperial court, at the price of almost all her dominions, and the electorate reduced to the utmost distress; yet did the elector remain firm and unmoved in his resolution to adhere to the treaty with *Lewis* (A).

b In consequence of the flow of success produced by the actions at *Schellemburg* and *Blenheim*, the emperor commanded the ministers of *Bavaria* and *Cologne* to quit *Ratisbon*; a proceeding which highly incensed the *Bavarians*, and obliged them to declare to the inhabitants, that, if they refused paying a contribution of three hundred thousand florins, their city would immediately be laid in ashes. The regency and the diet were terrified at these menaces: the imperial ministers represented the danger of continuing the diet in a city threatened with bombardment, and proposed transferring it to *Egra*, a strong town on the frontiers of *Bohemia* and *Franconia*. To this the deputies of the circles replied, that, by the constitution of the *Germanic* body, the diet could only be held in a free city; that, as *Egra* did not enjoy this privilege, they could not consent to the proposition; but it was easy, they said, to obviate all difficulties, by observing an exact neutrality.

*Disputes in the diet.*

c DURING these disputes about the security of the diet, and the privileges of the *Germanic* constitution, the allies, determined to push their advantage, invested *Landau*, where the brave defence of *Laubanie* astonished all *Europe*. This intrepid officer behaved, under the pressure of bodily infirmity, and the misfortune of blindness, with all the ardour and impetuosity of youthful bloom and florid health. He replied to the menacing summons sent to him by the king of the *Romans*, that he could not let slip the glorious opportunity of perishing in the service of his country, and erecting the most honourable monument to his own memory on the ruins of *Landau*, in which he proposed burying himself. He kept his word, and obstinately defended the last remaining work, ordering himself to be conducted to the trenches to feel the progress of the enemy, and giving directions for the sallies; which the soldiers, fired with the amazing constancy of their general, obeyed without murmuring, and executed with irresistible fury. At length *Laubanie* was wounded, every inch of ground was lost, the garrison dwindled to an handful, spent with perpetual fatigue, and a general assault preparing: this determined the governor to save the lives of his valiant garrison by an honourable capitulation, which he obtained, without hesitation, on the twenty-fourth of *November*, after the siege had cost the Imperialists near ten thousand men, killed and wounded.

*The brave defence of Landau.*

d THE campaign terminated with the obstinate battle of *Cassano*, in which prince *Eugene* was defeated, after the most glorious efforts to restore the emperor's affairs in *Italy*. Greatly inferior in number of troops, distressed for money and necessaries, and supported only by promises and his own genius, he encountered *Vendome*, the best general of *France*, at the head of an army flushed with conquest. Even his repulse at *Cassano* was less mortifying to the great soul of *Eugene*, than the constant checks and mortifications he sustained from the unsteady measures of the imperial court, fluctuating from one resolution to another. Already the princes of the empire began to testify their aversion to a war, which, though fortunate for the last campaign in *Germany*, produced nothing but useless victories, desolation, and slaughter: the republic of *Holland* raised various difficulties about furnishing her quota of money and troops: she made fresh demands, and proposed several alterations in the new levies, in the pay, cloathing, and quarters of the army: the prince of *Hesse* refused to suffer his troops to be commanded by *Dutch* officers: and prince *Lewis* of *Baden* would not acknowledge that superiority which had long been granted by the other inferior princes of the empire as due to the republic. To these difficulties others, more immediately relative to the empire, were superadded: the circle of *Suabia*, to avoid paying the stipulated contingent, represented, that the country was ruined by the heavy contributions levied by the

<sup>u</sup> Ibid.

g (A) The reader will perceive that we only touch upon those transactions, which already have been explicitly related in the history of *France*, volume ix. This is necessary to avoid repetition, to confine our labours to a moderate length, and to furnish an opportunity of dwell-

ing more minutely on those occurrences, which more immediately regard the empire. A general history must be retrenched in some places, in proportion as it is redundant in others.



*French*, by furnishing winter-quarters to both armies, and by the marches and counter-marches of friends and enemies. This affair was debating in the aulic council, when the emperor *Leopold* breathed his last, on the third day of *May*, after having wore the imperial diadem for forty-six years, maintained the affection of his subjects, great authority in the diet, the respect of neighbouring powers, and the reputation of an affable, cautious, and politic prince, whose prudence had often preserved the crown that tottered on his head, and his character, amidst the vicissitudes of a variegated fortune (B).

W STRUV. tom. x. sect. xi

(B) *Leopold* was elected emperor at *Frankfort* in 1658; three years before the states of *Austria* had paid him homage: at the same time he was crowned king of *Hungary* at *Presburg*, and soon after of *Bohemia* at *Prague*. In 1666, he married *Maria-Theresa*, daughter of *Philip IV.* of *Spain*. At her death he espoused *Claudia*, daughter to his cousin the archduke *Ferdinand*: and lastly, he married *Eleonora*, princess of palatine, daughter to the elector. By his first marriage, he had one daughter; and by the last, two sons and three daughters (1).

(1) STRUV. tom. x. sect. xi. pag. 4051. BARRE, tom. x. pag. 460.

## C H A P. XXIV.

*Containing the Election of the Emperor Joseph; the Transactions in Hungary; the Progress of the German War; the Disputes with the Pope; the Disturbances in Bohemia; the Affairs of the North; and the Invasion of Saxony; with other Particulars.*

### J O S E P H.

A. D. 1705.  
The emperor  
Joseph's offers  
to the Hunga-  
rians.

THE emperor *Joseph* succeeded to the imperial crown of his father in the flower of his age, after having some years before been solemnly acknowledged king of *Hungary* and *Bohemia*. It was universally believed that this change in the succession would contribute greatly to terminate a war, which had desolated *Germany*, and impoverished *Europe*; but the opportunity that offered of recovering *Lorrain*, and penetrating into *France*, was lost. The *English* were obstinately bent against all terms of accommodation; and *Lewis* was not sufficiently humbled to grant such conditions to *Joseph*, separately, as he could with honour accept. It was certainly intended to compromise the differences with the *Hungarians*; but their spirit and invincible love of liberty pushed them on to demand such a barrier for their freedom, as would wholly have destroyed the emperor's authority. *Joseph* banished the ministers most attached to the jesuits, hoping thereby to prevail on the malcontents to listen to reasonable conditions. He promised to restore to the natives all the effects the jesuits had acquired, and the immense riches they had amassed since the year 1655; to convoke a general diet, to which all might report their grievances; to restore and confirm the antient privileges of the nation; to assemble a general diet every three years, and oftener, if necessary; candidly to examine the pretensions of *Ragotski*, and the other discontented chiefs; and to pass a general amnesty, including all degrees of men. Six days were given the *Hungarians* to deliberate on these proposals; after which they were to be persecuted with the utmost rigour, and their country desolated with fire and sword.

*RAGOTSKI* called a great council of the principal lords of the kingdom to deliberate on these proposals: the result was, to hearken to no conditions which tended to disunite them; to keep in arms until their grievances were fully redressed; to oblige *Joseph* wholly to banish the jesuits; to abolish the arrears of the diet of *Presburg* in 1687; to restore to the people their uncontested right of electing their own sovereigns; to have the sole garrisoning of their own fortresses; and to obtain ample security that no foreign troops should ever be quartered in the kingdom, or employments bestowed but upon natural-born *Hungarians*, either civil or ecclesiastical, except in cases where the diet should think proper to gratify very extraordinary services by certain preferments. All the members of the council swore strictly to observe this resolution, and to punish as traitors to their country those who should depart from their engagements, or connive in the least with the measures of the house of *Austria*.

THE consequence of the discontents in *Hungary* was apparent to the confederates. *England* and *Holland* were sensible that the emperor would apply his whole strength to subdue those turbulent subjects; they therefore exerted their utmost endeavours to mediate an accommodation. Their mediation was accepted by both parties, and conferences were held at *Tyrnaw*; but some inconsiderable advantages gained by the imperial forces encouraged the emperor to rise in his demands. A body of the *Hungarians* was defeated

<sup>a</sup> BARRE. tom. x. pag. 464.

near



a near *Fort Pax* by general *Glokelsberg*; and *Bereccini* was worsted in a sharp encounter he had with count *Heißler*. Thus the negotiations were broke off, after they were in a fair train of coming to a happy issue.

GENERAL *Heberville*, who commanded the grand imperial army, could not boast the same advantages. After raising the blockade of *Waradin*, he advanced within sight of the malcontents, intrenched at *Scibo* to dispute his passage. Here he met with a variety of unexpected obstructions; and was reduced to the necessity of giving battle, under all the disadvantages of situation, in returning to *Great Waradin*, and exposing his rear to the attacks of the enemy. Besides, *Rabutin* had sent him advice, that, without immediate succours, he should be forced to relinquish all his imperial majesty's fortresses in *Transylvania*.  
 b In this extremity, he determined upon fighting. At first the enemy made a brave resistance: they twice repulsed the Imperialists with great slaughter; but their cavalry giving way, they were forced to yield to *Heberville's* obstinacy, to abandon their camp with precipitation, and leave their baggage and magazines to be plundered. This victory was followed by the intire reduction of *Transylvania*, where the emperor's sovereignty was again acknowledged; after which *Heberville* returned to *Hungary*, having left a sufficient force with *Rabutin* for the defence of the province.

*Operations of the campaign in Germany.*

WHILE *Vienna* rung with rejoicings for the victory at *Scibo*, *Lower Hungary*, *Moravia*, and the hereditary dominions, were desolated by the malcontents, who had penetrated into the heart of the duchy of *Austria*. *Trauttsrandorf*, with some other towns and villages, were  
 c laid in ashes, and several fortresses reduced, in which the rebels lodged their booty. Their success in pillaging drew into their party crowds of the *Austrian* peasants, fired with the hopes of plunder; and this increase of numbers so elevated the expectations of the malcontents, that they refused the armistice proposed by the mediators. The allies acted heartily in this cause, that the emperor might be at liberty to turn his whole force against the common enemy; but their endeavours proved fruitless. *Lewis*, though considerably weakened by his late defeats, still maintained his spirit, and now joined redoubled activity to numerous forces. *Marechal Villars* was at the head of a formidable army on the *Moselle*; and the banks of the *Rhine* were covered by the numerous troops of *Marsin*. The elector of *Bavaria* had invested and reduced *Huy*, the garrison surrendering prisoners of  
 d war; and *Liege* was in the utmost danger, had not the fortune of *Marlborough* interposed. That general, with his usual boldness and irresistible impetuosity, forced the elector's lines near *Messelin* on the *Maine*, and obliged him to retire in disorder towards *Louvain*, to cover that place, *Antwerp*, *Lièrre*, and *Mechlin*. This motion rendered almost fruitless the bloody advantage gained by the allies; yet the elector mentions it in the following modest terms, in a letter which he wrote in the field to his favourite the baron *Malkenecht*:  
 "God I hope will pardon those who were the cause of our being surpris'd. The whole  
 "army is here; nor is the misfortune irrecoverable; with God's assistance we shall be  
 "able to save *Brabant* and *Antwerp*. I am well, but extremely fatigued." After all, it was the obstinacy of the *Dutch* deputies which probably saved the elector: *Marlborough*  
 e was for pursuing and attacking him in the neighbourhood of *Louvain*; but he was opposed by the *Hollanders*, who refused to suffer the *Dutch* army to run the hazard. The *English* general loudly complained, that their unseasonable caution had wrested victory out of his hands, and deprived him of additional laurels. He remonstrated to the states-general, of the little regard paid by their officers to discipline and subordination: "My  
 "heart is so full, said he, that I cannot refrain from lamenting to you the decline of my  
 "authority since the last campaign." However, all his remonstrances produced no effect: all his efforts served only to reduce some inconsiderable places, and were insufficient to prevent the elector's becoming master of *Diest*.

ALTERCATIONS now arose between the confederate generals. *Marlborough*, not un-  
 f justly, reproached the prince of *Baden* with dilatoriness; and, in some measure, attributed to his backwardness that the different members of the empire had not yet furnished their contingents. The prince replied, that he had never doubted the duke's courage or ability; but he did not imagine he would have presumed to insult a prince of the empire, who had hitherto commanded not only the respect of his equals, but, in a particular manner, the esteem of every officer of candour and merit in the army. Not satisfied with the sarcasm implied in this rebuke, he complained of *Marlborough* to the courts of *Vienna* and *London*: he even wrote to the diet at *Ratisbon* in terms full of resentment, saying, that the haughty carriage of the *Englishman* reflected dishonour on the whole *German* body, if they tamely passed the insult. He alledged, in his own justification, that he only waited  
 g to be joined by his detachments; and that the junction with *Marlborough* was soon enough effected, had not that general imprudently involved himself in difficulties, from his ignorance of the country, and the enemy's situation: that he now was desirous of throwing upon a prince of the empire an error consequent on his own presumption. The issue of these

*Disputes between the prince of Baden and the duke of Marlborough.*



these disputes was, that the allied army separated, and by that means suffered M. *Villars* to reinforce the elector of *Bavaria* with thirty battalions and fifty squadrons, by which he was again enabled to face his enemies. An attempt was accordingly made to attack the prince of *Baden* in his intrenchments, before he should be reinforced by the troops of different circles now on their march; but his prudent disposition baffled all the endeavours of the elector and *Villars*. He soon after received the expected succours, and was in a condition to act offensively, which obliged the *French* generals to retire behind their lines at *Haguenaw*. As *Villars* was forced to detach seven battalions to *Italy*, he found he should not be able to cover his lines, and therefore retreated under the cannon of *Strasburg*. By this means the count *de Frise* was at liberty to invest *Drusenheim*, which he reduced in five days, while the prince of *Baden* was forming the siege of *Haguenaw*. After the batteries had played for some time, *Perry*, who commanded in the garrison, demanded a capitulation; and proposals were sent him by the prince; the first article of which imported, that he should surrender prisoner of war. *Perry* demanded eight days to deliberate on this article, and the same time for each of the other propositions; which being refused, the siege recommenced with great vigour. The governor, having advice that the town was not invested on the side of the *Saverne*, resolved to retire by that quarter, and save the garrison from falling into the hands of the enemy. Leaving the sieur *de Rebingue* in the covered way with two hundred men, he evacuated the town at nine in the evening, and was followed by *Rebingue* at eleven o'clock, arriving happily at *Saverne* before his design was discovered. This circumstance gave additional credit to the reproaches levelled by the duke of *Marlborough* at the prince of *Baden*, and persuaded most persons, that the prince was greatly relaxed in his usual vigilance and activity<sup>b</sup>.

A quarrel between the pope and the emperor.

WITH this transaction ended the campaign, during which the emperor found himself involved in a dispute with the pontiff. *Cavalletti*, one of the imperial ambassador's domestics at *Rome*, had struck the officers of justice, in the execution of their orders to arrest his son for some misdemeanour. The fiscal, informed of the violence, ordered both to be seized, imprisoned, and their effects sealed up. A few hours after the secretary to the embassy complained to the pope of this insult upon the privileges of an ambassador; but the pontiff replied, that *Cavalletti* was imprisoned not as the domestic of the imperial ambassador, but as the subject of the holy see, who had opposed the execution of justice. This answer proved unsatisfactory: the count *de Lamberg* represented the affair to the emperor; but, before he received any instructions from the court of *Vienna*, the prisoner was set at liberty. Notwithstanding this, the count no sooner received an answer from *Vienna* than he quitted the ecclesiastical state, without the ceremony of taking leave; and the pope's nuncio was at the same time desired to leave the imperial court. So trivial a circumstance was sufficient to revive an ancient controversy, which had for some time been absorbed in business of more consequence. The emperor now demanded, that cardinal *Patuni*, secretary of state, should be deprived of his office, and forbid the court; that *Palavicini*, governor of *Rome*, should be banished; that the process formed against the marquis *del Vasto*, a *Neapolitan* nobleman, vested with the character of ambassador from the archduke *Charles*, should be burnt by the ignominious hands of the common executioner; that the pontiff should send a cardinal to *Vienna*, to apologize for his conduct; and that, as an immediate atonement, *Ferrara* should admit an imperial garrison. This, indeed, was talking in the style of an emperor; no measures half so spirited had been taken since the days of *Charles V.* Had *Joseph* persisted, it is probable the pontiff must have yielded to all that was required. *Clement* wrote several letters to the court of *Vienna*, representing the irregular conduct of the count *de Lamberg*, on his quitting *Rome*. He likewise demanded, that the orders given his nuncio to depart from *Vienna* should be revoked; but he was not able to appease the emperor, or procure the least mitigation at that time, notwithstanding the affair soon after appears to have been almost forgot.

Cruelties of the Imperialists in Bavaria.

THE altercation between the papal and imperial courts, prevented *Clement's* soliciting the emperor to pay more regard to the complaints of the *Bavarians*. By a treaty with the electress, all acts of hostility on both sides were to cease, and the elector to be regarded merely as the general of *Lewis XIV.* at the head of a *French* army. Besides, it was stipulated that the *Bavarians* should enjoy all their privileges; and that the revenues of *Munich*, the capital, and its dependencies, should go untouched, for the support of the prince and the electoral family. The treaty was badly observed after the emperor gained possession of *Bavaria*: it was regarded as a conquered country, and treated with the same rigour as if no agreement had ever passed: all the records were removed to *Vienna*, and the electoral palace stripped of the plate and rich moveables. The nobility and people were oppressed with exorbitant contributions, and the troops quartered upon them at discretion: all were

<sup>b</sup> BARRE, tom. x. p. 464.



a pillaged and disarmed. Nothing could exceed the misery of the inhabitants besides the brutality of the *Austrian* army, the soldiers committing every kind of excess; and the rapacity of the officers carried them so far, as to dig in the tombs for the hidden treasures of the *Bavarians*, which ought to have been sacred: all were imprisoned upon suspicion of concealing their wealth; and to be rich, was sufficient to be deemed criminal: loud complaints were made to the imperial commissaries: crowds of old men, women, and children, poured out their grievances and tears before them, in a piteous manner, capable of moving the most obdurate breast; yet did their sighs, wailings, and wretchedness, produce no effect. As it was necessary to justify to the public the excesses committed, it was pretended that the *Bavarians* had conspired against the *Austrian* garrisons. The accusation was b false, and, indeed, too absurd to gain credit; but it was urged to palliate their severity. The *Bavarian* nobility demanded of the commissaries a list of the names of the conspirators: they promised to have them punished agreeable to the laws; but the commissaries gave only a general reply, refusing to enter into a detail. Some days after several private gentlemen, who had ventured to make the same remonstrances, were arrested, and their estates confiscated: thus all were deterred from interposing in behalf of the innocent victims to the *Austrian* avarice.

WHEN it was presumed the spirit of the *Bavarians* was sufficiently subdued, the count de Lowenstein, governor of the province, published an edict, enjoining all the young men from the age of eighteen to thirty-five to appear in certain places specified, in order to be c draughted for recruits to the regiments in *Italy* and *Hungary*. This ordonnance was thought beyond measure oppressive: it was not only a direct violation of the treaty with the electress, but the grossest infraction of the laws of nations, and of the electorate in particular. The peasants hid themselves; and their evasion was construed into an act of rebellion. In a few days all the jails in *Bavaria* were crowded with the unfortunate inhabitants, dragged out of churches and monasteries, in which they had taken refuge; and where the culprit could not be found, the imperial vengeance was reeked on the heads of his mother, children, and relations. Their houses were pillaged, and the little magazines of provision they had for the support of their families burnt and destroyed. Terrified with these violences, and fainting under the pressure of extreme want, the peasants fled in the night to the woods, d in search of food to appease their hunger. Thither they were pursued by the barbarous *Austrians*, and driven to such despair, that they united against the common enemy, and joining the malcontents of *Bohemia*, soon became formidable. Above twenty thousand took the field, and suddenly reduced *Burkhausen*, *Kelheim*, *Wilshoven*, *Hilsgarsberg*, *Brunau*, and *Scharding*. A design was formed to surprise *Huy*; but their troops being separated in detachments, and accidents preventing their assembling at the place of rendezvous, they were attacked and defeated by the *Austrians*. Perceiving they could not make head against regular forces, the peasants made proposals to surrender the places they had taken, and lay down their arms upon certain conditions. Their terms were accepted, and an amnesty granted; but observed like the former treaty. Some were hanged, some beheaded, and e others broke on the wheel, dismembered and dispersed about the country, and fixed up in the most public places. At this time the electress was in *Italy* with her mother the queen of *Poland*. She demanded leave to return to her dominions, and a passport, which was granted; but just as she arrived on the frontiers of the electorate, she was prohibited from pursuing her journey, without any reason assigned. Her complaints of this violation of the treaty of *Landau* availed nothing: she was even deprived the poor satisfaction of mingling her tears with those of her faithful subjects, and bewailing in concert the misfortunes of her country.

SUCH was the deplorable situation of the house of *Bavaria*, when the death of the duke of *Zell* occasioned some disputes between the family of *Hanover* and the king of *Denmark*, f which were happily accommodated under the mediation of the emperor *Joseph* and the queen of *England*. The decease of the bishop of *Lubec* had likewise almost kindled a storm in the North, by renewing the several pretensions of the crown of *Denmark*, and the house of *Holstein-Gottorp*, to that see. The duke took possession, and the prince of *Denmark* demanded the decision of the aulic council. The former was supported by the *Swedish* monarch, and the king of *Denmark* resolved to maintain the right of the prince his brother. By the interposition of the queen of *England*, and the states-general of the United Provinces, the affair was for a time compromised, just as the parties were upon the eve of hostilities. *Charles* of *Sweden* was at this time engaged in *Lithuania*; and king *Augustus* of *Poland*, resolving to profit by the opportunity, assembled an army near *Grodno*. The g *Swede*, apprised of his design, quitted *Lithuania*, flew like lightning to *Poland*, appeared with his army before *Grodno*, offered battle, and was refused. *Augustus* waited to be joined

A revolt in  
Bavaria.

<sup>a</sup> Jour. Hist. An. 1705. BARRE, t. x. p. 496.



Affairs of  
Saxony.  
A. D. 1706.

The electors of  
Bavaria and  
Cologne put  
under the ban  
of the empire.

by the army from Saxony; but *Schulemburg*, the Saxon general, was defeated in his march <sup>a</sup> by *Renschild*, quartered with a body of *Swedes* on the frontiers of *Brandenburg*. Next year, after *Charles* had driven the *Russians* out of *Lithuania*, he prosecuted, with redoubled vigour, the quarrel with *Augustus*, transferring the seat of war into the heart of the electorate of Saxony: in this manner a dispute between two northern princes became a concern of the empire. His arrival overwhelmed the Saxons with consternation: all the princes of the empire dreaded the vicinity of so enterprising and ambitious a monarch. They offered their mediation to accomplish a peace; *Charles* gave audience to their ambassadors, and the deputies from the states of Saxony, at *Alt-Ranstadt*. At length a treaty was concluded, in which were a great variety of articles kept secret from the German princes. The treaty was ratified by *Stanislaus*, the competitor for the crown of *Poland*, and afterwards sent to *Warsaw*, for the approbation of *Augustus*; during which an armistice for ten weeks was published in the Swedish camp. The Polish envoy, *Pfingsten*, being sent with the treaty, *Charles* intrusted him with an order for general *Mardeweldt*, and the palatine of *Kiovia*, to refrain from hostilities for the time specified; but the envoy committing this order to another hand, it was never delivered. In consequence of this neglect a battle was fought, in which the *Swedes* were defeated; upon which the peace was again broken, and *Charles* determined to punish, with the utmost rigour, the supposed perfidy of his enemy. Saxony was loaded with exactions, and the people reduced to extreme misery. In the end, *Augustus*, to save his hereditary dominions, was forced to renounce the crown of *Poland*; to confirm it to his rival *Stanislaus*; to renounce all his engagements with the czar, and other enemies of *Sweden*; to restore all the jewels and archives of *Poland*, which he brought into Saxony; to maintain in Saxony and *Lusatia* the Protestant religion; and to surrender all the Swedish prisoners, deserters, and particularly the famous *Patkul*, who was broke on the wheel and quartered, though his merit, courage, patriotism, and public character, ought to have exempted him from so ignominious a punishment, however obnoxious he might have been to the Swedish monarch (A). The allies, apprehensive of disobliging the ferocious *Charles*, were obliged to guaranty this treaty. *England* and *Holland* feared he might be induced to join with *France*, and support the elector of *Bavaria*, now put under the ban of the empire. *Joseph* had the same sentiments: he had constrained the aulic council to proscribe the electors of *Bavaria* and *Cologne*, by which he confirmed to the council an <sup>d</sup> authority before disputed <sup>b</sup>. After so extraordinary a precedent, it did not become the inferior princes of the empire to contest this extensive jurisdiction, though we have since beheld it prostituted to the worst purposes of ambition and policy.

No sooner was the decree of the aulic council passed, than the emperor assembled a great number of nobility. Seated in his imperial throne, he heard read the acts by which *Leopold* had invested the two proscribed princes with the electoral dignity. He then tore them in pieces, threw them on the ground, and trampled upon those solemn decrees. The heralds at arms took up the scraps on the points of their lances, and flung them into the street. Then was pronounced the decree of the aulic council, by which the princes were proscribed; after which the sentence was publicly proclaimed by the heralds in all the public streets of *Vienna*. A price was set on the head of the elector of *Bavaria*, and the same would have been done to the elector of *Cologne*, had not his ecclesiastical character exempted him from such severity. Even the children of the elector of *Bavaria* were deprived of their titles, and ordered to be called only the children of the count *de Witelspach*. Most princes in *Germany* blamed the emperor's inflexibility, and the rigour of the sentence: they likewise declared, that the form was not agreeable to the usual method of proscribing the members of the *Germanic* body. The constitution indeed requires, that the accused should be cited before a full diet, be permitted to plead their own defence, again examined before the three colleges, and, if found guilty, three several times summoned to comply with their obligations, and make ample satisfaction. If the delinquent should still persist in his fault, the three colleges then assemble, and publish the ban of the empire. It was therefore concluded, that as those formalities had not been regarded in this instance, the proscription was void, and of no effect. <sup>f</sup>

<sup>b</sup> BARRE, t. x. p. 496.

(A) *Patkul* was a native of *Livonia*: his zeal for the liberties of his country incurred the resentment of the states of *Sweden*, in the reign of *Charles XI*. He harangued boldly, in the king's presence, upon this subject; and his eloquence and public spirit secured the royal esteem. The states, however, condemned him to death: the king warned him of his danger, and *Patkul* withdrew to *Poland*. Animated with revenge, he ad-

vised *Augustus* to the conquest of *Livonia*, just as *Charles XII*. had succeeded to the crown. Upon some disgust he quitted *Poland*, entered into the service of the czar, and acquitted himself with fidelity. He was at this time invested with the character of ambassador from the czar; notwithstanding which, the necessity to which *Augustus* was reduced, obliged him to violate the laws of na- <sup>g</sup> tions.



a THE electors, however, rested their cause upon a surer foundation: they hoped that M. *Villars*, backed by a numerous army, would restore their affairs, and demonstrate the injustice of their sentence. He advanced with great rapidity along the *Sar*, and obliged the prince of *Baden* to abandon his camp, and retire towards *Drusenheim*. This situation likewise he quitted precipitately on the defeat of his advanced guard, who disputed the passage of the *Moter* with the *French* forlorn hope. This retreat extremely affected the reputation of the prince of *Baden*, as he left all his tents standing, his baggage, stores, ammunition, and part of his cannon, a prey to the enemy, repassing the *Rhine* before a body of irregulars, with an expedition which had all the appearances of a flight. In consequence, *Lauterburg* fell an easy victim, and the Imperialists were driven from post to post, without the credit of striking a blow, or making the least shew of resistance. In a word, M. *Villars* profited so much by this general consternation, that he soon occupied all the posts and fortresses from the river *Moter* to *Spirebach*. Next he reduced *Haguenau* by a detachment under the same *Perry*, who had lately so bravely defended it against the Imperialists: after which, he was too much weakened by draughts made from his army, to enter upon any considerable enterprize.

PRINCE *Lewis* of *Baden* was in much the same circumstances: he was forced to send strong reinforcements to *Hungary*, to oppose the progress of the malcontents, who had forced the lines at *Morave*, defended by general *Boskai*, and made an irruption into *Austria*, whence they returned with booty of immense value. *Guy de Staremburg*, who imagined he lay in security behind the lines of *Oedemberg*, had likewise the mortification of being forced; while the *Hungarians*, after destroying thirty villages, and desolating the whole country, returned with rich plunder to *Newhausel*. Afterwards *Ragotski* harrassed, for the space of a month, the army under *Staremburg*, by perpetual marches, counter-marches, skirmishes, and alarms. Both practised every finesse of war, and exhausted the whole military art, in endeavours to gain some decisive advantage; when at length *Ragotski*, by a sudden manœuvre, appeared before *Strigonia*, in *Lower Hungary*, which he took by assault. *Staremburg* retook this place soon after, though he found himself unable to stop the ravages of the enemy. *Ragotski* was at the head of forty thousand men, and had left considerable detachments with the generals *Forgats* and *Oskai*, to penetrate into *Austria* and *Moravia*. They passed and repassed, pillaged, plundered, desolated all before them, and returned untouched, laden with booty. A corps of *Hungarians* had near surprized the emperor, and seized his person, as he was hunting in the forest of *Eberdorf*. The scheme was well laid, and it only miscarried through accident.

IN *Italy* affairs were not more prosperous: the enemy, under M. *Berwick*, had reduced *Nice*, and the Imperialists were diminished at least four thousand in number since prince *Eugene* had quitted the command. Such was their superiority, that the *French* were meditating the conquest of all *Piedmont*; nor could the remonstrances of *Eugene* animate the councils of *Vienna*, or quicken their measures. Money was wanting, and the emperor was advised to supply the deficiencies by new impositions on the *Bavarians*; but *Eugene*, touched with the misfortunes of the electorate, proposed a scheme more generous and noble: it was to mortgage to the *English* the revenues of *Silesia* for the sum of twenty-five thousand pounds sterling. The proposal was embraced, *Eugene* intrusted with the negotiation, the money borrowed, and the utmost expedition exerted in levying troops for the service in *Italy*. As soon as the levies were complete, the prince prepared to repass the *Alps*; but, before his arrival, he was informed of the unfortunate action at *Calcinato*. Before he could collect the remains of the scattered army, the enemy had invested *Turin*. The capital was on the verge of destruction, when *Eugene*, by the most astonishing march, environed by danger, and hemmed in on every side by enemies, appeared before the *French* camp, forced their intrenchments, obtained a complete victory, relieved *Turin*, and recovered all the conquests made by *Lewis the Great*, with a rapidity which will transmit his memory with glory to the latest posterity.

IN *Flanders* the duke of *Marlborough* rivalled the fame of *Eugene*, by a victory equally glorious and decisive as that at *Turin*. *Villeroy* was defeated by an inferior army at *Ramillies*, with the loss of his cannon, baggage, and an infinity of killed and prisoners. *Ghent*, *Bruges*, *Louvain*, *Mecklin*, *Brussels*, *Oudenarde*, and a variety of other places, surrendered at the summons of the victorious confederates. Covered with glory, *Marlborough* set out for *London*, and from thence proceeded to sound the intentions of his *Swedish* majesty, who was supposed to have a bias in favour of *Lewis* and the elector of *Saxony*. Here he approved himself as able a statesman as his repeated conquests had shewn him a general.

8 WHILE *Marlborough* resided at the court of *Charles XII.* the emperor dispatched the count de *Wratisslaus* to *Leipsick*, to accommodate the differences between the *Swedish* monarch

c Vide Univ. Hist. in the Reign of Lewis XIV.



A. D. 1707.

and the house of *Austria*. *Charles* demanded satisfaction for the injury done him, by granting a passage through *Silesia* to a body of *Russians*. With respect to the house of *Hessein*, he required, that right of primogeniture should be established, and the see of *Lubeck* confirmed to the present possessor: he insisted, that his contingent against *France* should be excused, on account of the war against *Poland* and *Muscovy*, in which he was engaged: he farther expected, that liberty of conscience should be allowed the Protestants in *Silesia*, and the count *Zoern* sent to apologize in the *Swedish* camp for the disrespectful terms in which he spoke of him and his ally king *Stanislaus*. The count replied, that his instructions were too limited to grant those demands: he refused restoring to the Protestants any of the churches of which they were deprived previous to the treaty of *Ryswick*; but the king insisted and extended his demand to that of *Westphalia*. *Wratislaus* returned for fresh instructions to *Vienna*; and, during his absence, the *English* and *Dutch* ministers laboured to persuade the king to march without delay against the *Russians*. They offered their mediation to terminate the affair with the emperor to his satisfaction; but *Charles* well knew that his presence would have more influence. In fact, the emperor was forced to accede to all the propositions made by the *Swede*, who, at this critical juncture, was courted by all the potentates of *Europe*, who equally feared and admired a young prince so fierce, active, ambitious, and warlike.

THE long duration of a war, in which all *Europe* was embroiled, intirely drained the provinces of money, and deprived them of the possibility of furnishing the usual contingents. The people ardently wished for peace; but the imperial and *British* courts, and the states-general, were not yet satiated with conquest. The circles of the *Upper* and *Lower Rhine*, of *Swabia* and *Franconia*, complained of the impossibility of defending their frontiers against the enemy, unless the stipulated forces were regularly levied. This gave birth to the assembly which met at *Heilbron*, where it was resolved, that an army of forty thousand men should be raised for this purpose, and augmented by a certain number of *English* and *Dutch* forces. A sufficient sum of money for the maintenance of this army was voted; magazines were to be formed at *Philipsburg*; *Landau* was to be fortified, garrisoned, and well provided; and recruits sufficient to complete all the regiments to be sent early in the spring to *Savoy*: but the execution of these resolutions met with numberless difficulties.

NEGOTIATIONS were likewise on the carpet, to engage the emperor to invest his brother, the archduke *Charles*, with the duchy of *Milan*. He had long waved this request, and thereby excited jealousy in the *Italian* states, who dreaded the establishment of the imperial power in *Italy*, and the vicinity of so formidable a potentate. At the same time the *English* and *Dutch* were labouring to procure the extension of the duke of *Savoy's* territories. He was detached from the *French* interest by a promise of the late emperor, to cede to him the towns of *Valencia* and *Alexandria*, with their dependencies. *Joseph* had long deferred the performance of his father's promise; but he now at length yielded to the intercession of his allies: he surrendered the above cities to *Victor Amadeus*, and invested the archduke *Charles* with the duchy of *Milan*. Perhaps the treaty which the emperor now signed with the court of *France*, was the least politic of all his late measures: he consented that *Lewis* should withdraw his garrisons out of *Italy*, with all their baggage and artillery. They must have necessarily fallen into the hands of prince *Eugene*, who now carried all before him; and the *French* army in *Flanders* received by this means a reinforcement of eighteen thousand of the best troops of *France*, veterans, who had served during the war in *Lombardy*. Had the whole imperial army in *Italy* been likewise recalled, it would more than have counterbalanced this advantage gained by *France*; but the case was otherwise: that army was almost wholly taken up in garrisoning the towns evacuated by the enemy. It is true, a direct path was now opened to *Provence*, and a scheme on foot for penetrating into the heart of *France*; but as these extensive projects never took effect, it may reasonably be presumed, that this treaty was, on the whole, prejudicial to the alliance. The imperial generals proposed laying siege to *Toulon*; accordingly the duke of *Savoy* and prince *Eugene* encamped at *la Valette*, where they established their head-quarters. On the twenty-ninth of *July* they attacked the enemy posted on an eminence near *St. Catharine*, and strongly intrenched: they were twice repulsed; but returning a third time to the charge, they attacked with such impetuosity as carried the intrenchments sword in hand; upon which they erected batteries on the eminence to play upon *Toulon*. *M. Tesse*, who commanded the *French* army, perceived, that the safety of the town depended upon dispossessing the Imperialists of an eminence that intirely commanded the besieged. He resolved upon the enterprize, and executed it with so much vigour, that the whole allied detachment was put to the sword, and above four battalions cut in pieces. This disappointment, the scarcity of provision, and the difficulty of forcing a strong town well garrisoned, provided and covered with an army, determined the duke and prince *Eugene* to raise the siege, and withdraw the imperial forces. The latter, however, in his retreat, made himself master of *Susa*.

NOR



<sup>a</sup> NOR were the emperor's arms more successful on the *Rhine*. At the death of prince *Lewis* of *Baden*, one of the best officers in the imperial service, the command of the army was given to the margrave of *Brandenburg-Bareith*, a Protestant prince, and the oldest veldt-marechal. It was an agreement between the Catholics and Protestants, that the officers of either religion should have the command in turns; the only expedient by which both parties could be united for the common interest; yet did the directory of *Mentz* oppose this coalition, because it was disliked by several of the Catholic princes of the *Germanic* body, who wanted to engross all preferments. The emperor had taken some measures to satisfy the directory, which so enflamed the Protestants, that he was now obliged to appease them, by appointing prince *Eugene* and the margrave alternately to the command. As the former was wholly occupied in *Italy*, this regulation gave the Protestants full satisfaction. The margrave no sooner entered upon his new appointment, than he wrote to the several circles to solicit their contingents; and his remonstrances were supported by the states-general of the United Provinces, who wrote to the diet, reproaching the circles with backwardness, and with having taken no measures for the defence of their frontiers, and the campaign on the *Rhine*. Their letter, which was exceedingly bitter and spirited, became the subject of debate in the diet. Several of the members took offence at the acrimony of the stile; and the ministers refused to act, until they were empowered by fresh instructions from their different courts.

*The marquis of Bareith made general of the Imperialists.*

<sup>c</sup> MEAN time, the margrave was at the head of an army on the *Rhine*; but, instead of the forty thousand men voted by the assembly at *Heilbron*, it did not exceed twenty-eight thousand men, newly levied, ill armed, and worse paid. With this force he was embarrassed how he should act against *M. Villars*, and be able to defend the lines at *Stolhoffen*, which covered the territory of *Baden-Dourlach*, and extended to the impassable mountains of the *Black Forest*. These lines were indeed impregnable, had they been sufficiently guarded; but *Villars* knew the state of the imperial army, and resolved to profit by the opportunity. Conducted by the count *de Broglio*, who was perfectly acquainted with the country, the strength and weakness of the lines, he made divers feints and false attacks, as if he intended penetrating into the marquisate, while he was assembling twenty battalions, and forty-five squadrons, under *Broglio*, at *Lauterberg*. Filling sixty boats with grenadiers, he dropped <sup>d</sup> down to the isle of *Newburg*: he chased from thence the Imperialists, after a short resistance. As he was preparing to attack the lines, they were abandoned by the margrave, who retired under cover of a thick fog, not imagining he should be able to stand the assault. Thus, without scarce striking a blow, *Villars* got possession of the strong works at *Stolhoffen*, all the tents of the Imperialists, great part of their artillery and baggage, the cloathing of several regiments, a variety of copper pontoons, an intire bridge of boats, twenty thousand sacks of corn, a prodigious quantity of forage, ammunition, and stores, and the intire command of the marquisate of *Baden*. Terrified at this unexpected loss, the marchioness dowager fled precipitately with her family from the castle of *Rastadt*; but *Villars* sent after her to request she would return, promising her the protection of his master, and all the respect <sup>e</sup> due to her sex and quality. She relied upon the marechal's word, returned to *Rastadt*, and found all her effects untouched, and the greatest order observed; only contributions to the amount of one hundred thousand crowns were levied in the marquisate. *Villars* then penetrated into the duchy of *Wirtemberg*, which he taxed at the rate of two millions of livres. His approach gave the alarm to the margrave, encamped at *Heilbron*, who did not believe himself in security here, notwithstanding his army had been augmented by considerable reinforcements. The truth is, he was forced again to weaken himself, in order to secure *Landau*, *Friburg*, and *Philipsburg*, by strong garrisons. *Villars*, however, had too much discernment to waste his time in sieges. He found it more to the king's and his own advantage to spread consternation over *Germany*, drive before <sup>f</sup> him the little fugitive imperial army, and support his own by contributions levied on the enemy.

*The margrave flies before the French.*

<sup>g</sup> THE misfortunes of the campaign were wholly charged upon the misconduct of the margrave: they ought, perhaps, to be imputed to the backwardness of the circles in contributing their contingents. Certain it is, that so displeased was the emperor with all the margrave's proceedings, that he offered the command of the army to the elector of *Hanover*, under pretence that *Bareith* was too old and infirm to support the duty. His true motive was, to engage the elector to join his forces to the Imperialists. This the elector perceived, and declined the compliment, on account of his bad state of health. It was obvious that he chose not to declare himself, until he was certain the princes of the empire would fulfil their engagements, and assured of the measures of the king of *Sweden*. To raise money sufficient to augment the army, the next step taken by the imperial court was, to confiscate the estates of all the ministers and officers in *Bavaria*, who had shewn the least attachment to their sovereign;



sovereign; a procedure that was followed by the necessity of depriving them of the power of revolting<sup>a</sup>.

Remonstrances  
to the diet.

ALL this time the circles of *Suabia* and *Franconia*, assisted by the deputies of several imperial cities, remonstrated to the diet at *Ratisbon* upon the dangers which threatened all *Germany*, and their territories in particular. The remonstrances were followed by a declaration of their deputies, importing, that if speedy measures were not taken for their defence, they should be under the necessity of accepting the proffered neutrality with *France*. At the same time it was whispered, that the princes of *Wirtemberg*, *Baden*, and the states most exposed to the enemy's incursions, had come to a resolution of striking up a separate pacification. In these circumstances, the diet exerted the utmost vigilance to prevent so dangerous a breach in the alliance and the states of the empire. No method more effectual could be found than issuing orders to the margrave of *Bareith* to join with all possible celerity the troops of *Westphalia* and other circles, assembling in the neighbourhood of *Mentz*, and after this junction to proceed to the *Rhine*. This resolution had two important objects in view, one of which, it was imagined, might necessarily succeed. *M. Villars* only advanced into the heart of *Germany*, because the imperial army retired; but should the margrave return to the *Rhine*, the marechal must infallibly take the same route to watch his motions. On the contrary, if the *French* meditated the recovery of *Bavaria*, the Imperialists might pass the *Rhine*, force the lines at *Lauterberg*, penetrate into *Alsace*, and retaliate all the injuries the empire might sustain from the loss of the electorate, and the heavy contributions levied in other districts. The emperor approved the resolution, and the orders were immediately dispatched to the margrave. He passed by *Heilbron*, through *Franconia*, with such rapidity as baffled all the endeavours of *Villars* to obstruct his progress: upon which the *French* general sent a detachment of four thousand men under the count *de Bourg* to sustain the lines at *Lauterberg*, in case they should be attacked. Another detachment, under the count *de Broglie*, seized upon *Lauffen* on the *Neckar*; while the marechal in person crossed that river with a part of his army, and arrived on the fourth of *July* at *Durlach*. His approach broke the design of the Imperialists upon *Alsace*, and enabled him to lay under contribution all the states of the *Palatinate*.

The duke of  
Hanover is  
appointed general  
of the Imperialists.

THOUGH the margrave was reinforced by the troops at *Mentz*, and the flying camp of general *Thungen*, he was still unable to make head against the marechal. The necessity of augmenting his army occasioned a motion in the diet to take into the pay of the empire a body of eight thousand *Saxons*; but to this the circles of *Suabia* and *Franconia* objected, on account of the heavy contributions levied upon them by the enemy, which had already impoverished the country. They proposed the necessary supplies should be borrowed of *England* and *Holland*: hence the emperor perceived the backwardness of the circles to enter upon fresh expences, and the danger lest they might close with the proposals of *France*, should any constraint be laid on their inclinations. For these reasons the proposition was dropt, and he again sought the assistance of *Hanover*. The more strongly to induce the elector to accept the command of the army, it was proposed to invest him with the title of veldt-marechal: the margrave complained of the injustice done him, and the indignity offered, by so declared a preference. He vindicated his own conduct; and, with great truth, shifted the blame on the circles of the empire, the insufficiency of his army, and the want of every necessary. However, the emperor persisted, the margrave resigned the command, and it was bestowed, with the title of veldt-marechal, on the elector of *Hanover*.

IN the month of *September* the elector repaired to the camp at *Etlinguen*, attended by a body of *Hanoverians*. Immediately he visited all the posts; and, having examined the situation, formed the design of running a line along the *Elbe*, for the greater security of the country. He sent a sketch of his project to the diet; and, while he expected their sentiments, was preparing to surprise the marquis *de Vicois*, encamped at *Offenburg*. With this view he detached two thousand cavalry, and an equal number of infantry, under the conduct of count *Merci* and prince *Lobskowitz*, under cover of a thick fog, to make the attempt<sup>b</sup>. They approached so near to the *French* camp, that the scheme must have taken effect, had they not been discovered by foraging parties, who spread the alarm, and gave the *French* general time to withdraw and evacuate his camp, with the loss of three hundred soldiers and a few officers. With this transaction ended the campaign, both armies going into winter-quarters.

Affairs in  
Spain and  
Naples.

AFFAIRS in *Spain* bore a very untoward aspect. The battle of *Almanza* was lost; the allies every where foiled by the vigilance, activity, and superior genius of marechal *Berwick*; and the kingdoms of *Valentia* and *Arragon* forced to submit to the conqueror. But

<sup>a</sup> BARRE, tom. x.

<sup>b</sup> Journ. Hist. sub. An. BARRE, ibid.



a these losses were in some measure repaired by the happy revolution in *Naples*, effected by cardinal *Pignatelli* and the duke *de Monteleone*. Here count *Tbann* was appointed governor, and the archduke *Charles* declared sovereign of the whole kingdom. At the same time the nuptials of this prince, with *Elizabeth-Christina* of *Wolfenbuttle*, was celebrated with great magnificence at *Vienna*. This reverse of fortune, however, in *Spain*, prevented his attending the ceremony in person, which was performed by his proxy.

DURING the recess from hostilities produced by the winter, the diet was plied with remonstrances from the allies. The states-general represented, that as the war was undertaken in defence of the liberties of *Europe* in general, and of the states in particular, they were resolved to prosecute it with the utmost vigour and alacrity: the same measures they expected from all their allies; yet hitherto it unfortunately happened, that in proportion as they augmented their forces, the emperor and princes of the empire diminished their army, and seemed to throw the whole burthen of the war upon their allies. A variety of other grievances were represented with great freedom and energy, which so embarrassed the diet, that three months were spent in disputations. At length the colleges agreed to raise three hundred thousand florins, to supply the deficiencies of the preceding year, and a million of crowns for the sole use of the military chest: besides, three thousand *Saxon* horse were to be taken into pay, the army to be augmented to one hundred and twenty thousand effective men, for the defence of the frontiers, the garrisons, and the purpose of facing the enemy upon the *Rhine*; the elector of *Hanover* was authorised to enforce by, military execution, the decree of the diet, and the contingents of the several members, either in men, money, or artillery. Yet did not this precaution produce the effect. The princes and cities alledged various excuses for evading this extraordinary expence. They insisted upon recalling the army from *Italy*, as a measure preferable to new and oppressive levies. A. D. 1708.  
Resolutions of the diet.

BESIDES these difficulties, another occurred of a more refined and political nature. By the partition of the one hundred and twenty thousand men, and two million eight hundred thousand florins made by the diet, a certain proportion was assigned to the *Spanish Netherlands*, under the name of the circle of *Burgundy*. In this division were included a great number of towns belonging to the republic of the United Provinces, who highly resented that they should be taxed by the empire, at the same time they were contributing to the support of the war as subjects of the states-general. They remonstrated to the diet, refused to pay the taxes, and by this means introduced a new scene of discord and confusion. *Ruremonde*, *Venlo*, *Nimeguen*, *Tielt*, *Bommel*, and the whole barony of *Breda*, sent their deputies to the diet, and to the states-general. It was on the presumption of their having a voice in the grand council of the empire, that they were taxed as subjects of the empire; it was because they were the acknowledged subjects of the republic they refused to pay them. They pleaded the impossibility of being subject to two separate independent states; and the diet thought it unreasonable they should maintain the privileges of members of this assembly, without contributing to the expence of the government. However, the cities carried the debate, and in consequence the whole decree of the diet was rendered fruitless, because an additional expence must fall upon the other members. Objections raised by the circle of Burgundy.

DURING these altercations, the crown of *Portugal*, the archduke *Charles*, the duke of *Savoy*, prince *Eugene*, the duke of *Wirtemberg*, and the prince of *Hesse-Cassel*, were all clamorous for money, troops, provisions, and necessaries. All were in want, and disappointed. The projects of the duke of *Savoy*, prince *Eugene*, and the elector of *Hanover*, were at a stand, and the troops in a most deplorable situation; but nothing could hasten the dilatory proceedings of the *Germanic* body. Without *England*, the confederates must have been ruined, and all the glorious victories of *Eugene* and *Marlbrough* rendered abortive. The *British* parliament kept firm not only to their engagements, but greatly exceeded the promised supplies, and became equally the support and the cement of the alliance. Through the invigorating influence of this wealthy state, always proud of taking the lead, the principal in every quarrel, and the prey of every confederacy, the combined armies were at length put in motion. In *Flanders* the battle of *Oudenarde* was gained, under the auspices of *Marlbrough* and *Eugene*, though the enemy were headed by a prince of the blood, and the philosophic *Vendome*, one of the first generals in *Europe*, and now, with marechal *Villars*, the prop of *Lewis's* declining glory. *Lisle*, *Ghent*, and other cities, surrendered to the conquerors, and nothing seemed capable of stemming the impetuosity of the confederates. On the *Rhine* no considerable transaction occurred: both sides directed their chief strength to the *Netherlands*; and the affairs of *Hungary* still bore an unfavourable aspect.

<sup>a</sup> BARRE Hist. tom. x. An. 1708.



Affairs of  
Hungary.

A diet sits at  
Presburg.

THOUGH the malcontents had been frequently defeated, they were far from being con-  
quered, obstinately refusing the terms proposed by the court of *Vienna*. They flattered  
themselves with the hopes of some happy revolution, which should induce the emperor to  
secure their privileges. They even wished for a *Turkish* war, hoping that, between rival  
powers, they might acquire independency. *Ragotski*, and the other chiefs, loudly com-  
plained of the violence offered to public liberty; and to silence their clamours, and re-  
dress their grievances, the emperor convoked a diet at *Presburg*. This was certainly a  
prudent measure, had it been right'y pursued; but no steps were taken in the diet to ap-  
pease the troubles; no concessions were made to sooth, or proposals offered to satisfy the  
disaffected. The diet answered no other purpose than to shew that the kingdom swarmed  
with malcontents; only a small proportion of whom appeared in arms, and to draw up a  
remonstrance of the grievances of the people. They demanded a public ratification, in  
full diet, of the late emperor's declaration, that no attempts should ever be made on the  
privileges of the kingdom: they also demanded security that his imperial majesty should  
never bequeath the crown by will or testament; and that, at his death, the antient right  
of election of a sovereign should revert to the people: that no *Hungarian* gentleman  
should be condemned for treason, before he was legally proved of having appeared in arms  
against the supreme authority: that the nobility should be exempted from having soldiers  
quartered upon them: that no taxes should be levied without the consent of the states,  
and all contributions upon any other authority be abolished: that the general diet be as-  
sembled every three years: that the imperial council, relative to the kingdom of *Hungary*,  
consist wholly of natives of that country: that all employments in the kingdom be filled  
up by *Hungarians*, whether civil, military, or ecclesiastical: that all foreigners should im-  
mediately resign their places, except the cardinal *Saxe-Zeitz*, primate of the kingdom,  
who, in consideration of his extraordinary merit, should continue in possession of all his  
dignities: that the officers of the treasury should be wholly directed by the laws, with  
respect to the confiscation of the estates of noblemen: that liberty of conscience, and the  
public exercise of religion, should be restored to the Protestants: that, however, the Ca-  
tholic faith should be the established national religion, and the other tolerated only, for  
the sake of peace: that the offices of palatine of the kingdom, judges of the king's  
court, of the thane of *Croatia*, &c. should be restored on the antient footing, and their sa-  
laries regularly paid out of the public revenue: that the revenues of the kingdom  
should be administered by an *Hungarian* treasurer, independent of the imperial court: that  
foreign troops should be obliged to observe exact discipline, and intirely to quit the king-  
dom before the session of the next diet: finally, that his imperial majesty should commit  
the whole direction of affairs to his *Hungarian* council, assisted by four other counsellors of  
his own election.

SUCH was the bill of remonstrance presented to the court; several of the demands  
were entirely new, and others the same which had been repeatedly urged, to little pur-  
pose. Hitherto the success of the malcontents had not been considerable enough to in-  
duce the emperor to grant all their demands; however, defeats and disappointments could  
not break their spirit; they even rose with misfortune. Nor did the sitting of the diet  
prevent the malcontents from making excursions into the hereditary dominions of the house  
of *Austria*, which they overwhelmed with terror. They besieged a variety of places, and,  
among others, the strong fortrefs of *Neistettl*, which they reduced to great extremity. Ge-  
neral *Heisler*, informed of the wretched situation of the garrison, marched with seven thou-  
sand cavalry, and a body of infantry, to their relief; his approach obliging *Ragotski*, and  
the count *Bireccini*, to retire beyond the river *Trenchin*. In their retreat he attacked the  
enemy's rear with so much vigour, as put them in confusion, and obliged them to relin-  
quish the siege, with the loss of a considerable number of men and military trophies.

WHILE rejoicings were making in *Vienna* for this trifling victory, the court was alarmed  
with advice that the rebels had crossed the *Danube*, forced the lines of *Petronelle*, carried  
fort *Rust* by assault, and plundered the towns and villages within forty miles of the capital  
of the empire. Intelligence likewise arrived, that the enemy had forced a passage over the  
*Meuer*, taken *Legrad*, a town situated on the confluence of that river with the *Drave*, sur-  
prised *Chackburn* and *Petaw*, cut off the communication between *Slavonia* and *Transylva-*  
*nia*, and reduced general *Heisler* to the necessity of raising the siege of *Newbausel*. With  
this news vanished all hope of reducing the malcontents: their armies, their courage, their  
resentments, and their prospects, were daily augmenting. They had fortified *Newbausel*,  
razed the works of the besiegers, augmented the garrison with two thousand men, and  
put this place out of all manner of danger. *Ragotski* had assembled the chief discontented  
generals, and obtained from them a resolution to continue so just and necessary a war,  
with the utmost vigour and alacrity. They highly extolled his valour, activity, and pa-  
triotism, and rewarded his zeal for the public liberty with the chief command. Then they

Success of the  
malcontents.



a signed a new association, whereby they agreed to defend their privileges with their lives and fortunes; to obey the directions of *Ragotski*; and to suffer every extremity for the space of six years, rather than renounce their pretensions: at the expiration of this time the association might be renewed <sup>b</sup>.

THE court of *Vienna*, however, was less astonished at the firm resolutions of the *Hungarians*, than at the spirit with which the pontiff resented the emperor's late conduct. He now thundered excommunications against some officers of the imperial army in *Italy*, because, in passing thro' the territories of the church, they had committed some irregularities, and exacted contributions from the clergy of *Parma*, and other districts. The pontiff had first complained to the emperor, but not finding redress, he proceeded to judgment with great b rigour, and seized this opportunity of wreaking his vengeance for the late insult offered his authority. He likewise refused to acknowledge the archduke's pretensions to the crown of *Spain*, and thereby widened the breach between the papal and imperial courts. In the month of *July* the count *de Cauris*, auditor of the rota for the empire, distributed circular letters in *Rome*, supported by an imperial manifesto, whereby *Joseph* annulled the pontifical censures, alledging, for a reason, that *Parma* and the towns where his troops had lived at free quarters, were fiefs of the empire. He added his resolution to support the imperial rights in *Italy*, without other exception, than of those towns which could prove their immunities by authentic deeds, signed by former emperors, and ratified by the *Germanic* body. In this menace he had an eye to the pontiff, and the dukes of *Tuscany* and *Parma*, c whole neutrality, during the war that raged in *Italy*, gave great offence to his imperial majesty.

Disputes renewed with the pope.

*JOSEPH* pushed his resentment still farther. The cardinal *Grimani*, viceroy of *Naples*, published a decree suppressing the nunciatory tribunal, and forbidding the clergy to pay the annates to the chancery of *Rome*. He insisted, that the king of the *Two Sicilies* did not require the investiture of the pontiff, because these provinces were not fiefs of the papal see, and the estates of *Avignon* and *Benevento* reverted by right to the crown of *Naples*. To support these decrees the Imperialists commenced hostilities: they seized on *Comachio*, *Magnavaca*, *Logo*, *Cévali*, and other places, commodious for throwing succours into *Ferrara*, over which they asserted the right of the duke of *Modena*. At the same time d the dukes of *Mantua* and *Montferrat* were put under the ban of the empire, and their estates confiscated, because they had presumed to tax the imperial justice. It had been stipulated in the treaty of 1707, by which the *French* evacuated *Lombardy*, that the duchy of *Mantua* should be sequestered in the hands of the pope and the republic of *Venice*, until a general pacification should determine its fate; and the emperor should maintain garisons in such towns as he thought proper, out of the revenues of the duchy, only allowing a certain sum for the support of the ducal dignity. Without regard to this treaty, the Imperialists appropriated the whole revenues to their own purposes, and the duke was left to beg his sustenance, like a vagrant, from the neighbouring princes. They likewise e transported the duke's artillery to *Milan*, and other places, obliging the inhabitants of *Mantua* to maintain their forces at free quarters. It would be vain to attempt a vindication of this conduct, equally insolent and oppressive. The Imperialists acted in this manner wherever their arms were successful, poverty being the strong motive to their rapaciousness <sup>c</sup>.

Joseph oppresses the Italian states.

As to *Montferrat*, the emperor gave the investiture of the duchy to the duke of *Savoy*, on condition that prince adhered faithfully to the alliance during the war, without regard to natural affection and the interests of his daughter, married to the duke of *Anjou*, competitor with the archduke *Charles* for the *Spanish* monarchy; that he acknowledged the princess of *Wolfembutte* as queen of *Spain*, in right of her husband the archduke; and that he should grant the duke of *Modena* a subsidy of fifteen thousand livres, until he was put f in quiet possession of the duchy of *Ferrara*. The death of the duke of *Mantua* happily prevented the chagrin he must have felt from this iniquitous distribution of his dominions. This event made no alteration: the emperor pursued his resolution of establishing the imperial rights in *Italy* on the antient footing; and he ordered the duke of *Parma* to prove his rights in fifteen days, or pay homage to the empire, under pain of confiscation of all his dominions. All *Italy* was alarmed at the high tone in which *Joseph* expressed himself. *Venice*, *Genoa*, and all the other states, were deeply interested in this resolution, which must rob them of the greatest part of their dominions, or render them at least subject to the empire: yet the imperial forces in *Italy*, and their own weakness, obliged them to suppress their complaints, and satisfy themselves with murmuring at a conduct they were incapable of resenting. At length, *Joseph* carried his violences to so enormous a length, that g they ventured upon remonstrances. They said, that his measures were contradictory,

<sup>b</sup> Jour. Hist. sub. An. hoc.

<sup>c</sup> BARRE ubi supra.



since he required the consent of the aulic council in a simple donation in *Italy*; and yet had of his own right, disposed of the *Higher Palatinate*, and the county of *Chamb*, in favour of the count Palatine. His father *Leopold* had never consulted the empire when he transferred to the duke of *Savoy* a considerable part of the *Milanese*. Besides, that prince had, in the year 1691, declared the duke of *Parma* a vassal of the holy see; yet the emperor now claimed the duchy as a fief of the empire. These arguments were unanswerable; but *Joseph's* claim must be decided not by reason, but the sword.

The pope has  
recourse to  
arms.

THE court of *Rome*, less timid than the other states and princes of *Italy*, resolved to join force to arguments, to stop the progress of the imperial power. In a conclave of thirty-four cardinals, a great majority was for coming to an open rupture, and repelling hostilities: all of them contributed to the expence of raising an army, to the command of which count *Marsigli* was appointed. The peasants of *Ferrara* were already in arms; and being joined by a few ecclesiastical forces, they drove the Imperialists out of *Argenta* and *Longastrino*, while the marquis *de Bentivoglio*, at the head of his own vassals, seized upon their magazines. On the first notice of these hostilities, count *Thaun* marched for the *Ferrarese*, forced several important posts, and laid siege to the capital, forbidding the people to supply the inhabitants with provision, under the penalty of military execution. At the same time the prince of *Darmstadt*, commander in chief in *Naples*, ordered several regiments to file towards the ecclesiastical territories; but before they entered upon action, the marquis *de Prie* was sent to *Rome* to propose an accommodation. The terms were, that the pontiff should reduce his standing forces to five thousand men; that he should permit the Imperialists to quarter in the ecclesiastical territories, and a passage when required. A few days were given him to consider the conditions, and in the mean time an armistice was granted.

Peace con-  
cluded with  
the pontiff.

ALREADY the Imperialists were in possession of the greater part of *Ferrara*, and the troops under count *Thaun* only waited for orders to march directly to *Rome*, while the fleets of *England* and *Holland* threatened the pontiff's sea-ports and coasts. The princes of *Italy* were over-awed: they scarce ventured to breathe in whispers their grievances; and the remonstrances lately published, they feared had already roused the indignation of the confederates. Terror appeared in every face, and a general revolution in the affairs of *Italy* was apprehended. *Clement* assembled a consistory, to deliberate on the state of affairs, and the emperor's propositions: several cardinals were bold enough to repel them; but the more dispassionate were of opinion, it was better to yield certain points, and a few temporal rights, than incense a monarchy equally able to destroy or support the holy see. As they could come to no resolution, a message was sent to the marquis *de Prie*, requesting a prolongation of the armistice, the time limited being too short to deliberate on matters of so great moment; but he answered, that an extension of the truce exceeded his instructions; and that the infallible consequence of rejecting the emperor's proposals would be the desolation of the ecclesiastical territories, perhaps of *Rome* itself. This menace determined the consistory: they were terrified with the picture drawn by the imperial ambassador; and fearing the ecclesiastical forces were too weak to resist the enemy, they embraced the proposals, and signed the treaty in the month of *January*. Here it was stipulated, that the pontiff should reduce his army to the number mentioned above; that he should disband all the *French* and *Spanish* auxiliaries; that he should furnish subsistence for six thousand Imperialists in his dominions; that he should on no terms abet the malcontents in *Naples*, or assist the enemies of the house of *Austria*, and the other allies; that *Comacchio* should remain in the hands of the emperor, until it was otherwise disposed of at a general pacification; at which time commissaries should be appointed on both sides to adjust their mutual pretensions to this and to *Parma* and *Placentia*. No mention was made about acknowledging the right of the archduke to the *Spanish* monarchy: this was remitted to the conclave, where the emperor depended on a majority. This circumstance gave the *French* the greatest uneasiness. *Lewis* doubted not but establishing the right of *Charles* to the *Spanish* succession would be a necessary article of the treaty. *Marechal Tesse* was therefore dispatched to *Rome* to frustrate the negotiation; but his remonstrances made no impression. The Imperialists marched towards *Rome*, the treaty was signed, and the marechal was forced to rest satisfied with protestations. With respect, however, to acknowledging the archduke *Charles*, the pontiff egregiously equivocated. In his brief, addressed to that prince, he called him 'Our dear son the Catholic king in *Spain*;' a phrase which equally incurred the resentment of both parties. *France* alledged he granted too much in calling *Charles* a Catholic king; and the emperor was displeased he gave him a title inferior to the Catholic king of *Spain*, *Naples*, and the *Indies*. *Clement*, however, cleared himself.

THE new year was ushered in by the emperor's application to the states of the empire, to confirm the ninth electorate he had created in favour of the duke of *Hanover*. A variety



\* riery of princes objected to the erection of this electorate, particularly the archbishops of *Treves* and *Cologne*. All the Catholics blamed *Leopold* for strengthening the Protestant interest in the electoral college, and they now represented to *Joseph* the evils which might arise from ratifying the creation of a new dignity. For six years the affair had been agitated; but *Joseph* determined to surmount all opposition, and at any rate oblige the general of his army on the *Rhine*, and his Protestant allies. To satisfy the Catholics, it was proposed to erect for them another electorate, so as to turn the scale in the electoral college; but this being opposed, it was resolved to give a casting vote to the president of the diet, who was always a Catholic, the archbishop of *Mentz* constantly holding that dignity. Upon this compromise the elector of *Hanover* was admitted into the college; but the dispute was not wholly terminated. The duke of *Wurtemberg* opposed his being complimented with the grand standard of the empire, which had been long possessed by his family. He said, that honours ought to be contrived for the elector of *Hanover* which should diminish in no respect the other members of the empire, and particularly the duke of *Wurtemberg*, who had always distinguished his loyalty to the imperial crown. Recourse was then had to the place of grand treasurer, because, since the proscription of the elector of *Bavaria*, the count-palatine quitted that title for the other more honourable one of grand master of the empire: yet, as by the peace of *Baden* all employments and dignities were established on the antient footing, this project likewise met with difficulties. It was almost impossible to adjust the different pretensions of the elector-palatine and the elector of *Hanover*, who disputed about the dignity of grand treasurer. It was expected all obstructions would be removed, by making the new elector grand master of the horse; but to this the king of *Poland*, as elector of *Saxony*, put in his claim, pretending that all the functions attached to that charge belonged of antient right to the arch-marechal of the empire.

*Difficulties about the honours to be conferred on the elector of Hanover.*

AFTER the diet had acknowledged the elector of *Hanover*, they voted that the emperor *Joseph* had a voice in the electoral college as king of *Bohemia*; an honour which none of his predecessors enjoyed since *Ladislaus*. A peculiar prerogative he likewise enjoyed: it was, that his presence at the assembly could not be required, unless the diet was held on the frontiers of the kingdom whence he derived his right of voting. There was a wide difference made between the re-admission of the sovereign of *Bohemia*, and the introduction of the house of *Brunswick* into the diet: the rights of the first were without exception or limitation; those of the other were restrained to the male issue of *Ernest-Augustus*, the first elector.

In this situation were the affairs of the empire, when the most Christian king began seriously to wish seeing an issue to a long war, which had desolated and impoverished his dominions. The president *Rouille* came to *Antwerp* to confer with the deputies of the states-general: his terms appeared so moderate, that, after much altercation and punctilious delays, *Rouille* was told, his master would be permitted to send plenipotentiaries to the *Hague*, to adjust the preliminaries of a general pacification. This was retaliating the indignities sustained from the *French* monarch before the peace of *Ryswick*: it was indeed mortifying, in excess, to that towering pride which aimed at giving law to all *Europe*. After tedious negotiations, mutual proposals were made and rejected: the allies demanded more than *Lewis*, even in the wain of his glory, could grant, without staining his honour, and subduing his natural affection for a grandson. We have already exhibited the particulars in our *History of France*: sufficient it is to remark in this place, that both sides prepared for the prosecution of the war, after *Rouille* had notified the impossibility of his master's accepting five of the articles specified in the preliminaries.

*Lewis proposes terms of peace.*

A. D. 1709.

*Negotiation broke off.*

THE confederates under *Marlbrough* and *Eugene* were again victorious in the *Netherlands*: *Villars* lost the battle of *Malplaquet*; but he was formidable in his defeat, and had stained deep with blood the laurels gained by the conquerors.

UPON the *Rhine* the campaign opened late in the season. The elector of *Hanover*, dissatisfied with the conduct of the preceding year, predicted the event of this, from the dilatory proceedings of the *Germanic* body. Scarce a single member of the empire discovered the least ardour in the common cause. All were slow in furnishing their contingents, and many refused at all to contribute to the public expence. The best troops were employed in *Flanders*, and money was wanting to assemble an army on the *Rhine*. It was proposed in the diet to borrow; but the college of princes refused their consent both to this measure and to levying new taxes, until all the circles had paid the arrears of their quotas. Under these embarrassments, the elector of *Hanover* wisely declined accepting the command of an army in want of every necessary, and which must every where be foiled by the enemy's superiority. However, he was at length gained over by the influence of the queen of *England*; upon which he repaired to the camp about the middle of *August*. He no sooner

*War prosecuted.*



reviewed his forces than he made a motion towards the *French* lines at *Weisseburg*, commanded by the *marechal de Harcourt*. He had formed a project, which would have proved fatal to the enemy, had it been attended with the success which might reasonably have been expected. It was proposed to pass the *Rhine* into the *Higher Alsace*; while count *Thaun*, after crossing the *Rhine*, should penetrate into *Franche-comté*, with a view either to reduce that province, or to seize upon the *Three Bishoprics*, and levy contributions in *Champagne* and *Burgundy*. To amuse *de Harcourt*, the elector propagated a report that he designed attacking his lines at *Weisseburg*; and the *marechal* took the necessary measures of defence, at the same time that he believed something further was intended. As if he had been acquainted with the elector's real design, he detached five squadrons and two battalions to defend the passage of the *Rhine* towards the *Upper Alsace*, and the commanding officer was scarce arrived at his post before he received intelligence that the enemy were in motion. In a few days the *marechal Harcourt* was surprised with undoubted intelligence that general *Merci*, at the head of thirteen battalions and twenty-three squadrons, was traversing the territory of *Basil*, the *Swiss* having, contrary to their professed neutrality, granted him a passage. By the twenty-first of *August* he had entered the *Higher Alsace*, and advanced as far as the isle of *Newburg*, between *Brisack* and *Hunningen*. The *sieur de Roccaux*, who commanded the *French* detachment, immediately abandoned the island, and retired in such good order towards the main army, that *Merci* did not chuse to hazard an attack. Then the *Imperialists*, occupying that post, threw a bridge over the *Rhine*, and marched over eight battalions, leaving the rest of the troops to the defence of the bridge and island. Mean time, count *de Bourg* advanced with a body of troops beyond the lines, to watch the motions of the *Imperialists*; and he was reinforced with four battalions and eight squadrons, sent to his assistance by the *marechal*. With this force, in all consisting of eighteen squadrons, six battalions, and eight companies of *grenadiers*, he resolved to give battle to the enemy; which *Merci*, at the head of nine thousand men, imprudently enough accepted. The armies met between *Hermstadt* and *Rumersheim*, at the distance of a league from the isle of *Newburg*, and engaged with great vigour for half an hour, when the *Imperialists* gave way, and left a complete victory to the count *de Bourg*, with all their baggage, provision, stores, twelve pair of colours, two standards, two pair of kettle-drums, several pieces of cannon, two hundred horses, and all count *Merci's* papers, among which was found the plan concerted by the elector of *Hanover*.

*Imperialists  
defeated.*

AFTER this unfortunate action, the elector of *Hanover* retired towards the lines of *Ettlingen*, and relinquished the great object in view; while count *Merci*, filing off to the *Rhine*, endeavoured to cover the passes of the *Black Forest*; though he could not prevent the *marechal* from laying under contributions the *marquisate of Baden*, and the *bailliages* in the neighbourhood of *Landau*.

IN *Italy* count *Thaun* opposed *marechal Berwick*. As to the duke of *Savoy*, he was so disgusted with the emperor's vast pretensions in *Italy*, which he thought might in time devour all the lesser states, that he resigned the command of the combined army. The *Imperialists* had taken *Annecy*, with intention to penetrate into *Franche-comté*; but the defeat of *Merci* rendered that post useless. A variety of detachments were made from both armies; but they had the caution not to fall in with each other. At last *marechal Berwick*, with the main army, approached *Briançon*, with intention to besiege it; and *Thaun*, incensed that with a superior army he had gained not a single advantage, advanced to give him battle. All his attempts were foiled; and yet his conduct upon this occasion obtained him great honour. He was opposed by a general of such vast abilities, that to maintain his ground, and avoid being disgraced, was considerable reputation. He practised every stratagem to oblige the *marechal* to quit the advantageous post he occupied; but in vain: the *French* army was so judiciously posted as to cover all the frontier, and render perfectly secure the great object of *Thaun's* designs, *Dauphine* and *Provence*. In a word, all was directed with so much ability, that this campaign affords the finest lessons in the art of war.

MEAN while, the allies had so vigorously prosecuted the war in *Flanders*, that the archduke's affairs in *Spain* were wholly neglected. *Eugene*, as much respected at *Vienna* as *Marlborough* was in *London*, carried all before him in council, and determined the emperor to direct his chief efforts to the side of the *Netherlands*, where he commanded the *Imperialists* in person. *Charles* complained that he was neglected, in consequence of which his conquests were seized from him, and his influence was daily declining. *England*, moved by his remonstrances, determined however to send succours to *Catalonia*: but *Lewis* now made fresh proposals of peace by his ambassador, the *marquis de Torcy*. He offered to accept some of the conditions he had last year rejected; but though the approaching re-

<sup>a</sup> Jour. Hist. An. 1709.



a. volution in the *English* ministry displayed the pacific intentions of that nation, *Joseph* was still inexorable. He dispatched the count *Zinzendorf* to the *Hague*, to traverse the projects of the *French* ministers; and he acquitted himself with so much address, that the negotiations had the same issue as the preceding. The more the *French* ambassadors yielded, the more did the allies rise in their demands: every day gave birth to new propositions unfavourable to *Lewis*. At last, the confederates plainly declared, that, unless the most Christian king would contribute his assistance to dethrone his own grandson, it was impossible the treaty could take effect: and even this hard condition was clogged with restrictions, which rendered it next to impracticable. Yet the confederates endeavoured to load the *French* monarch with the odium of breaking off the conferences: b. they alledged, that he proposed nothing more than to amuse them with negotiations, in order to draw breath, and recover his vigour for resuming hostilities. Nothing could be less true: it was *Lewis's* earnest desire to come to an accommodation upon any terms possible, that were not wholly destructive of his honour and humanity. He was now no longer the same formidable monarch who gave law to *Europe* at *Ryswick*.

No sooner were the conferences broke off at *Gertrudenberg*, than both armies took the field in the *Netherlands*. *Bethune*, *Aire*, *St. Vinant*, and other towns, yielded to the victorious arms of *Eugene* and *Marlborough*; but nothing decisive occurred. The allies had gained four towns, and about fifteen leagues of a fine country; but they lost above twenty thousand men, and their infantry was quite ruined.

c. TOWARDS the *Rhine* no considerable action was performed, not because the parties were too weak to take the field, but because they were pretty equal. Count *Merci* and *Du Bourg* exerted all their ability; the one to regain the reputation he had lost, the other, to maintain the glory he had acquired by the late fortunate action: in a word, the season passed in marches, encampments, and stratagems, none of which produced any real advantage.

WITH respect to the affairs in *Hungary*, they were rather more prosperous than the year preceding. *Neubausel* submitted to the Imperialists, after sustaining a blockade of six months: yet all the endeavours of the court of *Vienna* to bring the malcontents to reason, proved fruitless. The old obstructions to peace still remained; the discontented nobility continued to insist upon the re-establishment of their privileges, of the antient laws, d. and the liberty of electing their sovereigns, which the emperor could not be induced to grant. Such was the situation of *Hungary*, while *Bavaria* was dismembering in favour of the elector-palatine, and his brother the bishop of *Augsburg*. Other fiefs were also bestowed on the bishops of *Salzburg* and *Passau*. The count *de Schomborn*, vice-chancellor of the empire, and nephew to the elector of *Mentz*, was presented with the perpetuity of the district of *Reidemburg*, in consideration of the bishop of *Breslau's* being chosen coadjutor of *Mentz*. All these promotions and donations were made of the emperor's own authority, without consulting the diet, which appeared to him unnecessary, as his father had put the elector of *Bavaria* under the ban of the empire, without the consent e. of the *Germanic* body, and the princes of the empire. The same ceremony he neglected in the disposal of *Mirandola* to the duke of *Modena*. This duchy he confiscated, because the duke had appeared in the *French* army; a measure to which he had been forced in the year 1705, while a minor.

IN *Italy* the campaign passed without effusion of blood; but it was otherwise in *Spain*, f. where the succours sent by *England* enabled *Charles* to gain the decisive victory of *Saragossa*, which must have infallibly established him in the *Spanish* throne, had the advantage been properly pursued. But the arrival of the duke *de Vendome* soon changed the scene, and the consequences of the battle of *Villa Viciosa* were as fatal to *Charles* as those of *Saragossa* might have proved to *Philip*. This single victory, improved by the abilities of *Vendome*, restored the affairs of *Philip*, placed him securely in the throne, and raised him from a fugitive prince to a triumphant monarch. The following note to him from *Vendome* the night succeeding the battle, is memorable. "Sire, I have prepared for you g. "the best and most glorious bed in which you ever slept." This bed was composed of colours and trophies taken from the enemy, in which the king slept for five hours. The revolution in *Spain* gave the utmost uneasiness to the allies; and a great man told the duke of *Hanover*, that the union of two crowns in the house of *Bourbon* was a gordian knot, which future ages must untie by the sword. The prediction, however, has not been verified in its full meaning, as *France* has hitherto deduced scarce a single advantage from the succession of a prince of the blood to the *Spanish* monarchy, besides what would naturally have resulted from the situation of both kingdoms, had not that event ever happened.

This year the elector of *Hanover* made an acquisition of the county of *Delmenhorst*, mortgaged to him by the crown of *Denmark*. As the money borrowed was not paid at



Disputes be-  
tween the Pro-  
testants and  
Papists.

the time appointed, he took possession of the lands, which occasioned some disputes with the *Danish* monarch. These, however, were more easily decided than the affair of *Heildesheim*. For the space of an hundred years the house of *Brunswick-Luncenburg* proved possession of that bishopric. It was ceded in 1693 to *Ferdinand* elector of *Cologne*, on condition that the Protestants should be maintained in the free exercise of their religion. It was afterwards stipulated in the treaty of *Westphalia*, that the affairs of religion should be placed on the same footing as in the year 1624; in consequence of which, the elector of *Mentz* and the duke of *Brunswick* drew up a convention, which was ratified in 1652 by *Maximilian-Henry*, elector of *Cologne* and bishop of *Hildesheim*. Here it was stipulated, that Protestants should not, in religious matters, depend on the chancery or episcopal spiritual court, but carry their complaints before the Protestant consistory. Without regard to the convention, the Protestants were oppressed, and the number of their churches diminished. They were besides compelled to observe the festivals of the *Romish* calendar, and to bring their complaints before the chancery. The elector of *Cologne* promised to examine their grievances; but he died. The Protestants remonstrated to his successor to no purpose; upon which they carried their complaints before the chamber of *Wetzlar*, where they obtained a decree in their favour: but the decree being disregarded in *Heildesheim*, they applied to the circle of *Lower Saxony*, and particularly to the house of *Brunswick*. As the see of *Heildesheim* was at that time vacant, the elector of *Hanover* wrote to the chapter, exhorting them to pay the due regard to the convention of 1643; but his letters producing no effect, he seized upon the revenues of that diocese in the electorate. The canons carried their complaints to the emperor and the diet; but receiving no favourable answer, they promised to redress all the grievances; and upon executing their word, the elector restored their revenues. Such was the issue of an affair which had almost embroiled *Germany* in a new civil war, on account of religion.

BEFORE we conclude the section, it will be proper to give an abstract of the affairs of the North, as they had considerable influence on the resolutions of the diet, and the circumstances of the empire. The unfortunate battle of *Pultowa* wrought an intire change in *Sweden*, *Russia*, *Poland*, and *Saxony*. The hero who had dethroned a king, and thrown all the Protestants of *Europe* into consternation, was now a fugitive in the *Turkish* dominions. A few years before he gave law to the emperor, *Denmark*, and *Augustus* king of *Poland*, while he was feared and courted by the confederates, and the *French* monarch. Now the elector of *Saxony* was entering upon measures to recover the crown of *Poland*, and precipitate the unfortunate *Stanislaus* from a throne with the same rapidity as he had been elevated to that dignity by the king of *Sweden*. *Augustus* pleaded, that he had signed the treaty of *Alt-Ranstadt* by compulsion: he assembled his troops, published circular letters in *Poland*, and granted a general amnesty to all who had taken arms for his rival. His intention was to join the *Russian* forces under general *Goltz*, and the *Polish* army commanded by *Siniauski*, while the passes to *Saxony* should be strictly guarded by the militia of the electorate. About the time this junction was effected, the king of *Denmark* acceded to the confederacy against *Sweden*. In consequence, he made an irruption into *Schonen*, which alarmed the duke of *Holstein-Gottorp*, obliged him to put the militia in arms, block up all the passes, and take measures for his own defence; his minister, the baron *Fabricius*, residing at this very time at the little court maintained by the *Swedish* monarch at *Bender*. Had *Pomerania* and the duchy of *Holstein* become the theatre of war, some inconveniencies to the *Germanic* body were apprehended, which might weaken the emperor's efforts against *Lewis XIV*. To anticipate danger, his imperial majesty, the princes of the empire, the queen of *England*, and the states-general, signed a treaty for the security of *Holstein* and *Pomerania*. In this treaty appeared one very singular article, inserted at the request of the czar *Peter*, and *Augustus* of *Poland*, without which, they refused to accede to the measures taken by the allies: it was, that the fourteen thousand *Swedish* troops, quartered in *Pomerania*, should not be permitted to return for the defence of their own dominions, or to draw their swords in *Pomerania* in behalf of their natural sovereign. Nothing could be more insolent than a clause, which already supposed them prisoners of war; yet the confederates gave this agreement the appellation of a treaty of neutrality, and resolved to raise an army in its support. The project, however, never took effect: it became the subject of every conversation; it occasioned much speculation; but none of the parties adhered to their engagements, and the princes of the North were left at liberty to despoil the unfortunate king of *Sweden* in what manner they thought proper.

A treaty for  
the security of  
Germany.

<sup>c</sup> BARRE, t. x. p. 575.

<sup>f</sup> Id. ibid.



## C H A P. XXV.

*Containing Negotiations for a Peace with France; Revolution in the English Ministry; the Death of the Emperor Joseph; the Disposition of the Germanic Body relative to Peace: the Election of the Archduke to the Imperial Diadem; the Protestation of the Electors of Bavaria and Cologne against their Proscription; the Cession of the Sovereignty of the Netherlands to that Prince; the Emperor Charles prosecutes the War against France; he is deserted by his Allies, and at length forced to accept of the Terms proposed by Lewis at Rastadt.*

**I**N the beginning of the new year, letters addressed to the emperor arrived from *Peter the Great* and *Augustus* king of *Poland*, demanding the execution of the late treaty, as they expected being attacked by the Grand Seignior. Divers councils were held upon this subject; and the whole politics of the court of *Vienna* were directed to prevent the *Turks* from entering *Hungary*, and assisting the malcontents. It was at length resolved to acquaint the northern monarchs, that the treaty would be executed, as soon as the rebels in *Hungary* could be reduced to obedience; and that, in the mean time, it answered one very important purpose, that of detaining the *Swedish* army in *Pomerania*. From this reply it was apparent, that the war had greatly diminished his strength; a circumstance of which the *French* monarch did not fail to make his advantage, though he entertained still greater expectations from the approaching revolution in the *English* ministry. It is well known that *Marlborough's* influence occasioned the duration of the war; and that his enemies, the *Tories*, were equally strenuous for peace, as the only means of clipping the wings of that hero, and setting bounds to his ambition. At length they gained their ends, by an artful application to the passions of the queen; the friends of the *British* general were turned out of the administration; his power greatly limited; but he was still continued at the head of the army, from an apprehension of alarming the allies, particularly the *Dutch*, who placed the greatest confidence in the abilities and good fortune of *Marlborough*.

THIS great event was succeeded by another no less important to the peace of *Europe*. The death of the emperor *Joseph*, who expired at *Vienna* on the seventeenth of *April*, gave a new turn to the politics of *Christendom* (A). It was now obvious, that the balance of power, the object of a bloody war for the space of nine years, would be destroyed, if the archduke annexed to the imperial diadem the *Spanish* monarchy. This circumstance, together with the continual solicitation of the new ministry, and the general inclinations of her people, impoverished by a long and expensive struggle, determined the queen of *England* to accommodate matters with *France*, and, if her allies were obstinate, to strike up a separate pacification.

THE emperor's death was announced to the princes of the empire, by circular letters from his mother the empress-dowager; and dispatches were immediately sent to *England* and *Holland*, where the imperial ministers laboured to demonstrate, that this event ought to effect no change in the views of the confederates, as it could not have any influence on the equilibrium they were desirous of establishing in the scale of *Europe*. The arguments advanced in support of this principle, were rather specious than true; yet they were embraced by the king of *Portugal*, the duke of *Savoy*, and several princes of the empire, who found their advantage in prolonging the war, and hiring out their forces: indeed, the states-general, the *Portuguese*, and *Victor Amadeus*, hoped to share in the spoils of the *Spanish* monarchy. This had hitherto maintained them fast in the confederacy, and induced them now strenuously to labour for its continuance.

As the queen of *Great Britain* had no such expectations, and had supported the chief expence of the alliance, from regard to the general interest of *Europe*, she now, from

(A) The emperor *Joseph* fell a martyr to the small-pox, and the unskillfulness of his physicians, in the prime of life and vigour of youth. He was crowned king of *Hungary* in 1687, and three years after he was elected king of the *Romans*. In 1699 he married the daughter of the duke of *Brunswick-Lunenburgh*, by whom he had three children, *Leopold-Joseph*, his only male issue, dying in his infancy. As to the character of this emperor, it is variously represented; less gentle, mild and affable than his father *Leopold*, he possessed fire, spirit, and ambition. Impatient of opposition, he was haughty, active, enterprising, and indefatigable: he

frequently pursued from resentment what he had first undertaken from policy. Never did an emperor of *Germany* govern with more despotism; and the house of *Bavaria* is an instance of the inflexibility of his temper. His success augmented the pride of his disposition, and added fuel to a fire which had long burnt with violence. In the space of five years he saw *Lombardy* subdued, *Piedmont* evacuated, *Naples* reduced, the *Low Countries*, and even the kingdom of *Spain*, conquered by his own arms and those of his allies. The only reverse of fortune he ever experienced, was subsequent to the battle at *Villa-Viciosa*.



Conduct of  
count Gallas  
at London.

the same motives, signed preliminaries of a peace with *France*, which she sent for the ap-  
probation of her allies. Without hesitation the court of *Vienna* rejected them, and the  
count *de Gallas*, the imperial minister at *London*, laboured to give the preliminaries an  
invidious turn, and render them unpopular. In this he was supported by the whole  
weight of the *Whig* faction. He carried his resentment so far as to speak disrespectfully  
of the queen's person, and was, for that reason, forbid the court; upon which he broke  
out into the bitterest invectives, taxing the queen and ministry with perfidy, and a breach  
of faith. He accused the latter of corruption, and offered to prove juridically what he  
advanced; nor did the archduke *Charles* absolutely condemn the conduct of his ambassa-  
dor. He declared he would adhere to the propositions made at *Gertrudenberg*; and in  
this resolution he was supported by the elector of *Hanover*, who declared he would never  
detach himself from the interests of the house of *Austria*.

Operations of  
the campaign.

It was otherwise with certain princes of the empire: the king of *Prussia* was, at this  
very time, secretly negotiating with *Lewis*; however, some differences about the condi-  
tions broke off the treaty, and determined his *Prussian* majesty to continue his forces  
with the combined army. Notwithstanding *England* had signed the preliminaries, her  
forces still acted under the duke of *Marlborough* in the *Netherlands*, where the confede-  
rates reduced *Buchain*. Prince *Eugene* had now withdrawn the *Austrians* from the com-  
bined army, in order to strike some blow of consequence on the *Rhine*; but no opportu-  
nity offered, and the season was far advanced before his arrival. Besides, the members  
of the empire had been extremely deficient in advancing their contingencies, and the  
military chest was quite exhausted. The prince complained in a letter to the elector of  
*Mentz*, and he transmitted the writing to the diet at *Ratisbon*, where it was perused and  
disregarded. It was universally believed in *Germany*, that the conduct of *England* must  
oblige the house of *Austria* to listen to proposals; they therefore thought it prudent to  
withhold their supplies. As to the campaign in *Dauphiny*, it was equally sterile in great  
events as those on the *Rhine* and in the *Netherlands*. The duke of *Savoy* was superior in  
forces to the enemy; but marechal *Berwick* posted his army with so much address, as ren-  
dered abortive all the duke's motions and stratagems. In *Spain* the *French* king, and  
*Philip* his grandson, maintained the superiority gained the preceding campaign; and, in-  
deed, the vacancy in the imperial throne fell out seasonably to save the honour of the  
archduke, who was in a fair way of being driven out of the *Spanish* dominions, as the  
duke of *Argyle*, commander in chief of the *British* forces in *Portugal*, had orders not to  
enter upon action.

No sooner was the campaign finished, than the princes of the empire redoubled their  
endeavours to persuade the imperial court into the necessity of terminating a war, which  
had wholly drained the empire of resources: still, however, the ministry at *Vienna* proved  
obstinate, and the empress-regent of the *Austrian* dominion sent prince *Eugene* to the court  
of *London*, in hopes that the presence of this hero, and the strength of his arguments,  
might have some weight with the queen, and animate the people against the intended  
pacification with *Lewis*. *Eugene* was received with all the respect due to his merit and  
quality. He had conferences with the ministry; he was admitted to an audience of the  
queen; but all his endeavours proved fruitless: the arguments of the court of *Vienna*  
were no longer in behalf of the balance of power in *Europe*: her interest was changed,  
and so were the maxims of the court of *London*.

The electoral  
college assem-  
bles.

MEAN time the elector of *Mentz* convoked the diet for the election of an emperor,  
at *Frankfort*. Letters were addressed to the electors of *Triers*, *Saxony*, *Palatine*, *Branden-  
burg*, *Bohemia*, and *Hanover*; but those of *Bavaria* and *Cologne* were not invited, be-  
cause of their late proscription. The elector of *Saxony* certified to the archduke the set-  
tling of the diet, and he replied, that he entrusted all his affairs to the empress his mo-  
ther. That princess had already made application to king *Augustus*, for his interest in  
procuring a seat for her ambassadors in the electoral diet, as sovereign of *Bohemia*; but  
she was answered, that her powers were insufficient, and the ambassadors instructions  
must be signed by the archduke. This reply they founded upon a fundamental maxim  
of the imperial constitution, that the electoral dignity was an office purely masculine, and  
incapable of descending to the female line; therefore a regent could not exercise the  
full powers. However, the empress, disappointed in this application, did not despair of  
succeeding with the electors. She endeavoured especially to gain the elector *Palatine*,  
as he owed particular obligations to the emperor *Joseph*; but here too she failed; for  
the elector replied, that her request was diametrically opposite to the constitution, which  
he in a particular manner, as vicar-general, was bound to preserve. Perceiving that the



a electors were inflexible, the court of *Vienna* acquainted the archduke of what passed, and he confirmed, as king of *Bohemia*, the instructions given to the ambassadors.

b Now the electors of *Cologne* and *Bavaria* hoped for a favourable turn in their affairs, as their proscription was entirely an act of the late emperor, without ever consulting the *Germanic* body. Many of the princes had resented this exertion of power, and complained that the sentence passed upon them was illegal, and a violation of their privileges. Finding, however, that their names were omitted by the elector of *Mentz* as arch-chancellor, they entered a protest against the decree, whereby they were proscribed, and the election of the prince chosen king of the *Romans*. When this protest was published, the elector of *Bavaria* resided at *Namur*, in quality of sovereign of the *Nether-*  
lands, which were ceded by *Philip V.* on condition that he was placed on the throne of the *Spanish* monarchy. As to the archbishop of *Cologne*, he resided at *Valenciennes*, in a splendor not usual with a fugitive prince, and liberally supported by the court of *France*. It was believed that large sums of money were employed, in gaining over the ministers of the electoral princes; but the event shewed either the falsity of the report, or the misapplication of the money. No regard was paid to the remonstrances of either of the proscribed electors, and they were reduced to the necessity of protesting against all the proceedings of the diet.

c THE first business of the diet was to examine the powers of the several ambassadors, who represented the absent electors. Then they proceeded to regulate the ceremonial, to obviate the protests of the two proscribed electors, to satisfy the complaints made by the imperial states, concerning the imperial capitulations; and lastly, to answer the remonstrances sent by the diet at *Ratisbon* upon the necessity of forming a perpetual capitulation, whereby the privileges and liberties of the *Germanic* body might be secured and protected against all injustice. This last article had repeatedly been examined at former diets, and the electors had agreed with the other members of the empire upon a perpetual capitulation. However, as it was impossible to provide expressly against all instances in which the emperors might abuse their authority, the electors claimed a right of enlarging, retrenching, or altering the form, as they found necessary according to circumstances. Now the other members of the *Germanic* body presented certain articles, d which they desired might be inserted; but as the electors would only admit of some of the articles, the other members protested against the whole capitulation. They complained of the conduct of the electors, pretending that they violated the rights of the *Germanic* constitution, by declaring that the emperor's will, and the consent of the electoral college, were sufficient authority for declaring war, concluding peace, or forming alliances. They admitted, that when the diet sat but a few months, there might happen certain conjunctures, where it would be dangerous to wait for the consent of the states; but this could never be the case, while the diet constantly met, as was now become a necessary part of the constitution. These reasons could not persuade the electors, who unanimously agreed in their former resolution, provided they acted in nothing contrary to e the Golden Bull, the treaties of *Munster* and *Osnabrug*, and other constitutions of the empire.

ANOTHER article which gave great offence was, that the electors had stipulated with the emperor, that their ambassadors should take place in the diet of all the other *German* princes; a clause which piqued the pride of the antient families, who looked upon themselves in all respects upon a footing with the electors. To satisfy them this article was explained, the electors declaring that it only respected those persons lately raised to the dignity of princes, who acted in certain employments at the imperial court.

*Difficulties attending the proceedings of the electoral diet.*

f THE next business of the diet, was to examine the protests entered by the proscribed electors. Most of the states were of opinion, that the suffrages of the princes would be without effect, and the validity of their proscription left to be determined by the diet at *Ratisbon*. But the *Brandenburg* ambassador insisted, that these electors being closely allied to *France* against the empire, had thereby violated their oath of fidelity, whence they forfeited the right of electors. He even advised that their vacancies might immediately be filled; but this proposal was reputed rash and precipitate.

## C H A R L E S VI.

g THEY now proceeded to the election of an emperor. It was for some time whispered, that the electoral prince of *Poland*, who resided with great splendor at *Frankfort*, had an eye to the imperial throne. His noble air, obliging address, liberality, generosity, and magnificence, rendered him extremely popular. He was visited by the electors during the session of the diet, and treated with all the distinction due to his high birth.



The archduke  
Charles elected  
emperor by  
the name of  
Charles VI.

birth and merit. Their conduct strengthened the report, and it was really believed that the king of *Poland* his father had already secured the interest of *England*, *Prussia*, several states of the empire, the czar of *Muscovy*, and the king of *Denmark*. The eyes of *Europe* were all fixed upon this prince, when it suddenly appeared that amusement was his sole motive for residing at *Frankfort*. The day of election was fixed, and the archduke *Charles* was unanimously chosen emperor and king of the *Romans*, on the twelfth day of *October*. Besides the birth and merit of this young prince, the electoral college had political reasons for giving him the preference. His powerful hereditary dominions rendered him the most natural protector of the empire, and the strongest barrier against the attacks of the *Turks* on the one hand, and of the *French* king on the other. The empire, said the archbishop of *Mentz*, is a wife of high family without a fortune. She must be maintained at great expence, and only the revenues of the house of *Austria* are adequate to the support of the dignity. Already *Charles* possessed the kingdoms of *Hungary*, *Bohemia*, the duchies of *Austria*, *Silesia*, the provinces of *Carinthia*, *Suabia*, together with the other estates of his family in *Germany*. It was by no means the intention of the electoral college to re-unite the *Spanish* monarchy to the imperial diadem, and his vast hereditary possessions, which would have rendered *Charles VI.* more powerful than *Charles V.* who was enabled to aspire at universal monarchy. It was sufficient for their purposes, that he succeeded to his father's estates and dignities, which would render the balance pretty equal between the houses of *Austria* and *Bourbon*. In fact, if the apprehension of seeing the crowns of *France* and *Spain* united on the same head, had occasioned a bloody war in *Europe*, what could have been expected from the re-union of the imperial diadem, the *Spanish* monarchy, the crowns of *Hungary* and *Bohemia*, and the vast possessions of the *Austrian* family?

Divisions in  
the councils at  
Vienna.

THE *Germanic* body had for ten years supported the claim of the house of *Austria* to the *Spanish* monarchy. Now all were in expectation that the death of the emperor *Joseph*, and the elevation of the archduke to the imperial dignity, would pave the way to a general pacification, especially as *England* had withdrawn herself from the alliance. But *Charles* had other sentiments: he was governed by an ambitious ministry, who found their interest in continuing the war, persuaded him it was for his honour, and animated him to prosecute his claim to *Spain* with redoubled vigour. He resigned himself wholly to the management of the prince *Lichtenstein*, and the count *Heberstein*; and from their counsels arose all his objections to peace. In his heart he chimed in with the sentiments of the empress-regent, who powerfully seconded the pacific intentions of the queen of *England*. But the dictates of his own mind, the respect for his mother, and the voice of all *Germany*, were suppressed by motives of ambition, and the lustre of such a jewel as the *Spanish* crown, glittering in the eyes of a young monarch. Besides, his counsellors had so strongly inculcated the legitimacy of his claim, that he believed he could not renounce it, without injustice to his posterity. This alone appeared a sufficient reason for continuing the war; but he could not flatter himself with success, without the liberal assistance of his allies, whose maxims since his accession to the imperial throne appeared wholly changed. From the steps already taken by the allies, it was plain they determined to accommodate matters with *Lewis*, and take the lead in the negotiations for peace, in the same manner they had done in the operations for war. *Charles* wanted their assistance, but he would not suffer them to be judges of his right. It was with this view he insisted upon the preliminaries given in at *Gertruydenberg*, and sought on those terms the alliance of *England* and *Holland*, in support of his claim to the *Spanish* monarchy; while at the same time he wrote to the elector of *Mentz*, to use his influence with the diet to prevent their taking any measures contrary to his interest and intention.

The emperor  
sets out for  
Germany.

ON the first notification of his election, the emperor took ship from *Barcelona*, and arrived at the port of *Vado*, where he staid on board for several days, expecting the *Genoise* would send ambassadors to compliment him on his accession to the imperial diadem and crown of *Spain*. In this he was disappointed, and the senate explained to his ministers their motives for refusing him the latter title. At length he landed; and passing through the territories of the republic without halting, he had an interview with the duke of *Savoy*, near *Pavia*. Here the duke enumerated the services he had performed to the house of *Austria*, to the prejudice of his own interest: he conjured the emperor to fulfil the treaty of 1703, and the imperial decree of 1707, by which *Montferrat*, *Valencia*, *Alexandria*, and other places, were ceded to the house of *Savoy*. *Charles* promised all that was required, and likewise to add some other places, as soon as he had concluded peace with *France*.



a WHEN the conference broke up, *Charles* set out for *Milan*, where, according to some writers, he received the first advice of his election. Now he received the congratulations of all the *Italian* powers, which at last induced the republic of *Genoa* to compliment him with the title of king of *Spain*. In his journey to *Germany* he received the homage and oaths of the states of the *Tyrolse*; and next day he appointed forty-five counsellors, to form different boards at *Vicnna*, for the examination of all important affairs. Finding he was so far advanced on his way to the empire, the electoral college hastened to conclude all the forms previous to his coronation, which they imagined would give weight to his negotiations; and on the nineteenth of *December*, *Charles* entered *Frankfort*.

b THE day after his arrival, he swore to observe the imperial capitulation, in the manner it was proposed by the electors. The diet thought they should, in consequence of the articles they inserted, be restored to all the privileges of which they were deprived by the late emperor; but the manner destroyed the intention of their allegations, as plainly appears by consulting the capitulation (A). Here he promised to promote the felicity and aggrandisement of the empire; to take no measures for rendering the imperial crown hereditary in his family; to observe, in matters of religion, the ordinance framed at *Mecklenburgh*, the regulations of the diets, and the treaties of *Augsburg*, *Munster*, and *Osnabrug*; to consider the electors as the dearest and most important members of the *Germanic* body; to consult them, and be directed by their advice, in all affairs of importance; to preserve them in all their rights and privileges; to call upon them at all diets and councils assembled on the affairs of the empire; to raise no troops, erect no fortifications, or demolish no public works, without the consent of the *Germanic* body; to contract no alliances without the unanimous consent of the electors; to direct all his treaties and connections to the general good of the empire; but to give full liberty to the princes of the empire to form what alliances, and contract such engagements as they thought proper, provided they had no tendency to the prejudice of the emperor, or the *Germanic* body. In the tenth and eleventh articles it was stipulated, that the emperor should confiscate no estates, should proscribe no members, or seize upon fiefs, but with the concurrence of the *Germanic* body. He farther engaged to assemble, at least every ten years, a general diet, to which all the princes of the empire might carry their grievances; to leave the imperial chamber the free exercise of its ancient jurisdiction; to restore to all the princes, prelates, and members of the empire, whatever had been violently extorted from them; to admit none but persons of approved probity, and natives of *Germany*, into the council; and to bestow all the principal employments on high-born subjects of the empire.

The capitulation signed by the emperor.

c BESIDES these, and a variety of other less important articles, it was added, that notwithstanding this capitulation should be perpetual on the side of his imperial majesty, the electoral college should, on proceeding to a new election, be at liberty to make additions and alterations, provided they did not counteract the intentions of the Golden Bull, in any of the articles essential to the *Germanic* constitution. Moreover, a clause was super-added, that the college should never proceed to the election of another emperor, during the life of the present, except in the following cases:—When the emperor should fix his residence out of *Germany*, or make too long a stay out of the imperial dominions. In these instances the emperor might be regarded as dead, and the electoral college would be justified in proceeding to a new election.

d FROM a number of articles, which we have not specified, it appeared that the electors by no means approved of the conduct of *Leopold* and *Joseph*, with respect to *France*, and the electors of *Cologne* and *Bavaria*; that they were desirous of preventing any future evils of the same nature; that they condemned the excessive complaisance paid to the will of the two late emperors, to the prejudice of the rights and liberties of the *Germanic* body; and that they resolved to limit the imperial authority within certain boundaries. On the twenty-ninth of *December* the ceremony of the coronation was performed with great magnificence, and several gold medals were distributed among the electors, the princes of the empire, and the foreign ambassadors, who attended. *Charles* then received the homage of the inhabitants of *Frankfort*, and set out immediately to *Vienna*.

He is crowned at Frankfort.

e BY this time the queen of *England* had acquainted her parliament with her pacific intentions, and obtained their consent to the preliminaries. *Holland* was likewise upon the eve of concluding a separate treaty with *France*; and *Charles* saw himself under the neces-

(A) Published at *Leipsic* in the year 1712, and transcribed at full length in *Barre's History of the Empire*. It was another objection to the capitulation, that it was disapproved by divers persons of the *Germanic* body, who protested against it, and indeed against the proceedings of the diet (1).



Affairs of  
Hungary.

sity of supporting a war against *France* and *Spain*, or of accepting the terms offered by *Lewis*. As the disturbances in *Hungary* necessarily divided his forces, the empress-regent had before his arrival determined to give some satisfaction to the malcontents. The emperor *Joseph* had, just before his death, appointed conferences at *Debrazien*; and the *Hungarian* nobility demanded, as preliminaries, the abolition of the articles of *Presburgh*, whereby the crown was made hereditary in the house of *Austria*; the reformation of all the imperial decrees relative to the affairs of *Hungary*; and full restitution of the liberties, prerogatives, and ancient laws of the kingdom; and security, that the subsequent treaty should be better observed than any of the preceding. It was the advice of the count *de Palfi*, and all the disinterested honest nobility about the court, that the demands of the *Hungarians* should be gratified. They represented, that driving the malcontents to despair, was the sure method of obliging them to throw themselves into the arms of the Grand Signior, who would joyfully embrace any conditions. The king of *Sweden*'s complaint of the disregard paid to the treaty with him was well known; and it was not improbable, if that monarch could obtain an army from the *Porte*, but he would revenge himself on the empire, by protecting the *Hungarians*<sup>a</sup>.

THOUGH these arguments were equally just and obvious, they produced no effect. The ministry were actuated by private views of interest: they would lose the immense wealth in prospect, arising from the confiscated estates of the rebels, if matters were accommodated; they therefore insinuated, that the concessions required would prove injurious to the emperor's honour; that subjects, who had taken arms against their sovereign, were unworthy of his clemency; that lenity towards rebels would only encourage sedition in the other provinces; that the danger apprehended from the *Turks*, and king of *Sweden*, were merely ideal; that these two powers were sufficiently employed in supporting a war against *Russia*, *Poland*, *Denmark*, and *Saxony*, without searching for more enemies; and, upon the whole, that it would be time enough to treat with the rebels when the instructions of the *Turkish* ambassador, now arrived at court, should be known.

THE aga obtained an audience of prince *Eugene*. He told him, he was sent to assure the imperial court of the friendship and affection of the Grand Signior; to acquaint the emperor, that his highness had declared war against the czar of *Muscovy*, for reasons known to the whole world: but that, with respect to the empire, he would scrupulously observe the treaty of *Carlowitz*. The same he requested of the emperor. No great stress, however, could be laid on such general promises, which afforded suspicion they were intended as a blind to screen some secret design, as a fairer opportunity could not have happened for taking the *Hungarians* under the protection of the *Porte*. These were the sentiments of the empress-regent, who laboured, in conjunction with count *Palfi*, to procure at least a cessation of hostilities. At last, in despite of all the intrigues of the ministry, they carried their point. An amnesty was signed at *Zathmar*, and afterwards ratified by several of the *Hungarian* nobility. This treaty imported, that prince *Ragotski* should have full pardon, and restitution of all his estates, provided, in three weeks, he took an oath of fidelity to the emperor, as king of *Hungary*; that, if he chose it, he should have liberty to retire to *Poland*; that religion should be maintained on the footing established by law; that the people should have the liberty of representing their grievances to the diet; and that, if prince *Ragotski* did not embrace the amnesty within the time limited, all the rest of the nobility should be intitled to the advantages specified in the treaty.

End of the re-  
bellion in Hun-  
gary.

THE treaty was signed by count *Caroli*, without the participation or authority of *Ragotski*, and the other nobility; they therefore disavowed his conduct by a solemn act, dispersed in all the palatinates of *Hungary*: however, they were unable, for want of troops, to enter upon action, as twenty-two *Hungarian* regiments had, immediately after signing the treaty, taken an oath of fidelity to the emperor. Several fortresses belonging to *Ragotski* likewise surrendered; and *Mongatz*, after sustaining a blockade for six weeks, at length opened her gates to the Imperialists. *Ragotski*, without money, without troops, friends, or a retreat, wandered a vagrant round *Poland* for some time; whence he passed into *France*, and then to *England*, to enjoy the blessings of freedom and philosophical security. Many of the other *Hungarian* nobility repaired to the little court at *Bender*. And in this manner ended the revolt in *Hungary*, which might have produced fatal consequences to the house of *Austria*, had the projects of the elector of *Bavaria* proved less unfortunate<sup>b</sup>.

<sup>a</sup> BARRE, *ibid.*

<sup>b</sup> FORCES, fol. iii.



a Now all the views of the court of *Vienna* centered in the vigorous prosecution of the war against *France*. Prince *Eugene* was the soul of the imperial councils, and peace was equally opposite to his interest and inclinations. His negotiation in *England*, however, produced nothing. The queen and her minister, the lord *Oxford*, were inflexibly bent on peace, and the disgrace of the duke of *Marlborough*. In the conference with lord *Oxford*, the prince demanded in general, that the queen would not detach herself from the interests of the house of *Austria*, and her engagements to her allies; and the *English* minister replied, that her majesty had already furnished her plenipotentiaries at *Utrecht* with the necessary instructions: that *Utrecht*, and not *London*, was the place appointed for adjusting the interests of the empire and *Great Britain*. By this answer, he thought to embarrass prince *Eugene*, and prevent his solicitations, though it did not succeed; for he so repeatedly pressed his request, that a conference was granted, and Mr. secretary *St. John*, afterwards lord viscount *Bolingbroke*, appointed to canvass the subject with the imperial minister. *Eugene* demanded that some expedient should be found, by which the emperor might send ambassadors to *Utrecht*; yet was this contrary to the emperor's former declaration, that he would send no plenipotentiaries to any congress which should be held in that city. Not satisfied with Mr. *St. John*'s answer, he continued to press memorials upon the court, in which he magnified the vast efforts made by the house of *Austria* in the common cause; notwithstanding, he said, the revolt in *Hungary*, she constantly maintained great armies in *Italy*, on the *Rhine*, in *Spain*, and the *Netherlands*: now, being eased from the burthen of that civil war, his imperial majesty had given orders for augmenting all his forces, in the places above specified, to an hundred and three thousand effective men, exclusive of garrisons, and the army destined for the defence of *Bavaria*. He requested her majesty to consider that the season was far advanced; that no preparations were made for opening the campaign; that, whether war or peace was preferred, there was not a moment to lose; since, in the latter case, the good disposition of the allies would procure more advantageous terms; and, in the former, early preparations insure success; that the states-general had determined to send to *Spain* the four battalions promised the preceding year, where the emperor would maintain an army of thirty thousand men; that of the expences of the *Spanish* war, amounting this year to four millions of crowns, his imperial majesty was willing to pay a fourth, in order to render the burthen easier to *England*; that with the vigorous assistance of the maritime powers, the war might be brought to a speedy issue, perhaps during the session of the congress; the prince concluding his memorial with beseeching Mr. secretary *St. John* to obtain him a speedy answer.

*Eugene's negotiation in England.*

As prince *Eugene* found, by the indirect answers of the *English* ministry, that all his endeavours to prevail on the queen to resume the war would prove fruitless, he took his leave, and set out for the *Hague*, where he conferred with the pensioner *Heinsius*, and the chief members of the republic. While he was here, the counts *Zinzendorf* and *Conisburg* arrived in quality of plenipotentiaries from his imperial majesty, with whom, and the deputies of the other allies, the prince held a variety of consultations on the operations of the ensuing campaign; or, if peace was the object, what terms should be demanded of *Lewis*. The emperor required that *France* should be stripped of all her acquisitions since the treaty of *Munster*; that she should restore to the duke of *Lorraine* all that *Charles IV.* had ceded, and absolve him from the oath of fidelity and homage; that the emperor should be put in possession of the intire *Spanish* monarchy, except what was granted by treaty to *Portugal*, and the other allied powers. To this was subjoined, that his imperial majesty would have no objection to treat with the *French* plenipotentiaries, provided such conditions were offered, as by alteration, addition, and modification, might in the end amount to his demands. While the emperor persisted in the resolution of making these demands the basis of a treaty, it was impossible the negotiations could advance, especially as all the other allies had their particular demands. Those of the *Dutch* were high; nothing less than the cession of the *Spanish Netherlands*, and a variety of towns to be yielded in perpetuity. *Portugal* demanded all those cities, towns, villages, districts, and lands in *Europe* and *America*, promised by the emperor *Leopold* to *Peter II.* and the intire property of *Cape Nord*, situated between the river of *Amazons* and that of *Vincent Pinsen*. The elector of *Brandenburg* demanded that *France* would acknowledge him as king of *Prussia*, cede to him the principality of *Orange*, with all the lands, chattels, and effects belonging to the house of *Chalon-Orange* and *Chatél-Belin*, to which he was legitimate heir. He also insisted upon the sovereignty of *Newchatel* and *Völingen*, and the city of *Guedres*. The elector of *Triers* insisted upon restitution of his capital, and the other towns of which he had been despoiled before and since the treaty of *Munster*. The elector *Palatine* desired to be maintained in possession of the *Palatinate*, and the county of *Chamb*; to have restitution of the places taken by *France* during the war. The circles, that all the places ceded by the treaty

*Prince Eugene repairs to the Hague.*



of *Münster*, and other subsequent treaties, should be restored. The duke of *Württemberg*, the landgrave of *Hesse*, and the bishop of *Paderborn*, put in their claims, and all had their particular demands: besides, prince *Ragotski* and the duke of *Lorraine* represented how much it was for the interest of all *Europe*, that they should be restored to their dignities and possessions.

NEVER, upon any occasion, was beheld such a number of memorials: it appeared as if nothing more was wanting than to ask and obtain; and it may be safely affirmed, that all the several demands seemed calculated rather to prolong the war than to obtain peace, the professed object of their pursuits. The duke of *Savoy* made large demands; and the queen of *Great Britain*, though the most inveterate as well as formidable enemy of *France*, was not without her pretensions, some of which proved extremely irksome to *Lewis*; particularly the cession she required of cautionary towns in *America*. Upon the whole, however, *France* might have complied with every thing required, had the emperor and states-general been less exorbitant in their demands, which had all the appearance of a design to insult misfortune, and triumph over the low condition to which the grand monarch was reduced. Had they intended to destroy the *French* monarchy, and divide the spoils, they could not have dictated in a more arbitrary manner; but they ought to have considered, that re-uniting *Spain* and the *Indies* to the *Austrian* dominions was no longer the design of the principal of the allies, who thought the emperor already sufficiently potent; and that now their high demands answered no other purpose than shewing how important *England* was to the confederacy, and how unequal, without her, they were to extort their pretensions. The Imperial ministers expatiated upon the moderation of the emperor; but in *France* and *England* it was said, that no branch of the house of *Austria* was ever void of ambition. This family had always grasped at power, and, wherever they gained a superiority, exerted it with a high hand; as was visible in the conduct of the late emperor, with respect to the *Italian* states, and of the present prince's insolent demands<sup>a</sup>. With respect to bestowing the *Spanish* monarchy on *Charles*, the danger was evident: as to giving it to *Philip*, it was only possible. In the former case, the ballance of power must necessarily be destroyed; in the latter, it was improbable it ever should, as *Philip* had now but a distant prospect of ever succeeding to the crown of *France*. These were the sentiments of the *English* parliament, when the congress was first opened at *Utrecht*.

Difficulties to  
the negotiations  
at Utrecht.

BEFORE the congress had regulated all the formalities, the bishop of *Bristol* made a laboured speech, demonstrating the expediency of abridging the negotiations; which was seconded by the abbé *Polignac*, in that elegant and masterly style for which he was so eminently distinguished. It was proposed to fix the day for concluding the treaty, on the same footing settled before the opening of the congress; but the *Dutch* deputies desired time to acquaint the states-general with the proposition. A courier was dispatched to the *Hague*, and their high mightinesses did not appear averse to the proposal, before they had conferred with the imperial minister. Count *Zinzendorf* assembled at his lodgings all the ambassadors of the empire, to whom he communicated the proposition made by the bishop of *Bristol*, and the abbé *Polignac*. Those who wished to see peace established consented to it without hesitation; but the others opposed it vehemently, under pretence of scrupulously examining the several interests of the allied powers: their real motive was to raise difficulties, which might retard or break off the negotiations. Notwithstanding this, *Zinzendorf* made a speech in the congress, filled with the strongest assurances of his imperial majesty's sincere intentions to cultivate peace; but contradicted his professions by his demands. In answer to the claims of the emperor, the *French* monarch offered to oblige his grandson to renounce all pretensions to the kingdoms of *Naples* and *Sardinia*, and the duchy of *Milan*, provided the archduke would desist from his pretensions to the *Spanish* monarchy. The other articles implied, that, with respect to the empire, the frontiers on the *Rhine* should be put in the same condition as before the war; that the electors of *Cologne* and *Bavaria* should be restored to their dominions and honours; and that the most Christian king should resume all the titles he possessed in *Germany* at the treaty of *Ryswick*. The plenipotentiaries of the allies sent the *French* propositions to their several courts; and, upon receiving an answer, count *Zinzendorf* gave in a memorial, which he called the specific demands of his master, and desired an answer in writing, in hopes of raising some difficulty to the negotiation. Of this the court of *Versailles* was aware, and therefore adhered to the former propositions, without the trouble of replying to the specific demands. *Zinzendorf* waited with impatience for the expected answer, and was at last told by the marechal d'*Uxelles*, that as they had reciprocally exchanged propositions, that was sufficient foundation for entering upon the negotiation, without the formality of written

<sup>a</sup> TORCY, tom. ii. BARRE, tom. x. ibid.



a replies, which would only excite disputes, and spin out the conferences. *Zinzendorf*, fired at the disappointment, answered, that if the negotiation did not take a more favourable turn, he was determined to withdraw from the congress. He soon kept his word, and had the address to draw off with him the other allied plenipotentiaries; but still the *French* ministers adhered to their first resolution. The dispute was of more consequence than it might at first appear. It was the business of *Zinzendorf* to ensnare and puzzle; plainness and perspicuity were equally the interest of *Lewis*, who had ardently wished for a general pacification. He desired to treat civilly the allies in general; but the emperor and *Dutch* insisted upon a separate discussion of their several claims.

b MEANTIME the *English* and *French* ministers exchanged visits, which gave great offence to *Zinzendorf* and the *Dutch* deputies. They held consultations on their side, and omitted nothing in their power to frustrate the effects of the congress. But their final resolution was to push the war with vigour, in hopes of obtaining some signal advantage; which would induce the queen of *England* to break off her engagements to *Lewis*, and leave *France* to her destiny. As for the *Dutch*, they set no bounds to their pretensions; these they left to be determined by the sword. The rigorous rights of conquest they regarded as legitimate, and they resolved to consolidate with their republic whatever they should be able to wrest violently from the *French* king. With this view they took their measures for opening the campaign. Prince *Eugene* seconded their designs with all his ability, and made several motions to frustrate the effects of the enemy's activity and superiority. The earl of *Albemarle*, at the head of the *Dutch* forces, had orders to burn the vast magazines formed at *Arras*; however, he was prevented in his designs by the vigilance of marechal *Villars*.

d HAPPILY for *France*, the suspension of arms with *England* was now signed; but as they had agreed to keep the transaction a profound secret until the campaign opened, the queen was under the necessity of joining her forces to the allied army. It was generally believed, that, tired out with the clamours of her allies, and the obstructions to a general peace, she had resolved upon the vigorous prosecution of the war, than which nothing was more remote from her intentions. *Eugene*, more penetrating and sagacious than the rest, entertained suspicions. He discovered something mysterious in the conduct of the *English*, and wanted the opportunity of an interview with the duke of *Ormond*. The allies passed the *Scheld*, and encamped opposite to the enemy. *Eugene* held several councils of war, and proposed blending the troops in the *British* pay with the *Austrians*; but the *English* general declared, that he would command in person all the forces entrusted to his care by the queen his mistress. In another council it was proposed to attack M. *Villars*; but the duke of *Ormond* produced his orders not to act offensively. This immediately discovered the views of *England*, and made the imperial and *Dutch* generals declare they would prosecute the war without the queen's concurrence, and demonstrate to her, that *England* was of less consequence to the alliance than she imagined. Her majesty, they said, was mistaken, if she proposed setting bounds to their conquests, and e dictating their conduct.

f IN consequence, they undertook the siege of *Quesnoi*, which was invested by general *Fagel*; and two days after the trenches were opened, the duke of *Ormond* demanded a conference with prince *Eugene* and the *Dutch* deputies. Here he acquainted them with his orders to publish a general armistice for two months in his army, and exhorted them to embrace the same measures. They demanded time to transmit the proposal to *Vienna* and the *Hague*, and the duke granted eight days for this purpose. During this time, he proposed to the foreign generals in the *English* pay, to follow the example of his forces, under pain of forfeiting their pay and arrears. They likewise desired time to deliberate on the proposal, and a few days after they separated from the *English*, declaring their resolution to support the emperor in the prosecution of the war. Only one battalion and four squadrons of the *Holstein* troops, under general *Walef*, remained with the duke of *Ormond*. Their conduct extremely embarrassed the *English* ministry, who now poured out reproaches and menaces; Mr. secretary *St. John* declared, that the queen would regard their refusal as an open rupture; however, they still persisted\*. The allies take Quesnoi.

g WHILE mutual recriminations passed between the *English* and the auxiliaries in the pay of *Great Britain*, the duke of *Ormond* withdrew his army; and, assured of the evacuation of *Dunkirk*, took possession of that important town and harbour. The *Dutch* beheld with jealousy the motion of the *English* forces towards their frontiers, and they saw no remedy but entering into the same pacific measures. However, the siege of *Quesnoi* was pushed with vigour. The besiegers having got possession of the counterscarp, were preparing to give the assault, when the garrison beat a parley, and surrendered at discretion.

\* Journ. Histor. sub hos Ann.



WHILE *Quesnoi* engaged the chief attention of the allies, they sent a detachment of cavalry, accompanied with a great number of volunteers, to make an irruption into the very bowels of *France*. It is inconceivable the consternation which so inconsiderable a force spread; from the terror that appeared in every countenance, and the panic which seized the whole *French* nation, one would have imagined that the whole confederate army was at the gates of *Paris*. After all, this detachment returned without performing any thing memorable; their whole pursuit was plunder, in which they succeeded. Now the allies entered upon more vigorous measures; they invested *Landreci*, and the direction of the siege was committed to the prince of *Anhalt-Dessau*, general of the *Prussian* forces. Thirty-four battalions and thirty squadrons invested the place, while prince *Eugene* with the remainder of the army covered the siege, and neglected nothing to insure success. He fortified his camp, and so ranged his forces, that it seemed impossible to relieve the garrison. *Villars*, on the other hand, was no less vigilant for the protection of a town, the possession of which would open the enemy a passage into *Champagne* and *Picardy*. He resolved to force the posts which covered the navigation of the *Scarpe* and the *Scheld*, and to attack the enemy's lines at *Denain*, in which he succeeded by an admirable stratagem, and thereby fixed the return of the epoch of good fortune, after it had long been unpropitious to the arms of *Lewis*. Whatever merit we must allow prince *Eugene*, it was obvious from this single transaction, that he was no longer assisted by the counsels of *Marlborough*.

M. Villars recovers all the conquests made by the allies.

MARECHAL *Villars* next invested *Marchienne*, where the enemy had formed their magazines: on his first presenting himself, he summoned the governor to surrender; threatening, in case of refusal, with putting him to the sword. The governor, having four thousand men under his command, despised his menaces; but was forced to surrender prisoner of war in the space of four days after the trenches were opened. The loss of *Marchienne* determined the fate of *Landreci*; prince *Eugene*, deprived of his magazines, and the communication by water with *Antwerp* and *Tournay*, was forced to relinquish the enterprize, in a manner that enabled the *French* general to form enterprizes which otherwise would have been impracticable. *Hempesch*, governor of *Douai*, hearing of the fate of *Denain* and *Marchienne*, made no doubt but he would soon be besieged. To make the most vigorous resistance his situation would admit, he recalled all his detachments, and strengthened his garrison with three battalions drawn from *Lisse* and *Bethune*. He was invested on the eighth of *August*; and notwithstanding the most vigorous defence, the number of the garrison, the strength of the place, and the endeavours of prince *Eugene* to relieve the besieged, they were forced to surrender by the eighth of *September*, prisoners of war. Upon these reiterated disgraces prince *Eugene* assembled a council of war, where the chief officers advised occupying the plain of *Queverain*, and forming the siege of *Mauberge*, in case M. *Villars* entertained designs against *Bouchaine* or *Quesnoi*, in which the Imperialists had formed magazines, to repair the late disaster at *Marchienne*. This opinion was embraced, and the prince of *Hesse* detached before, to prepare the way for the army. *Villars* discovered the intention of the allies, and took measures for anticipating their design. He advanced a large body of troops, who took possession of *Queverain*, before the allies had scarce crossed the *Scheld*. At the same time he blocked up *Quesnoi* so closely, as rendered it impossible for prince *Eugene* to withdraw his artillery, and great magazines of stores and ammunition. He then invested the place, and kept up so incessant a fire from his batteries, that *Ivay*, a *French* refugee, raised to the rank of major-general, and made governor, surrendered upon honourable conditions. Thus fell the imperial artillery and magazines into the hands of the enemy, which produced more real advantage to *Villars*, than if he had gained a battle.

IN every attempt this great general, the pride of the empire, the terror of the *Turks*, and the saviour of *Italy*, was foiled by the *French* marechal, who lost no occasion of profiting by his superiority. Besides obliging prince *Eugene* to evacuate his camp at *Malplaquet*, to retire between the *Sambre* and the *Haisne*; besides forcing the garrison of fort *Knoques*, he now formed the siege of *Bouchaine*, the reduction of which place had made a considerable addition to the laurels of the victorious *Marlborough*. It was at this time defended by the celebrated *Grovestein*, and invested by the marechal in the beginning of *October*. A fortnight after the trenches were opened it surrendered, notwithstanding the most spirited resistance; and thus *Villars* recovered all the conquests made by the allies in three successive campaigns. With these expeditions the armies separated, and retired to winter-quarters; upon which *Villars*, loaded with glory, repaired to court, where he was received with that peculiar regard due to his merit, and to a general who had first stemmed the torrent of misfortune, and retrieved the honour of *Lewis*.

<sup>b</sup> BARRE, tom. x. sub Ann.



- a PRINCE *Eugene* set out for the *Hague* to concert the operations of the ensuing campaign with the *Hollanders*, and the means of repairing the late disgraces sustained by the allies. He held several conferences with count *Zinzendorf* on the subject of the *Spanish Netherlands*, of which the emperor conceived a violent desire of being in possession. This measure the *Dutch* opposed, because the conquest of these provinces was made chiefly at their expence. They could not, they affirmed, assent to the emperor's pretensions before the barrier granted by the emperors *Joseph* and *Leopold* was confirmed to the republic; besides a part of their expences in the war repaid. They requested the imperial minister to lay their reasons before the emperor, and demonstrate to him that it was his interest to act in concert with the United Provinces, since the least misunderstanding must encrease the misfortunes of the preceding campaign, and turn the scale wholly in favour of their common enemy c.

- MEAN time the emperor *Charles* assumed the title of king of *Hungary*, dispensing with the formality of an election, which he regarded as a mere ceremony. He thought his coronation sufficient to vest him with all the authority of his predecessors. He used less ceremony with respect to *Bohemia*, where he did not think even a coronation necessary to the complete investiture of the sovereignty. In the month of *April* the states of *Hungary* assembled at *Presburg*, to deliberate on the oath which should be tendered the new monarch; and here prince *Ragotski* and count *Bereccini* entered a protest against the validity of the coronation. The court of *Vienna* was immediately informed of this proceeding; but *Charles*, disregarding it, set out for *Presburg*, where he was solemnly crowned, after he had taken the same oath as the emperor *Joseph*, and given the strongest promises to preserve the liberties of the people inviolable. The public rejoicings on this occasion did not prevent the business of the diet. In this assembly were discussed the grievances and complaints of the nation under the former government: the deputies, among other articles, demanded, that the crown should not be made hereditary in the female line of the house of *Austria*, in case of failure of male issue; that an irrevocable agreement should pass between the king and the people, which should have all the force of a fundamental law; that the chief employments should be given to the natural-born subjects of the country; and that the confiscated estates, applied by former emperors to gratify the avarice of their ministers, should be restored and annexed to the revenues of the crown of *Hungary*.

Charles VI.  
crowned king  
of Hungary.

- To these demands *Charles* made vast promises, which he determined never to perform. The *Hungarians* suspected his sincerity from the readiness with which he complied with all they required; and they expressed their distrust that the court of *Vienna* would make attempts on their prerogatives. Count *Bereccini* fomented their jealousy, by reminding them that the ministry of the late emperors arrogated to themselves a power unknown to the states since the foundation of their monarch; that the council at *Vienna* reversed all the forms of justice, and introduced dangerous maxims, such as, that the will of the prince is supreme arbiter over fortune, liberty, and life; and that the opportunity now offered for recovering the antient privileges of the nation, and re-establishing the true political equilibrium between the king's prerogatives and the people's privileges. These arguments produced the desired effects upon some minds: about six hundred *Hungarians* appeared in arms, in *Upper Hungary*; upon advice of which the court of *Vienna* immediately dispatched two regiments against them, to suppress this first act of rebellion and awe the country. Cardinal *Saxa Zeitz*, in high esteem even among the Protestants, set out for *Presburg*, to renew the promises made by the emperor, after which the diet was adjourned.

- FOR carrying on the war against *France* with greater vigour, the emperor published certain new edicts, which were deemed exceedingly oppressive, in his hereditary dominions. All the proprietors of houses, lands, and other rents, were ordered, in the space of six months, to pay into the treasury one hundredth part of their whole estate, and besides twelve *per cent.* interest upon the remaining capital. A part of the revenue raised by these taxes was sent to the duke of *Wurtemberg*, to put the army under his command on the *Rhine*, in a respectable posture. While this general was forming a plan for forcing the enemy's lines at *Weissenberg*, levying contributions, and establishing winter-quarters in *Alsace*, he was diverted from his purpose by a report that he was to send strong detachments to *Flanders*, to reinforce the garrisons of *Landau* and *Philipsburg*, and repass the *Rhine* with the remainder of his army. His project had all the appearance of succeeding, and he had made several masterly movements to facilitate it, g by perplexing the enemy. M. *Harcourt's* vigilance, however, was not to be surprised,

The emperor  
levies oppressive  
taxes.

c LE CLERC, tom. ii. pag. 196.



nor his sagacity outwitted : he took all the necessary measures for the defence of his lines, and effectually frustrated all the duke of *Wurtemberg's* projects.

In *Italy* the Imperialists were rather more successful, as they got possession of *Porte Hercole* ; but in *Spain* count *Staremburg*, though delivered by death of his most formidable enemy, the duke *de Vendome*, performed nothing considerable. Here *Philip*, from a certainty that peace must soon ensue, ordered his generals to act offensively ; while the *French* king, on the side of *Dauphiny*, contented himself with observing the enemy's motions. As for the king of *Portugal*, he seconded the views of her *Britannick* majesty, and desired nothing better than the suspension of arms offered<sup>a</sup>.

Affairs of the North.

THE more to embarrass the imperial councils, the affairs of the North seemed to require their attention, as the king of *Denmark* had formed the resolution of invading the duchy of *Bremen*. This obliged *Steinbock* to demand the execution of the treaty of *Osnabrug*, by which the *Germanic* body guaranteed *Pomerania*, now threatened by the *Poles* and *Muscovites*, and *Bremen*, to the king of *Sweden*. General *Crossau* used other arguments with the king of *Prussia*, the elector of *Hanover*, and duke of *Wolfembutte*, to induce them to oppose the lighting up a war on their frontiers. He represented the danger of suffering the *Russians* and *Danes* to gain a footing in the empire ; and plied this topic with so much address, that they ordered a body of troops to file towards *Staden*. *Stakelberg*, who commanded in this place, distributed the *German* auxiliaries in the outworks ; but scarce had the *Danes* began working upon their lines of circumvallation, when the *Prussians* and *Hanoverians* evacuated their posts, retired into the territories of *Hamburg*, and there halted for fresh instructions. In consequence, the *Danes* after a brisk siege reduced *Staden*, and the *Saxons* without resistance entered *Pomerania*. An offer was made by the czar and king of *Poland* of giving *Stetin* to his *Prussian* majesty, in consideration of his assisting them with a train of artillery and ammunition ; which he refused, though the aim of his policy soon after appeared, which was to attain the sequestration of *Swedish Pomerania*, in hopes soon of acquiring the property. It was soon after this that *Steinbock*, the *Swedish* general, burnt the rich town of *Altena*, which was filled with *Danish* stores of provision and ammunition, and reduced the inhabitants to the most wretched state of misery and distress. Some writers have endeavoured to excuse this action as arising from accident ; but it is beyond doubt, that *Steinbock* demanded heavier contributions than the inhabitants were able to pay ; that he gave them notice to remove their effects, and then took this cruel revenge. How far he might be justified by the laws of war for retaliating in this manner the barbarous conduct of his enemies, is what we will not pretend to determine ; certain it is, that *Altena* had taken no part in the confederacy against *Sweden* ; the burghers had been forced by the *Danes* to suffer their town to be made a magazine. *Steinbock's* proceeding was undoubtedly very impolitic : all *Germany* exclaimed against the *Swedish* barbarity, and the violence done to an imperial city.

It was now apprehended that the troubles in the North might be attended with dangerous consequences to the empire ; to prevent which, the princes of the *Germanic* body assembled at *Brunswick*, where appeared ambassadors from the emperor, the king of *Prussia*, the dukes of *Hanover* and *Wolfembutte*, the bishop of *Munster*, and the landgrave of *Hesse-Cassel*. They represented, that in the present situation of affairs they could not provide too diligently for the defence of *Lower Germany*, and stopping the progress of those violences, the lamentable effects of which had already been felt by the maritime circles. It was then resolved to form an alliance of neutrality, to be ratified by the diet ; to levy an army of twenty thousand men, at the expence of the contracting parties ; and to give the command of this army to prince *Eugene*, with orders to take post on the *Elbe*. It was therefore resolved to oblige the belligerent powers to evacuate the frontiers of *Germany* in the space of three weeks, and to obtain security for repairing the damages they had committed in several provinces of the empire ; or, in case of refusal, to declare them enemies to the *Germanic* body. It was farther stipulated, that this declaration should be made in the strongest terms to the court of *Sweden*, and the czar of *Muscovy* ; that the places held in the duchy of *Mecklenburg* should be abandoned ; that the towns in *Pomerania* and the duchy of *Bremen* should be sequestered in the hands of the emperor ; that the revenues of *Bremen* should be assigned to his *Danish* majesty, after the expences of sequestration were deducted ; that the *Swedes* should not be suffered to return to *Poland* ; that they should be prevented from garrisoning the towns they possessed in the empire ; that they should be compelled to repass the sea, without being molested by the *Muscovites*, *Poles*, or *Danes* ; that if either of the contending powers should be defeated, then the imperial army should join the

<sup>a</sup> BARRE, *ibid.*



a weaker party, and maintain the ballance equal; but that, if the *Swedes* were joined by any other power, the imperial army should act against them, without admitting general *Steinbock's* excuses on account of the king his master's absence; that when the empire was evacuated, if the belligerent powers shewed an inclination for peace, the empire and *Germanic* body might offer their mediation, and propose a congress at *Lubec*. Such were the conditions of the treaty signed at *Brunswick* in January A. D. 1713.

b WHILE the princes of the empire were deliberating on the means of securing the tranquillity of the war in *Germany*, the *Swedish* general *Steinbock* was carrying all before him. Without tracing him through operations foreign to our design, it is sufficient, that his progress was so rapid as to oblige the czar to solicit the king of *Prussia* and elector of *Hanover* to embrace the league against *Sweden*. He went in person to the courts of *Hanover* and *Berlin*, where he negotiated with so much address as gained some advantage, though he did not succeed in the principal object of his visit to the two *German* electors. Soon after the king of *Prussia* died, and the arms of *Peter the Great* were so successful, that the whole *Swedish* army surrendered prisoners of war; upon which the *Poles* and *Muscovites* returned to *Pomerania*, while the *Danes* laid close siege to *Tonningen*, under a pretence that the duke-administrator of *Holstein* had violated the neutrality. This obliged the young king of *Prussia* to declare to the *Danes*, that, if they persisted in persecuting the duke, he would, in conjunction with his allies, take effectual measures for the protection of the house of *Gottorp*. By withdrawing his troops, he said, his *Danish* majesty could only live upon a good footing with the princes of the empire. This steadiness and spirit shook the resolution of *Denmark*; and the king immediately wrote to the court of *Berlin*, that he was ready to terminate his differences with the duke of *Holstein*. He also consented, that, during the negotiation, *Tonningen* should, for eight days, be supplied with all manner of provision; and that the emperor should nominate a time and place for the sitting of a congress, for a general pacification among the northern powers. In this manner did the resolutions of the assembly at *Brunswick*, and the steadiness of the king of *Prussia*, command the respect of his *Danish* majesty.

d It was otherways with the czar and king of *Poland*, who at this time were laying siege to *Stetin* in *Pomerania*, defended by general *Meyerfeld*, an officer who joined the fire, the activity of youth, to the experience of forty campaigns. They had begun to batter in breach, when the king of *Prussia* declared, that he was charged with the sequestration of *Pomerania*. *Augustus* of *Poland*, the king of *Denmark*, the czar, and the elector of *Hanover*, all opposed the pretensions of *Prussia*: they declared they had a just right by treaty to certain places in *Pomerania*; but the king of *Prussia* declared, that the sequestration would continue only until a peace was concluded, when *Stetin* should be restored to *Sweden*, upon his being reimbursed in the necessary expences of the sequestration. In a word, he acted with so much stability, that a treaty to this purpose was signed, and all the powers withdrew their forces; though the king of *Denmark* expressed his dissatisfaction at these arbitrary proceedings, and issued orders for seizing all the vessels that entered the ports of *Pomerania*, without regard to the flags and protections of *Poland* and *Russia*. Here too the *Prussian* monarch acted with his usual address; but with less regard to equity, and the rights of the empire, than he had hitherto demonstrated. He signed a treaty with the *Danish* minister; the direct tendency of which was to plunder the duke of *Holstein*, by sequestrating his dominions, until differences were compromised with the ducal family, provided the king of *Denmark* consented to the sequestration of *Pomerania*.

f WHILE the emperor and the *Germanic* body were diligent in composing the disturbances in the North, they seemed totally indifferent to the peace of the empire on the other side. The emperor flattered himself that the *French* monarch, greatly advanced in years, and broken with incessant care, must soon finish his career; and that his death, and the subsequent minority, would produce a revolution in the affairs of his kingdom, favourable to the empire. Hence arose his obstinacy and insurmountable objections to the propositions offered by *Lewis*°. On their side, the *Dutch* seemed rather sedulous to extend the flames of war, than to cherish the blessings of tranquillity. They refused to grant the ambassadors of *Cologne* and *Bavaria* passports, in which should be recited the titles of their masters, because these princes, they alledged, had lost the rights of electors, in consequence of their proscription. *France* retaliated, by raising difficulties about acknowledging *Charles VI.* in quality of head of the empire. He was elected without the consent of the electors of *Cologne* and *Bavaria*, while at the same time the ambassador of *Hanover* was admitted into the diet, though his right was disputable. These reasons were

Resolution of  
the emperor  
and Dutch.

° Auſt. citat. VOLT. t. i. DANIEL, t. v.



specious; they seemed to prove the election irregular, and to justify the dissent of the *French* monarch. On other occasions, the conduct of the diet would have scarce been noticed: at a negotiation the parties endeavoured to profit by every circumstance. The court of *France* hoped, that, by relaxing in this article, they might be able to obtain other advantages in favour of the proscribed electors in her alliance. It was the earnest desire of *Lewis* to gain over the *Dutch*; but the artifices of *Zinzendorf*, and the influence of *Eugene*, raised a thousand difficulties.

The duke of  
Savoy accedes  
to the treaty of  
Utrecht.

Now, however, the duke of *Savoy* began to express less attachment to the house of *Austria*; whether nature or interest operated with him, is not material. At length his eyes were opened; and, tired with a war in which his friends and enemies equally contributed to his ruin, he beheld in a true light his opposition to his own daughter's elevation, only to support a family celebrated for ambition and ingratitude, of both which his own experience furnished him with instances. He resolved therefore to commit his affairs into the hands of the queen of *England*, who undertook to mediate his peace with *Lewis*. That princess laboured to procure for him the crown of *Sicily*, and the reversion of the *Spanish* monarchy, in default of male issue of the direct line. Mr. *St. John*, then lord *Bolingbroke*, executed a treaty to this purpose, with that peculiar address which acquired him the reputation of the finest gentleman, and the most refined politician, of his country. In consequence, the queen withdrew her fleet and forces from *Portugal* and *Catalonia*; a proceeding which greatly cooled the affections of the *Dutch* to the house of *Austria*. This republic, invariably steady to her interest, perceived that her strength alone, combined to that of the house of *Austria*, was insufficient to cope with *France* and *Spain*. She became more difficult to the proposals of count *Zinzendorf*, and plainly indicated an intention of pursuing the footsteps of *England*, *Portugal*, and *Savoy*; for both these last courts acceded to the treaty of *Utrecht* towards the close of the preceding year. They were possibly confirmed in this resolution by the solemn renunciation of *Philip V.* of his pretensions to the crown of *France*, by which was removed all dread of the union of two great monarchies, the apprehension of which had already cost rivers of blood. By a similar act the dukes of *Berry* and *Orleans* renounced any right they might have to the *Spanish* succession. There was now no longer room for clamour against the ambitious designs of *Lewis*; a circumstance, which, joined to the success of his arms, greatly embarrassed the republic. Still, however, there was a party in the provinces, who strongly urged supporting the house of *Austria*, and prosecution of the war; but the opposite faction gained ground daily. The province of *Holland* long declared for pacific measures: this operating with the real interests of the provinces in general, and the influence of the queen of *England*, at length determined the states-general to drop the emperor's alliance, notwithstanding the warm remonstrances and profuse promises of *Zinzendorf*. The count represented to their high mightinesses, that the emperor being first in dignity and power of all the allies, they ought chiefly to consult him in the article of peace; that it was greatly to be feared the facility with which *Tourney* was surrendered, was only a trap to disengage the republic from the protection of the house of *Austria*, in order, one day, to drive them with the more facility out of the *Spanish Netherlands*. He observed, that, in the war terminated by the peace of *Nimeguen*, the emperor and *Germanic* body had actually snatched the republic out of the jaws of inevitable destruction; in grateful return for which, it was now the duty of the provinces to assist in procuring them some equivalent.

The Dutch  
follow his  
example.

To these arguments, enforced with great warmth in the public assembly of the states, *Zinzendorf* joined intrigue. He caballed with the elector of *Hanover* and the duke of *Marlborough*, and endeavoured to gain their influence with the states-general; but all his art could not succeed. He was answered, that *England* alone was not detached from the alliance, but the courts of *Savoy* and *Portugal* likewise; that now was the time to profit by her *Britannic* majesty's kind intentions to the republic; that though they could not now obtain all the advantages they proposed, yet there was still enough offered to render peace preferable to a war attended with multiplied disgraces; and that, in hesitating to accept the terms, they might in the end be forced to solicit more disadvantageous conditions.

*ZINZENDORF* tried all in his power to animate the *Dutch*, and raise their desponding courage with the hopes of vast succours from the czar of *Muscovy*, and the kings of *Poland* and *Denmark*; but these prospects were too remote to have weight with the republic. She perceived, that, while she waited for northern succours, her provinces might be laid desolate, and her subjects become the victims of ambition and obstinacy: she therefore, at once, determined upon peace under the mediation of *England*, beginning with signing the barrier and guarantee treaties of succession to the *Spanish* monarchy.



- a No sooner had the *Dutch* seriously resolved on a peace with *France*, than the negotiations of *Utrecht* assumed a very different aspect. Almost all the clouds raised by jealousy and resentment were immediately dissipated. The republic granted the passports before refused to the plenipotentiaries of the two proscribed electors, and the congress was again opened by the most able set of ministers who ever conducted any negotiation. All practised the utmost refinements of policy; each enforced his master's rights with the most energetic elocution: the abbé *Polignac* shone in a peculiar manner, and supported, with astonishing fortitude, the fatigue of a tedious negotiation, in which the rights of so many powers were to be adjusted with his master. The specific demands, as they were called, of the different states of the empire, gave abundance of trouble. All the little *German* princes insisted upon particular treaties, and a separate discussion of their rights; but the perseverance and ability of the plenipotentiaries triumphed over all difficulties.

b Now the deputies of the four associated circles represented to the *British* ministers, that, by the treaty of *Nordlingen*, they had embraced the alliance; that they had fulfilled all their engagements, and sustained the enemy's heaviest shocks at their own expence, without demanding subsidies from *Great Britain*; that, notwithstanding this, her *Britannic* majesty thought proper to conclude a separate peace, without stipulating a barrier for the circles, or any equivalent for the oppressive expences of the war; that it would be equally for the glory of the queen, the honour of her ministers, the good of the empire, and of *Europe* in general, that some reparation should be made; and that they expected this, at least, from the queen's goodness and equity. However warmly they urged this request, it was but little regarded. *France* had now obtained her principal aim: she left the empire destitute of allies, and could, in these circumstances, make her own conditions. But to preserve the appearance of moderation, a memorial relative to the affairs of the empire was drawn up, and given to the earl of *Peterborough*, with a request he would have it presented to his imperial majesty.

- c WHEN the earl gave in this paper to the emperor, he remarked, that the queen of *England* had made the utmost efforts to support the house of *Austria* in *Spain*, *Flanders*, *Hungary*, and *Germany*. She felicitated herself on having been instrumental in appeasing the disturbances in *Hungary*, in dispelling the storm that menaced the empire from the North, in assisting to fix the imperial diadem on his head, in procuring him the possession of the *Milanese*, *Naples*, and *Sardinia*, together with several other advantages. He said, that *Great Britain*, drained of men and money, obliged her majesty to conclude peace; that the conditions were honourable and profitable, and such as his imperial majesty, by accepting, would have added a variety of precious jewels to his crown; that the queen proposed now stipulating for his imperial majesty the best terms which circumstances would admit, and procuring for him the cession of those places possessed by the *Spaniards* on the frontiers of *Tuscany*; that the possession of such vast dominions as his imperial majesty enjoyed, could not possibly be secured, except by a solemn treaty, guaranteed by the chief powers in *Europe*; and that, while the queen had contributed more than any other ally to the advancement of the common cause, in reducing the enemy's ambition within limits, she had room to hope that the confederates would not deny her the glory of giving peace to *Christendom*, security to every individual, and a just satisfaction of their claims to all the different parties.

d *CHARLES* resented the high stile in which the *English* minister spoke of the grandeur of his mistress: he regarded this as an oblique reflection upon himself, and declared, that he would never suffer the queen of *England* to prescribe laws to the empire; that his pretensions to the *Spanish* monarchy were too indisputable for him to renounce his claim, or allow the smallest province to be dismembered from it; that he protested against all treaties made to his prejudice; and that, unless the negotiations speedily took a favourable turn, he would recal his plenipotentiaries, oblige the states of the empire to follow his example, and put an end to the congress. The court of *Vienna* entertained a notion, that the treaty of *Utrecht* was calculated to ruin the house of *Austria*; yet all the states of *Germany*, Protestant and Catholic, so ardently aspired after peace, that the emperor could not destroy their expectations of this blessing, without causing their desertion of his interest. Accordingly, when the imperial reply was related to the *French* plenipotentiaries, they expressed their uneasiness that *Europe* was not yet to taste the sweets of liberty: but said, that the emperor's resolution would prove more injurious to himself than to the most Christian king<sup>a</sup>.

- f In fact, the emperor's menaces did not retard the course of the negotiation. After long disputes, it was agreed, that the Imperialists should evacuate *Catalonia*, and that a

The earl of Peterborough remonstrates to the emperor.

<sup>a</sup> Vide *BARRE*, *VOLTAIRE*, *SMOLLETT*, *TORCY*, *Life of Peterborough*, &c.



neutrality should take place for *Italy*; that an armistice should be published in *Catalonia* and *Italy*; and that, on the day of its publication, the Imperialists should surrender *Barcelona*, or *Tarragona*, at their option; that all persons belonging to the court at *Barcelona* should have liberty to carry off their effects; and that the Imperialists, in general, should be transported by sea on board *English* vessels; that all prisoners on either side should be released; that an amnesty should be published in *Spain*, and the utmost influence of the queen of *England*, and the most Christian king, be exerted to persuade *Philip* to leave the *Catalans* in the full possession of their liberties.

Nothing could exceed the spirit of the *Catalans* on this occasion. They knew they could expect no support; yet they ventured, in defence of liberty, to denounce war against *France* and *Spain*. We have elsewhere related the particulars.

Neutrality  
signed for  
Italy.

THE neutrality signed for *Italy* gave hopes that the emperor would now be disposed to surrender all the acquisitions from the different states, violently made by his two immediate predecessors. *Leopold* and *Joseph* had, under colour of the war, seized upon a great number of cities, which they promised to surrender at a peace; but *Charles* thought himself not bound by their promises. The estates held in *Italy* and *Germany* were too considerable to be willingly renounced: he must restore *Comacchio* to the pontiff, *Mantua* to the family of *Guastalla*, *Montferrat* to the duke of *Savoy*, *Mirandola* and the marquisate of *Concordia* to the legitimate sovereign; and, in *Germany*, the archbishopric of *Cologne* and principality of *Liege* to the prelate-elect, and all the estates of *Bavaria* to the duke of that name. Justice required, that restitution should be made of all the places we have mentioned; but *Lewis* thought himself concerned only in what related to his allies. Accordingly he wrote to his ministers at the congress to make the following propositions: that the archbishop-elect of *Cologne* should be restored to all his estates, effects, dignities, honours, papers, moveables, &c. possessed by him at the commencement of the war: that the same restitution be made to all his domestics and subjects, who have suffered in consequence of their fidelity and attachment: that all foreign troops shall be withdrawn from the city and citadel of *Liege*, from the citadel of *Huy*, and the town of *Bonn*: that the elector of *Bavaria* shall in the same manner have restitution made of all his estates and dignities, except the *Higher Palatinate*, and the rank of first secular elect, which shall remain in the house of *Palatine*, during the lives of the present elect and prince *Charles* his brother. Moreover, the king demanded, that the house of *Bavaria* should have the island of *Sardinia*, to indemnify their loss, during the life of the elector-palatine. He likewise required, that the elector should have an equivalent for his losses, consequent on the infraction of the treaty of *Landau*. He consented that the *Dutch* should have garrisons in *Namur*, *Luxemburg*, and *Charleroi*; but insisted, that if these conditions were not accepted within a limited time, he should be at liberty to revoke or alter them at pleasure. It was further proposed, that the treaty of 1697 should be confirmed, as it determined the frontiers of *Germany* and *France*. Here the *Rhine* formed the barrier, and each party was to possess the towns and fortresses on their own side in the manner they thought proper. *Lewis* promised to acknowledge the emperor in that quality, and to restore *Brisack*, with all its dependences to the right of the river, reserving for himself all upon the left, including fort *Mertier*. With respect to the forts round *Hunningen*, and the bridge of *Strasbourg*, a variety of separate articles were inserted. To conclude, the king ceded to the emperor the kingdom of *Naples*, the duchy of *Milan*, except that part already assigned to the duke of *Savoy*, and the *Spanish Netherlands*, under certain restrictions.

THESE propositions were signed by the *French* plenipotentiaries and the bishop of *Bristol*, who presented them to the imperial minister. *Zinzendorf* took the alarm at this project, on seeing the house of *Austria* stripped of the greater part of the *Spanish* monarchy: he therefore refused signing the articles. He complained of the presumption of giving law to the emperor; and said, that the hand and seal of the *English* minister had the appearance of an intention to compel his imperial majesty into their measures. Such violent proceedings deprived him, he alledged, of all possibility to conclude a treaty, though his inclinations strongly led him to a pacification. The *English* minister returned frequently to the charge; but *Zinzendorf* was inflexible. His conduct was approved at the court of *Vienna*, where several councils were held upon the subject of the proposals. As they determined to reject them, they were now to cast about for the means of frustrating the general peace, without declaring their intention of continuing the war. For this purpose a truce was proposed, during which each of the parties should enjoy their conquests, without the emperor's renouncing his claim to the *Spanish* monarchy; a thought which *Charles* could not support after the treasure, the labour, and the blood spent in this pursuit. The project was relished by most princes of the *Germanic* body. Under the shadow of this truce they hoped to enjoy repose, and rapidly to regain their former vigour, as the emperor must grant all they required, from the necessity of his affairs, and the assistance they

The emperor  
proposes a  
truce.



a they could afford in the prosecution of his claim to the *Spanish* succession. *Charles* on his side had many advantages in view : he flattered himself that, before the expiration of the truce, *Lewis* would sink under the pressure of old age, leaving his crown to a minor, which could not fail of distracting the affairs of the kingdom : then would be the season for making conquests on the *Rhine*, the *Moselle*, and even in *Spain*. The prospect of the elector of *Hanover*'s mounting the throne of *Great Britain*, in case the queen's death occurred during the cessation of hostilities, was another signal advantage which the emperor figured to himself. In *George* he doubted not he should find a staunch friend, and a zealous assertor of the imperial dignity, and the rights of the house of *Austria* : besides, by this truce he should remain in possession of *Catalonia*, a province the most  
b inviolably attached to his person and family. *Naples*, *Mantua*, *Milan*, all the *Italian* dominions, and the two electorates, would remain in his hands, from the revenues of which he should be able to save a large sum for the prosecution of the war. In a word, the expedient was well imagined ; but it supposed the concurrence of all the other powers concerned, many of whom had a direct interest in opposing proposals which would deprive them of great part of their dominions. Upon this rock it split : all were too much attached to their own interest to pay so extraordinary a compliment to the emperor. In truth, they all agreed only in the resolution of putting their affairs on the best footing possible, and establishing the general repose of *Europe*. *It is rejected.*

In pursuance of this scheme, the *Dutch* tried their influence with count *Zinzendorf* :  
c they urged his consent to the *French* propositions ; but he answered, that his instructions were to conclude a truce upon the conditions we have specified. After this declaration he absented himself from the congress, and the other powers proceeded to the final conclusion of their several treaties, while the imperial minister had recourse to protests, which he lodged in the town-house of *Utrecht*. At *Vienna*, the peace was no less contested than the negotiations were at *Utrecht*. Libels were published against her *Britannic* majesty, accusing that princess of breach of engagement with the emperor and *Germanic* body, and violation of the most sacred treaties. Whether the accusation was justly founded, will appear by consulting the treaty, as inserted in our *History of France*.

A FEW days after the conclusion of the treaties between *France*, *England*, *Holland*,  
d *Savoy*, &c. *Zinzendorf* quitted *Utrecht* in disgust, and particularly incensed against the queen of *England* and the states-general, and leaving count *Kirkener* to direct the affairs of the imperial court. To this minister some overtures of accommodation were made ; but as he had no instructions, he contented himself with hearkening to them without entering into a negotiation. He held, nevertheless, some conferences with the *Bavarian* minister, and proposed the marriage of the archduchess with the electoral prince ; by which means the vast possessions of the house of *Austria* might one day descend to the family of *Bavaria* ; but the *Bavarian* minister replied, that his master would be satisfied with the restitution of his dominions and dignities by a solemn treaty\*. Finding all hopes of gaining the elector, or obtaining better conditions, vanished, *Charles* now  
e seriously reflected upon the means of pursuing the war ; though the departure of the empress at this time from *Catalonia* was looked upon as a most impolitic measure, because thereby he seemed to renounce his claim to the *Spanish* monarchy. *Staremborg*, however, conducted matters with such dexterity, that the *Catalans* not only remained firm, but appeared more than ever attached to the house of *Austria*.

For the more vigorous prosecution of his views, the emperor obtained a million of crowns from the diet at *Ratisbon* ; besides which, he was promised some millions more, to be paid at certain installments. On the twenty-fourth of *May* prince *Eugene* repaired to the camp at *Mulberg*, behind the lines at *Etlingen*. He reckoned upon an army of one hundred and twenty thousand men, instead of which he found only forty thousand,  
f all the circles having been deficient in their quotas. Couriers were dispatched to *Vienna* and *Ratisbon* ; and the diet replied, that they had already authorised his imperial majesty to force the circles, by military execution, to comply with their engagements ; and that, attentive to the inclinations of the emperor, they had commissioned the elector of *Mentz* to borrow of *Christiern Koss*, and other bankers, the sum wanted, which might be paid out of the arrears of the contingents, and the other revenues of the circles. Such an obstruction as this, in the very beginning of the emperor's pursuit, seemed inauspicious. *Eugene*, and all men of sense and discernment, formed unfavourable prognostics, especially as this resolution of borrowing money, upon extremely doubtful security, was opposed by several members of the diet, who thought the renewal of the  
g war contrary to the interest of the *Germanic* body. They said, that if the issue of the war proved unfortunate, then *Suabia* and *Franconia* would fall a prey to the enemy ; and if

\* LAMBERTI, tom. viii. pag. 68.



it was successful, that instead of adding to the emolument of the empire in general, it would only be strengthening the hands of the emperor, raising the power of the house of *Austria*, and enabling it to trample on the liberties of the *Germanic* body.

It was now apparent, that the emperor's only resource was a trial of that authority given him by the diet, to enforce their edicts by military execution; but this he foresaw would only expose his own weakness, and increase the number of the discontented. Great as these obstacles were, prince *Eugene* was not discouraged. After visiting the lines at *Etlingen*, he took measures for covering the *Palatinate*, and all the possible precautions for passing the *Rhine*; but he was obstructed by M. *Villars*, who was posted between *Philipsburg* and *Landau*, to which he proposed laying siege. His march thither filled the empire with terror, and obliged *Eugene* to exert his utmost abilities to force the marechal to retire; but in this he could not succeed, except by defeating his army, or cutting off his provisions. The one appeared impossible, and the other would prove tedious, especially as the prince was himself greatly strained for forage and provision. While he was meditating the means of extricating the empire, *Landau* surrendered to the *French*, and they were now preparing to invest *Friburg*. Already the marechal had seized upon *Keiserlauter*, the fort of *Manheim*, and the citadels of *Linenga* and *Volstein*. *Eugene* perceived that his design was on *Friburg*, and he endeavoured to put the lines which covered that important town, in a state of defence. However, the marechal forced the lines, and took the city, after an obstinate resistance. His army, indeed, was so much superior, that he carried all before him, and was enabled to execute whatever he attempted.

Several towns  
surrender to  
the French.

Treaty of  
Rastadt.

THE reduction of *Friburg* cooled the emperor's ardour, and brought him to reflect on his own inferiority, and the impossibility of prosecuting a claim against two powerful monarchies, in which he could rely only upon the genius of his general, unsupported by men or money. *Eugene* was now permitted to open a negotiation with M. *Villars*. He accordingly sent him notice that he was charged with full powers to enter upon conferences at the castle of *Rastadt*. Here the two generals met on the twenty-seventh of *November*, and exchanged mutual compliments of admiration and esteem. Such was the secrecy observed in this negotiation, that all the politicians in *Europe* doubted whether it was successful. The conferences opened with fixing the frontiers of the empire and the *French* monarchy. Prince *Eugene* demanded restitution of *Landau*, *Philipsburg*, and *Friburg*, without which, he said, the deputies of the states of the empire must be called, which would greatly protract the negotiation. *Villars* was too delicate again to offer the same propositions made at *Utrecht*; but he was unwilling to part with *Landau*. *Philipsburg* and *Friburg* he freely ceded, but *Lewis* would restore none of his conquests on this side the river *Queisch*. Next they proceeded to the interests of the proscribed electors, both of whom the emperor readily reinstated in their former dignities and possessions, in hopes of procuring easier terms in other articles; in which, however, he proved mistaken. It is true, the article of repairing the losses sustained by the electors from the retention of their dominions, took up some time; nor was this point clearly settled before the subsequent treaty on the frontiers of *Switzerland*. On the sixth of *February* the plenipotentiaries separated, and then it was universally believed that the conferences were broke off; but before this every thing had been adjusted, except one equivocal expression, respecting a town in *Italy*, which the ministers left to be determined by the courts of *Vienna* and *Verfailles*. A few days afterwards the plenipotentiaries again met at *Rastadt*, and signed the treaty in the manner in which it is inserted in the close of the *History of France*.

IN this manner was finished a tedious war, in which all *Europe* was involved, and the empire in particular, as *Germany* was the most important scene of action. It had continued almost during the reign of three emperors, all of whom seized this opportunity of extending the prerogatives of the imperial diadem. For some years they dictated laws to *Italy*; they even became arbitrary in the empire. Two electors had been divested of their dignities, and stripped of their dominions by the sole imperial authority, without consulting the *Germanic* body, who murmured, without presuming to oppose an act so oppressive and destructive of their liberties. In a word, *France* may in some respects be deemed the deliverer of the empire; had not *Lewis* continued the war; had he granted reasonable terms at *Utrecht*, the emperor would have always maintained his superiority, and the privileges of the constitution would have been subjected to the arbitrary decrees of the house of *Austria*.

<sup>f</sup> Hist. of France and Spain, vol. ix. Univ. Mod. Hist.



T H E  
G O L D E N B U L L \* :  
O R,  
Constitution of the Emperor *Charles IV.*

T O U C H I N G T H E  
Elections of Emperors, the Functions of the Electors, and the Succession and Rights of the Princes of the Empire.

Enacted partly at *Nuremberg* the 10th of *January*, 1356, and partly at *Metz* the 25th of *December* of the same Year.

*In the Name of the holy and indivisible Trinity. So be it.*

- a *CHARLES*, by the grace of God, emperor of the *Romans*, *semper Augustus*, and king of *Bohemia*; to render the memory of the thing perpetual—  
EVERY kingdom divided against itself will be destroyed; and because its princes have made themselves the companions of thieves, God hath spread among them a spirit of stupidity and giddiness, that they may grope along at noon-day, as if they were in the midst of darkness: he hath taken the candlesticks from the place where they stood, that they might be blind, and leaders of the blind. In effect, those who walk in darkness jostle against each other, and it is in division that the blind of understanding commit such wickedness—Say, *Pride*! how wouldst thou have reigned in *Lucifer*, hadst thou not called *Dissention* to thine aid? Say, envious *Satan*! how wouldst thou have  
b expelled *Adam* from *Paradise*, if thou hadst not seduced him from that obedience which he owed to his Creator? Say, *Discord*! how wouldst thou have destroyed the *Roman* republic, if thou hadst not animated *Pompey* and *Julius* to an intestine war against each other? Say, *Luxury*! how wouldst thou have ruined the *Trojans*, if thou hadst not separated *Helen* from her husband?—But thou, *Envy*! how often hast thou attempted to ruin by division the Christian empire, which God hath founded upon the three cardinal virtues, Faith, Hope, and Charity, as upon an holy and indivisible Trinity; vomiting the old venom of *Discord* among the seven electors, which are the pillars and seven principal members of the holy empire, by the brightness of whom the holy empire ought to be illuminated as by seven torches, the light of which is reinforced by the  
c seven gifts of the Holy Spirit?—Wherefore, being obliged, as well on account of that duty imposed upon us by the imperial dignity with which we are cloathed, as in order to maintain our right of elector, in quality of king of *Bohemia*, to prevent the dangerous consequences which divisions and dissensions may hereafter produce among the electors, of which number we are; we, after having maturely deliberated in our court and solemn assembly at *Nuremberg*, in presence of all the princes electors, ecclesiastic and secular, and other princes, counts, barons, noblemen, gentlemen, and cities, being seated on the imperial throne, cloathed in the imperial habits, with the ornaments in our hands, and the crown upon our head, by the fulness of our imperial power have made and published, by this firm and irrevocable edict, the following laws, in order to cultivate  
d union among the electors, establish an unanimous form of election, and block up every road to that detestable division, and the extreme dangers which attend it. Given in the year of our Lord 1356, being the ninth convocation, the tenth day of *January*, of our reign the tenth, and of our empire the second year.

\* The original kept at *Frankfort* is a kind of register, containing several sheets of parchment without binding or cover. It is pierced through the middle to admit a golden wire, the ends of which are fastened by a seal of gold, about the size of half a crown, which is hollow, one side representing the figure of *Charles IV.* upon a throne; on the exergue are these

words, *Carolus IV. Rom. Imp. semper Augustus, Rex Bohemice*. On the reverse is a kind of city gate; and in the middle, *Aurea Romana*. The character is pretty legible for the time; but this original is not correct. It is carefully preserved in a square wooden box, and called the Golden Bull, on account of the seal and wire, which are of that metal.



## C H A P. I.

*How and by whom the Electors are to be conducted to the Place where the King of the Romans is elected.*

I. **W**E declare and ordain by the present imperial edict, which shall last for ever, of our certain knowledge, full power, and imperial authority, that as often as the election of a king of the *Romans* to be emperor shall happen for the future, and the electors, according to antient and laudable custom, shall travel to the place of such election, every prince elector shall be obliged, when required, to conduct and escort in safety, and without fraud, through his countries, territories, and places, and even farther if he can, all his co-electors, or their deputies, towards the city appointed for the election, both in going and returning, on pain of perjury, and of losing (though for that time only) the voice and suffrage which he ought to have in the election: he or they who have been negligent or rebellious in this point, being declared to have incurred from that day, the said penalties, without having recourse to any other declaration than the present.

II. **W**E moreover ordain and command all the other princes who hold fiefs of the holy *Roman* empire, under whatever denomination, such as counts, barons, soldiers, and vassals, noble and not noble, burghers, and corporations of boroughs, cities, and all other places of the holy empire, upon the ensuing election of a king of the *Romans* to be emperor, to conduct and escort in safety, and without fraud, (as already mentioned) through their territories, and elsewhere, as far as lies in their power, every prince elector, or the deputies he shall send to the election, for whom, as well as for himself, he shall have demanded of any of them such safe-conduct: and in case any one shall have the presumption to contradict this present order, he shall likewise incur all the following penalties; to wit, in case of contravention by the princes, counts, barons, gentlemen, soldiers, and vassals, perjury and privation of all the fiefs which they hold of the holy *Roman* empire, as well as of all others whatsoever; together with all the other possessions, of what nature soever they may be: and with regard to corporations and burghers, who shall contravene what is ordered above, they shall be reputed perjured, and at the same time deprived of all the rights, liberties, privileges, and favours, which they may have obtained from the holy empire, and incur in their persons and effects, the imperial ban and proscription: wherefore, we now deprive all such of all rights whatsoever; we likewise permit all and every one to fall upon such proscribed delinquents, attack, offend, and outrage them with impunity, without demanding any other permission from the magistrates, or dreading the least punishment from the empire, or from any other whatsoever; forasmuch as the said proscribed delinquents are convicted of the crime of felony against the commonwealth, and even against their own honour and safety, having rashly, as disobedient rebels and traitors, despised a thing of importance to the public good.

III. **W**E likewise ordain and command the citizens of all the towns and corporations, to sell or see sold, to each elector, or his deputies for the election, in going and coming, at a reasonable price, and without fraud, such provisions and other things as shall be found necessary for them and their retinue, on pain of incurring the penalties mentioned above, with regard to the said burghers and corporations hereby declared guilty of the same crime.

IV. **I**f any prince, count, baron, soldier, vassal, noble or ignoble, burgher or corporation, should be so rash as to raise any obstruction or hindrance to, or lay any ambush for the electors, or their deputies, in going to the election of a king of the *Romans*, or in returning from it, and attack, offend, or disturb them in their own persons, or the persons of their domestics and followers, or even in their equipages, whether they have demanded the ordinary safe-conduct, or have not thought proper to demand it, we declare every such person and all his accomplices to have incurred the above specified penalties, according to the quality of the persons as above distinguished.

V. **A**ND even though one prince elector should be at enmity, having a difference or process with any one of his colleagues, that quarrel shall not hinder them (if required) from granting the said conduct and escort to the other, or his deputies for the said election, on pain of losing his voice in the election, for that time only, as observed above.

VI. **I**N the same manner, if the other princes, counts, barons, soldiers, vassals, nobles or plebeians, burghers and corporations, entertain a grudge against one or more electors; or if there is any difference or war between them; they shall, nevertheless, without contradiction or fraud, conduct and escort the prince elector, or princes electors, or his or their deputies, both in going to and returning from the place of election, if they would avoid the penalties with which they are threatened by this edict, and which they will incur so soon as they shall act in contradiction to it.

VII. **A**ND



VII. AND for the greater security and more ample assurance of all those things above-mentioned, we will and ordain, that all and every one of the princes electors, and other princes, counts, barons, nobles, towns, or corporations, to promise by letters, and oblige themselves by oath, to accomplish and perform all those things faithfully and without fraud; and whosoever shall refuse to grant this obligation shall incur the aforesaid penalties, to be executed against the recusants according to the condition of each.

VIII. If any prince elector, or other prince holding of the empire, of whatever quality or condition he may be, count, baron, or gentleman, their successors or heirs, holding fiefs of the holy empire, shall refuse to accomplish, or have the presumption to trespass upon, our decrees and imperial laws above-written, or afterwards to be specified; if he is an elector, his co-electors shall, from thenceforward, exclude him from their society; he shall be deprived of his voice in the election, of his rank, dignity, and right of prince-electors; nor shall he be invested with the fiefs which he may hold of the holy empire; and if the same laws be contravened by any other prince or gentleman as aforesaid, neither shall he be invested with the fiefs which he may hold of the empire, or of any other person whatsoever; and in the mean time he shall, from thenceforward, incur the personal penalties specified above.

IX. AND although we understand and ordain, that all princes, counts, barons, gentlemen, soldiers, vassals, cities, and corporations, shall be indifferently obliged to furnish the said escort and conduct to each elector or his deputies aforesaid, we nevertheless think proper to assign to each elector a particular escort and conductors, according to the countries and places through which he shall pass, as will be seen more at large in the sequel.

X. FIRST then, the king of *Bohemia*, arch-cupbearer of the holy empire, shall be conducted by the archbishop of *Mentz*, the bishops of *Bamberg* and *Wurtzburg*, the burgraves of *Nuremberg*, *Hohenloe*, *Wertheim*, *Brunick*, and *Hanau*, and by the cities of *Nuremberg*, *Rothemberg*, and *Windesheim*.

XI. THE archbishop of *Cologn*, arch-chancellor of the holy empire in *Italy*, shall be conducted by the archbishops of *Mentz* and *Triers*, the count-palatine of the *Rhine*, the landgrave of *Hesse*, the counts of *Catzerellebogen*, *Nassau*, *Deitz*, *Issenburg*, *Westerburg*, *Runkel*, *Limburg*, and *Falkenstein*, and by the cities of *Wetzlar*, *Geglerhausen*, and *Fridberg*.

XII. THE archbishop of *Triers*, arch-chancellor of the holy empire among the *Gauls*, and in the kingdom of *Arles*, shall be conducted by the archbishop of *Mentz*, the count-palatine of the *Rhine*, the counts of *Spanheim* and *Veldens*, the burgraves and weldgraves of *Nassau*, *Issenburg*, *Westerburg*, *Runkel*, *Limburg*, *Dietz*, *Catzerellebogen*, *Eppenstein*, and *Falkenstein*, and the city of *Mentz*.

XIII. THE count-palatine of the *Rhine*, grand-steward of the holy empire, shall be conducted by the archbishop of *Mentz*.

XIV. THE duke of *Saxony*, grand-marshal of the holy empire, shall be conducted by the king of *Bohemia*, the archbishops of *Mentz* and *Magdeburg*, the bishops of *Bamberg* and *Wurtzburg*, the marquis of *Misnia*, the landgrave of *Hesse*, the abbots of *Fulden* and *Hirschfeld*, the burgraves of *Nuremberg*, *Hohenloe*, *Wertheim*, *Brunick*, *Hanau*, and *Falkenstein*, as also by the cities of *Erfurd*, *Mulhausen*, *Nuremberg*, *Rothemberg*, and *Windesheim*.

XV. AND all those who have been named, shall, in like manner, be obliged to conduct the margrave of *Brandenburg*, arch-chamberlain of the holy empire.

XVI. WE moreover will, and expressly ordain, that every prince elector, who would have such safe-conduct and escort, shall give due intimation to those by whom he would be conducted and escorted, specifying the road that he shall take, that they may have time and convenience to prepare the said conduct according to his demand.

XVII. WE likewise declare, that the present constitutions touching the said conduct, are to be understood, so as that each of those above-mentioned, or any other, though perhaps not mentioned above, who, in the case aforesaid, may be required to furnish the said conduct and escort, shall be obliged to grant it in his own territories and countries, and even beyond them as far as he can, without fraud, on pain of incurring the penalties above expressed.

XVIII. WE likewise command and ordain the archbishop of *Mentz* for the time being, to send letters patent by couriers, to each of the said princes electors, ecclesiastic and secular, his colleagues, to intimate the said election, and express the day and time at which these letters may, in all probability, be delivered to each of the princes.

XIX. THESE letters shall specify, that in three months after the date mentioned in them, all and each of the princes electors shall repair, in person, to *Frankfort* upon the *Maine*, or send thither ambassadors authentically authorized, and furnished with a valid procuration, signed with their own hands, and sealed with their great seal, to proceed to the election of a king of the *Romans*, as future emperor.

XX. Now



XX. Now, how and in what form these letters are to be expedited, and the solemnity <sup>a</sup> which is to be inviolably observed on that occasion; together with the form and manner in which the princes electors must draw up and frame their powers, orders, and procurations, for the deputies whom they send to the election, will be more clearly expressed at the end of the present decree; which form, prescribed in that place, we ordain, of our full power and imperial authority, to be every where observed in every circumstance.

XXI. THINGS being come to such a crisis, as that the certain news of the death of the emperor or king of the *Romans*, arrive in the diocese of *Mentz*, we command and ordain, that, in the space of one month, reckoning from the day on which this advice is received, the archbishop of *Mentz* shall, by letters patent, make it known to the other princes electors, giving the intimation mentioned above: but if the archbishop should <sup>b</sup> chance to neglect or delay this intimation, then the other princes electors, of their own free motion, even without being called upon, and in consequence of the fidelity with which they are obliged to assist the holy empire, shall, in three months as above expressed, repair to the said city of *Frankfort*, to elect a king of the *Romans* as future emperor.

XXII. Now, no prince elector, or his ambassadors, shall, at the time of the said election, enter the said city of *Frankfort* with more than two hundred horse, among which may be fifty men at arms, or fewer, but never more than that number.

XXIII. ANY prince elector, thus called and invited to the election, and refusing to come or send his ambassadors with his letters patent, sealed with his own seal, containing a full, free, and intire power to elect a king of the *Romans*; or being actually come, or <sup>c</sup> having sent ambassadors in his default; if afterwards the same prince, or his said ambassadors, should retire from the place of election before the king of the *Romans*, as future emperor, be elected, and without having solemnly substituted, and left a lawful proxy to act as above, he shall for that time be deprived of his voice in the election, and of the right he had to vote in it, which he has thus abandoned.

XXIV. WE likewise enjoin and command the citizens of *Frankfort*, that, by virtue of the oath which we will them to take on the Holy Evangelists for that purpose, they shall protect and defend with all possible care, fidelity, and vigilance, all the princes electors in general, and each of them in particular, together with their domestics, and each of the two hundred horsemen, which they may bring to the said city, against all insult and at- <sup>d</sup> tacks, in case any dispute or quarrel should happen among them, either for or against us, failing which, they shall incur the penalty of perjury, with the loss of all their rights, liberties, favours, or grants, which they enjoy, or may enjoy from the holy empire, and shall be immediately put in their persons and effects to the imperial ban; and then and there it shall be lawful for any person of his own proper authority, without being obliged to have recourse to a magistrate, to attack with impunity these said citizens, whom in that case, we, by these presents, deprive of all right, as traitors, renegades, and rebels to the empire; and those who attack them on this subject, shall have no cause to apprehend the smallest punishment, either from the holy empire or any other quarter.

XXV. BESIDES, the said citizens of *Frankfort* shall not introduce, nor upon any pre- <sup>e</sup> tence whatever admit, into their city, any stranger, of what quality or condition soever he may be during the whole time employed in the election, except only the princes electors, their deputies or proxies, each of whom may introduce two hundred horse as aforesaid.

XXVI. BUT if after the entry of the electors, any stranger should be found in the city, or in their presence, the said citizens, in consequence of the oath which they shall have taken for that purpose, by virtue of this decree, upon the Holy Evangelists as above-mentioned, shall be obliged to expel him immediately, and without delay, under the penalties above pronounced.

## C H A P. II.

### *Of the Election of the King of the Romans.*

I. NEXT day after the electors or their plenipotentiaries shall have made their entry into the city of *Frankfort*, they shall, early in the morning, repair to the church of *St. Bartholomew the Apostle*, cause the mass of the Holy Ghost to be sung, all assisting at it, that the same Holy Ghost illuminating their hearts, and spreading among them the light of its virtue, they may be strengthened, by its assistance, to chuse for king of the *Romans*, and future emperor, a just and good man, well qualified for the safeguard of a Christian <sup>f</sup> people.

II. Immediately after mass, all the electors or plenipotentiaries shall approach the altar where the mass hath been celebrated; and there the ecclesiastic princes electors, the gos-  
pel



a pel of St *John*, in *principio erat verbum*, &c. being unfolded before them, shall lay their hands with reverence upon their breasts; and the secular princes electors shall actually touch the said gospel with their hands, at which their whole family shall be present, unarmed.—Then the archbishop of *Mentz* shall present to them the form of the oath; and he with them, and they or the plenipotentiaries with him, shall take the oath in this manner:

III. “ I, N. archbishop of *Mentz*, arch-chancellor of the holy empire in *Germany*,  
 “ and prince-elect, swear upon the Holy Evangelists, here placed before me, by the  
 “ faith which I owe to God and the holy *Roman* empire, that, according to my best dis-  
 “ cernment and judgment, with the help of God, I will chuse a temporal chief for the  
 b “ Christian people; that is to say, a king of the *Romans*, future emperor, who shall be  
 “ worthy of that station, as far as my discernment and judgment enable me to know:  
 “ and, upon the same faith, I will give my voice and suffrage in the said election,  
 “ without any bargain, or hope of interest, promise, or reward, or any such thing,  
 “ under whatsoever denomination it may be: so help me, God, and all the saints (B).”

IV. AFTER having taken the oath, in the form and manner aforesaid, the electors, or the ambassadors of those who are absent, shall proceed to the election; and from thenceforward they shall not quit the city of *Frankfort* until they shall have, by a plurality of voices, elected and given to the world, or to the Christian people, a temporal chief; namely, a king of the *Romans*, future emperor.

c V. BUT if they should delay the accomplishment of the election for thirty successive days, reckoning from the day on which the oath is taken, then, these thirty days being expired, they shall have no other nourishment than bread and water; nor shall they quit the said city until all, or the majority of them, shall have elected a temporal conductor, or chief of the faithful, as aforesaid.

VI. Now, after the electors, or the majority of them, shall have thus chosen him in this place, the election shall hold, and be reputed, as if it had been unanimous, and without contradiction.

VII. AND if any one of the electors, or their ambassadors, should be a little late in his arrival at *Frankfort*, provided he comes before the election is finished, we will, that  
 d he shall be admitted to the election, in the situation in which it happens to be at his arrival.

VIII. AND as, by an ancient, approved, and laudable custom, all that is above written hath been invariably observed to the present time; we, for that reason, will and ordain, of our full power and imperial authority, that, for the future, he who is, in the manner aforesaid, elected king of the *Romans*, shall, immediately after his election, and before he can meddle with the administration of the other affairs of the empire, confirm and approve, without delay, by his letters and seal, to one and all the princes electors, ecclesiastic and secular, as to the principal members of the empire, all their privileges, letters, rights, liberties, immunities, concessions, ancient customs and dig-  
 e nities, and all that they have obtained and possessed of the empire to the day of his election; and, after being crowned with the imperial crown, he shall confirm all these things anew.

IX. THIS confirmation shall be executed by the prince elected, to each of the princes electors in particular; first, under the name of king, and afterwards renewed under the title of emperor; and the prince elect shall be bound to maintain, without fraud, and of his own free motion, the said princes in general, and each of them in particular, far from giving them the least trouble or hindrance.

X. FINALLY, we will and ordain, that, in case three electors, being present, or the ambassadors of those that are absent, should elect a fourth among them, namely, a prince  
 f elector, whether present or absent, king of the *Romans*, the voice of the prince elected, if present, or of his ambassadors, if absent, shall have full force, and augment the number and majority of votes, in the same manner as that of the other princes electors.

(B) Instead of this expression the Protestant electors say, “ Help me, God, and his Holy Evangelists.”



## C H A P. III.

*Of the Place and Precedence of the Archbishops of Mentz, Cologne, and Triers.*

*In the name of the holy and indivisible Trinity, and for the increase of our happiness. Amen.*

CHARLES IV. by the grace of God, emperor of the *Romans*, *semper Augustus*, and king of *Bohemia*, to perpetuate the memory of the thing.

I. THE union and concord of the venerable and illustrious princes electors, constitute the ornament and glory of the holy *Roman* empire, the honour of the imperial majesty, and the advantage of the other states of this republic, the sacred edifice of which these princes support, as being the chief pillars, by their piety, which is equal to their prudence. They strengthen the hands of the imperial power; and it may be averred, that the more strait the knot of their mutual friendship is tied, the more abundantly do the Christian people enjoy all the conveniences that attend peace and tranquillity.

II. WHEREFORE, and in order henceforth to prevent the disputes and jealousies that may arise among the venerable archbishops of *Mentz*, *Cologne*, and *Triers*, electoral princes of the holy empire, on account of the precedency or rank which they ought to enjoy in sitting in the imperial and royal assemblies; and that, for the future, they may live with one another in a tranquil state of heart and spirit, and unanimously exert themselves, and employ their whole care, in the affairs and to the advantage of the holy empire, for the consolation of the Christian people; we have, by the deliberation and advice of all the electors, ecclesiastic and secular, decreed and ordained, and we decree and ordain, of our full power and imperial authority, by this present, perpetual, and irrevocable edict, that the said venerable archbishops shall sit, namely, he of *Triers* opposite to and facing the emperor; he of *Mentz*, both in his diocese and province, and even out of his province, if within the extent of his *German* chancery, (except only in the province of *Cologne*) shall sit at the emperor's right hand; and the archbishop of *Cologne* shall likewise, in his province and diocese, and out of his province, through all *Italy* and *France*, sit at the right hand of the emperor; and that shall be in all public imperial acts, as well as in judgments, collations, and investitures of fiefs, festivals, councils, and all other assemblies, where they deliberate and treat of the honour and advantage of the *Roman* empire. And we will, that this order of sitting be observed among the said archbishops of *Cologne*, *Triers*, and *Mentz*, and their successors for ever, without any change or contestation.

## C H A P. IV.

*Of the Princes Electors in common.*

I. WE likewise ordain, that as often as the emperor or king of the *Romans* shall be present in the imperial assemblies, either at council, at table, or on any other occasion, with the princes electors, the king of *Bohemia*, as a crowned and consecrated prince, shall occupy the first place immediately after the archbishop of *Mentz* or *Cologne*; that is, either of these, who for the time being, according to the quality of places, and variety of provinces, shall be seated on the right of the emperor or king of the *Romans*, conformable to the tenor of his privilege: that the count *Palatine* shall, after him, possess the second place on the same side; that on the left the duke of *Saxony* shall occupy the first place after the archbishop, who shall be seated on that side of the emperor; and that the marquis of *Brandenburg* shall place himself by the duke of *Saxony*.

II. AT all times when, and as often as the holy empire shall become vacant, the archbishop of *Mentz* shall have the power, which he hath had of old, to invite by letters the other princes his colleagues to the election.

III. ALL these, or such among them as may be able and willing to assist at the said election, being assembled for that purpose, the elector of *Mentz*, and no other, shall collect the particular votes of his co-electors in the following order.

IV. HE shall first ask the opinion of the archbishop of *Triers*, to whom we declare the first vote belongs, in the same manner as we find it always did belong, to the present time; secondly, of the archbishop of *Cologne*, to whom belongs the honour and office of placing first the crown upon the head of the king of the *Romans*; thirdly, of the king of *Bohemia*, who takes the precedency in eminence, as the right and merit of his royal dignity among the



a the secular electors; fourthly, of the count *Palatine* of the *Rhine*; fifthly, of the duke of *Saxony*; and sixthly, of the marquis of *Brandenburg*. The archbishop of *Mentz* having in this order collected the suffrages of all the other electors, shall inform the princes his colleagues, disclosing his own intention, and the person to whom he gives his own vote, being by them required so to do.

b V. WE likewise ordain, that, in the ceremony of imperial festivals, the marquis of *Brandenburg* shall present water to wash the hands of the emperor or king of the *Romans*; the king of *Bohemia* shall, for the first time, serve him with drink: which service, however, he shall not be bound to perform with the royal crown upon his head, in conformity with the privileges of his kingdom, unless he chooses to do it of his own free will; the count *Palatine* of the *Rhine* shall be obliged to bring in the meat; and the duke of *Saxony* exercise his office of arch or grand-marshal, as he hath of old been accustomed to do.

C H A P. V.

*Of the Right of the Count Palatine of the Rhine, and that of the Duke of Saxony.*

c I. MOREOVER, as often as the holy empire shall become vacant, as hath been said, the illustrious count-palatine of the *Rhine*, arch-steward of the holy *Roman* empire, shall be provisor or vicar of the empire, in the quarters of the *Rhine*, *Suabia*, and the jurisdiction of *Franconia*, on account of the principality or privilege of the county palatine, with power to administer justice, nominate to ecclesiastic benefices, receive the revenue of the empire, invest with fiefs, and receive faith and homage, on behalf and in the name of the holy empire: all these things, however, shall be received in their time by the king of the *Romans*, after he is elected, to whom homage and allegiance must be sworn anew, except for the fiefs of princes, and those which are usually bestowed with the standard, the investiture and collation of which we specially reserve to the emperor alone, or king of the *Romans*. At the same time, the count-palatine shall understand that he is expressly forbid to alienate or mortgage any thing belonging to the empire, during the time of his administration or vicariate.

d II. AND it is our will, that the illustrious duke of *Saxony*, arch-marshal of the holy empire, shall enjoy the same right of administration in those places where the *Saxon* law is observed, in the same manner, and on the same conditions, as those specified above.

e III. AND although, by a custom very antiently introduced, the emperor or king of the *Romans* is obliged to answer, in the causes instituted against him, before the count-palatine of the *Rhine*, arch-steward, prince elector of the holy empire; the said count-palatine shall not exercise that jurisdiction, except in the imperial court, where the emperor or king of the *Romans* shall be personally present; and no where else.

C H A P. VI.

*Of the Comparison between the Princes Electors, and other common Princes.*

f WE ordain, that in all ceremonies and assemblies of the imperial court, from this day forward, the princes electors, ecclesiastic and secular, shall invariably keep their places to the right and left, according to the order and form prescribed; and that no other prince, of what condition, dignity, pre-eminence, or quality soever he may be, shall be preferred to them, or any of them, in any action whatsoever that regards the imperial assemblies, either in walking, sitting, or standing upright, with this express condition, that the king of *Bohemia* shall nominally and invariably have the precedence in one and all the actions and celebrations of the imperial assemblies aforesaid, over every other king, whatever dignity or particular prerogative he may have, and whatever cause or circumstance may have brought him thither.

C H A P. VII.

*Of the Succession of the Princes Electors.*

g In the name of the holy and indivisible Trinity, and for the increase of our happiness. Amen.

CHARLES IV. by the grace of God, emperor of the *Romans*, *semper Augustus*, and king of *Bohemia*, to perpetuate the memory of the thing.



I. AMONG the innumerable cares which we daily employ, for putting in a prosperous condition the holy empire, where we preside by the assistance of the Lord, our principal intention is to cultivate and maintain for ever, among the princes electors of the holy empire, a salutary union, concord, and sincere charity, being certain that their councils are the more useful to the Christian world, the more distant they are from all error, the more purely that charity reigns among them, all doubt being banished, and the rights of each being clearly declared and specified.

CERTES, it is generally manifest and notorious to all the world, that the illustrious the king of *Bohemia*, the count-palatine of the *Rhine*, the duke of *Saxony*, and the margrave of *Brandenburg*; the first, by virtue of his royalty, and the others, by virtue of their principalities, have a right, vote, and seat, in the election of a king of the *Romans*, future emperor, with the ecclesiastical princes, their co-electors, with whom they are all reputed, as they are really in effect, true and legitimate princes electors of the holy empire.

II. NEVERTHELESS that, for the future, no cause of scandal or division shall be raised among the sons of those secular princes electors, touching their right, voice, and faculty of election; and that the public weal may not run any risque of being retarded or troubled by dangerous delays, we, by God's assistance, desirous to prevent the dangers that may ensue,

III. DECREE and ordain, of our power and imperial authority, by the present perpetual law, that in case the said secular princes electors, or any of them, should happen to die, the right voice and power of election shall be devolved freely, and without contradiction of any person whatsoever, to his eldest son, being legitimate and laic; and in case the eldest shall be no longer alive, to the eldest son of the eldest, being in like manner of the laity.

IV. AND if the said eldest son should die without male-issue legitimate, and of the laity, the right, vote, and power of election, shall be devolved, by virtue of the present edict, to his second brother, descended in a direct legitimate paternal line, and afterwards to his son, being of the laity.

V. THIS succession of the eldest-born and heirs of those princes, shall be perpetually observed with regard to the right, vote, and power aforesaid.

VI. ON this condition, however, that if the prince elector, or his eldest son, or his second son of the laity, should die, leaving heirs male legitimate, and of the laity, under age, the eldest brother of the eldest defunct, shall be tutor and administrator of the said minors, until the eldest of them shall have attained the lawful age, which age in a prince elector, we will and ordain to be eighteen years complete; and when the elector shall have attained that age, his tutor or administrator shall be bound to resign to him immediately and intirely, the right, vote, power, and office of elector, and all in general that depends thereon.

VII. AND if any one of those principalities should become vacant in behalf of the empire, the emperor or king of the *Romans* for the time being, may dispose of it, as of a thing lawfully devolved to him and to the holy empire.

VIII. WITHOUT prejudice, however, to the privileges, rights, and customs of our kingdom of *Bohemia*, in what regards the election of a new king in case of vacancy, by virtue of which, the natives of *Bohemia* may elect a king according to the established custom, and the tenor of the said privileges obtained of the emperors or kings our predecessors, which privileges we have no intention to prejudice by the present imperial sanction; on the contrary, we expressly ordain, that our said kingdom be maintained to them, and that their privileges shall be preserved for ever, according to their form and tenour.

#### C H A P. VIII.

##### *Of the Immunities of the King of Bohemia, and the Inhabitants of the said Kingdom.*

I. AS the emperors and kings our predecessors, have granted to the illustrious kings of *Bohemia*, our ancestors and predecessors, as well as to the kingdom and crown of *Bohemia*, a certain gracious privilege, which hath subsisted in the said kingdom and crown of *Bohemia*, a certain gracious privilege, which hath subsisted in the said kingdom without interruption, from time immemorial, by a laudable custom indisputably observed during all that time, and prescribed by use without any contradiction or interruption; namely, that no prince, baron, noble, soldier, vassal, burgher, inhabitant, peasant, or other person of that kingdom, or its appurtenances, of what estate, dignity, pre-



a pre-eminence, or condition soever he may be, shall, for any cause or pretext, by any person whatsoever, be summoned or cited without the kingdom, or before any other tribunal than that of the king of *Bohemia*, and the judges of his royal court; we, being desirous of renewing and confirming the said grant, use, and privilege, ordain, of our authority and full imperial power, by this perpetual and irrevocable constitution, that if, notwithstanding this privilege, custom, and grant, any prince, baron, noble, vassal, citizen, peasant, or any other person above denominated, shall be cited or summoned to any tribunal without the kingdom, for any cause whatsoever, civil, criminal, or mixed; he shall by no means be bound to appear, or answer at any time, either in person or by proxy; and if this foreign judge, who does not live within the kingdom, whatever authority he may have, shall proceed against him for contempt or non-appearance, even to an interlocutory or definitive judgment, and pronounce one or more sentences in the above-said causes and affairs, any manner of way: We, of our authority, and full imperial power, declare all the said citations, orders, proceedings, sentences, and executions whatever, pronounced and fulfilled in consequence, null and of no effect, so as that nothing can be executed or attempted to the prejudice of this privilege.

b II. UPON which we expressly add and ordain, by this imperial edict, perpetual and irrevocable, enacted by the same full power and authority, that, as in the said kingdom of *Bohemia*, it hath always been observed, from time immemorial, that no prince, baron, noble, soldier, vassal, citizen, burgher, peasant, or any other inhabitant of the kingdom of *Bohemia*, of what estate, pre-eminence, dignity, or condition soever he may be, shall be permitted to appeal to another tribunal, from any proceedings, interlocutory or definitive sentences, mandates, or judgment of the king of *Bohemia*, or his judges; or from the execution of the said sentences and judgment given against any of them by the tribunals of the king, the kingdom, and other said judges; and if, notwithstanding this prohibition, appeals are made, they shall be declared null, and the appellants from that time really and actually incur the penalty decreed.

C H A P. IX.

d *Of the Mines of Gold, Silver, and other Metals.*

WE ordain by the present perpetual and irrevocable constitution, and of our knowledge declare, that our successors, kings of *Bohemia*, as also one and all of the princes electors, ecclesiastic and secular, present and to come, may justly and lawfully have and possess all the mines and mineries of gold, silver, tin, copper, iron, and lead, and all sorts of other metals; as also the salt-pits already discovered, or that shall afterwards be discovered in our said kingdom, in the same manner as the said princes in their principalities, lands, dominions, and appurtenances, have been accustomed to possess them, without the least exception of their rights: they may also afford retreat to the *Jews*, and receive for the future, the rights and toll, formerly established in the same manner as hitherto observed, and lawfully practised by our predecessors, the kings of *Bohemia* of happy memory; and by the princes electors, and their predecessors, according to the antient, laudable, and approved custom, and the course of time immemorial.

C H A P. X.

*Of the Coin.*

f I. WE moreover decree, that the king of *Bohemia*, who, after us, shall succeed to that kingdom, may, during his reign, coin gold and silver money, in all or any of the places of his kingdom or its dependencies, in the form and manner hitherto observed in the said kingdom, as it hath at all times been lawful for our predecessors, kings of *Bohemia*, to do, according to their continual possession of that right. We likewise will and ordain, by the present imperial constitution and perpetual favour, that the kings of *Bohemia* shall be at liberty to buy and acquire of other princes, noblemen, counts, and of any other persons whatever, castles, and hereditary lands, of what nature soever they may be; and receive them by gift or mortgage, on condition that they shall be bound to leave them as they found them, fiefs as fiefs, and freeholds as freeholds, &c. in such a manner, however, as that for the estates which the kings of *Bohemia* shall have thus acquired or received, and which they shall have thought fit to unite to the kingdom of *Bohemia*,



*Bohemia*, they shall be obliged to pay the ordinary and accustomed duties which were due from them to the empire :

II. WHICH present constitution and favour we likewise extend, by virtue of this our present imperial law, to all the princes electors, ecclesiastic as well as secular, and their successors and lawful heirs, upon the terms and conditions prescribed above.

#### C H A P. XI.

##### *Of the Election of the Princes Electors.*

I. WE likewise decree that the counts, barons, nobles, feudatories, vassals, officers, soldiers, citizens, burghers, and all other persons of what estate, dignity, and condition soever they may be, subjects to the churches of *Cologne*, *Mentz*, and *Triers*, as they have not, in times past, so neither shall they for the future be cited, drawn, or removed without the territory, bounds, or limits of the jurisdiction of the said churches and their dependencies, at the instance of any plaintiff whatsoever, nor obliged to appear before any other tribunals and judges, than the ordinary judges of the archbishops of *Mentz*, *Triers*, and *Cologne*, as we find the custom at all times to have been.

II. AND if, notwithstanding our present constitution, any one of the subjects of the churches of *Triers*, *Mentz*, and *Cologne*, should be summoned or cited for any cause, civil, criminal, or mixed, or other affair, before some other judge, without the territories, bounds, and limits of the said churches, or of either of them; the person thus cited shall not be bound to appear or answer; declaring the citation, proceedings, and interlocutory or definitive sentences, given or to be given against him, by such judges without the jurisdiction of the said churches, and all that ensues by execution or other attempt, void and of no effect.

III. To which we expressly add, that the counts, barons, feudatories, nobles, vassals, officers, soldiers, citizens, peasants, and all other subjects of the said churches, of whatever estate, dignity, or condition they may be, shall not appeal from the proceedings, interlocutory and definitive sentences, or mandates, of the said archbishops and their churches, or their officials or secular judges, or from the executions made, or to be made, in consequence, against them, in the jurisdiction of the archbishop or said officials, to any other tribunal whatsoever, provided justice be not denied to the plaintiffs in the tribunals of the said archbishops and their officials; and we forbid all other judges to receive such appeals, which we declare void and of no effect.

IV. BUT in case that justice shall be denied; we permit all those of the above denominations, to whom justice shall have been denied, to appeal, not indifferently to any other ordinary judge or subdelegate, but immediately to the tribunal of the imperial court, and to the judge there presiding, reversing and annulling all the proceedings which shall have been carried on elsewhere to the prejudice of this constitution.

V. WHICH, by virtue of our present imperial law, we likewise extend to the illustrious count-palatine of the *Rhine*, the duke of *Saxony*, and the marquis of *Brandenburg*, princes electors, secular or laic, and to their successors, heirs, and subjects, in the same form and manner as above.

#### C H A P. XII.

##### *Of the Assembly of the Princes Electors.*

*In the name of the holy and indivisible Trinity, and for the increase of our happiness.*  
Amen.

CHARLES IV. by the grace of God, emperor of the *Romans*, *semper Augustus*, and king of *Bohemia*, to perpetuate the memory of the thing.

I. AMONG the different cares that incessantly employ our mind for the good of the public, our imperial highness having considered, that the princes electors of the holy empire, who are the solid basis and immoveable pillars upon which it stands, cannot conveniently communicate together on account of their being removed at such a distance from one another, we have found it necessary, for the good and safety of the empire, that they should meet oftener than usual, when, being duly informed of the abuses and disorders which reign in their respective provinces, they may report the circumstances, confer together, and concert means for remedying them by their wholesome counsel and sage precaution.



II. WHEREFORE, in our solemn court held by our highness at *Nuremberg*, with the venerable ecclesiastic princes electors, the illustrious secular princes electors, and several other princes and noblemen, after mature deliberation with the said princes electors, with their advice, and in behalf of the commonweal, we have thought proper, with the said princes electors, ecclesiastic as well as secular, to decree that, for the future, the said princes electors shall personally assemble once a year, in one of our imperial towns, four weeks successively after the feast of *Easter*; and that, for the present year, at the same ensuing term, shall be celebrated by us and the said princes, a conference, court, or assembly of that nature, in our imperial city of *Metz*; and then, on one of the days of the said assembly, we, with their advice, shall nominate the places where they shall meet the following year.

AND this present constitution shall continue in force no longer than we and they shall please to observe it; but while it remains in force, we shall take under our protection and safeguard the said princes electors, both in coming to our court, in sojourning in the place, and in returning from it.

III. AND that the negotiation and expedition of the common affairs concerning the public repose, may not be retarded by feasts and entertainments, which are usual on such occasions, we likewise decree, with their unanimous consent, that, during the said assemblies, it shall not be lawful for any person whatever to make any general entertainment for the princes; but plenty of private treats, which bring no hindrance to the expedition of affairs, yet even these in moderation.

C H A P. XIII.

*Of the Revocation of the Privileges.*

WE likewise decree and declare, by this our imperial, perpetual, and irrevocable edict, that all the privileges and letters of concession, which we, the emperors or kings of the *Romans*, our predecessors of glorious memory, may have granted of our proper motion, or in another manner under any terms whatever; or which we, or our successors, emperors or kings, may for the future grant to any person whatever, of what quality, condition, or pre-eminence soever he may be, even to cities, boroughs, or corporations of any places whatever, with regard to rights, favours, immunities, customs, &c. shall not prejudice or derogate from the liberties, jurisdictions, rights, honours, and seignories of the princes electors of the holy empire, ecclesiastic and secular, or of any of them, although in the said privileges and letters granted, as said is, in favour of any person or persons of whatever pre-eminence, dignity, or condition he or they may be, or of the said corporations or communities, it should be expressly specified that they cannot be revoked, except this clause of non-revocation should be specially and literally inserted in the body of the said letters; which privileges and letters, so far as they prejudice and derogate in some things from the liberties, jurisdictions, rights, honours, and seignories of the said princes electors, or of any of them; we have, of our certain knowledge, full power, and imperial authority, revoked and annulled; we revoke and annul, and by these presents understand and hold them as revoked and annulled.

C H A P. XIV.

*Of those who are deprived of their feudal Estates, as being unworthy to hold them.*

AND as, in several places of the empire, the vassals and feudatories preposterously and maliciously make a verbal resignation or demission of the fiefs which they hold of their lords, that they may have room, after the said resignation, to defy and declare war against them, and, under pretext of open hostility, attack, invade, occupy, and retain the said fiefs and lands, to the prejudice of the said lords; we decree, by this perpetual constitution, that all such resignations or renunciations shall be reputed void, if they are not made freely and really, and the resignees put in corporal and real possession of the said fiefs; so as that those challengers, or senders of defiance, may never trouble, either by themselves or others, or afford advice, favour, and assistance to any one, in order to trouble or disturb their lords in the benefices or fiefs they have resigned: we will, that those who do the contrary, and attack their lords in their benefices and fiefs so resigned, in any manner of way, or trouble or endamage them, or afford counsel, assistance, or favour to those who commit such attempts, shall then, and by so doing, lose the said fiefs and benefices, be declared infamous, and put to the ban of the empire; be incapable of re-enjoying



joying the said fiefs and benefices, on any pretence whatever; or of being invested in them anew, in any manner of way; declaring, that any such concession or investiture, against the present constitution, shall be without effect. Lastly, we decree, that he or they who shall dare to act fraudulently against his or their lord or lords, and attack him or them with premeditated design, without having made the said resignation, whether the defiance hath or hath not been made, shall, in so doing, incur the said penalties, by virtue of this present sanction.

## C H A P. XV.

*Of Conspiracies, or Combinations.*

I. WE likewise disapprove, condemn, and of our certain knowledge declare void, all combinations, conventicles, or illicit societies, detested and forbid by the laws, both within and without the cities, betwixt city and city, individual and individual, or city and individual, on pretence of consanguinity, township, or any other colour whatever; as also all confederacies, covenants, and customs, by such corruption introduced, which any city or person may have already made, or shall presume hereafter to make, whether among themselves or with others, without the authority of the lords whose subjects, officers, or servants they are, or in whose districts they remain; the said lords not being nominally excepted; in like manner as they have been prohibited and annulled by the sacred laws of the divine emperors our predecessors; excepting, nevertheless, those confederacies and leagues which are known to have been made by princes, cities, and others, for the preservation of the general peace of the provinces and countries between them; which being specially reserved by our declaration, we ordain, that they shall remain in full force and vigour, until we shall think proper to decree otherwise.

II. WE ordain, that every individual who shall dare, for the future, to make leagues, combinations, and covenants of that sort, against the disposition of this edict, and our antient law published on that subject, besides the penalty mentioned in the said law, shall from thenceforward incur the mark of infamy, and a fine of ten livres of gold; and that every city, which shall in like manner violate our present law, shall also incur the fine of one hundred livres of gold, with the loss and privation of its imperial privileges; one half of which pecuniary mulcts shall be appropriated to the imperial treasury, and the other to the lord of the district, to the prejudice of which the said leagues shall have been made.

## C H A P. XVI.

*Of the Pfsalburgers, or People who have forfeited their Freedom.*

I. BESIDES, complaint having been often made to us, that certain citizens, and subjects of princes, barons, and others, seeking to shake off the yoke of their original subjection, and even being so rash as to pay no manner of regard to it, have been received citizens of other towns, (a practice frequent in past times) and, notwithstanding, continue to reside personally in the dominions, towns, boroughs, and villages of their first lords, whom they presume to abandon by this fraud, pretending to enjoy the liberties of the towns of which by these means they have acquired the freedom, and to be protected by them: which citizens are, in *Germany*, vulgarly called Pfsalburgers: now, as it is not just that any person should profit by guile and fraud, we, with the advice of the princes electors, ecclesiastic and secular, and of our certain knowledge, full power, and imperial authority, have ordained, and by this present perpetual and irrevocable edict ordain, that the said citizens and subjects, who thus attempt to baffle those to whom they owe subjection, shall not, from this day forwards, in any of the territories, places, or provinces of the holy empire, enjoy, in any shape, the rights and liberties of the towns wherein, by such fraud, they either have been or may be received as freemen; unless they shall really and personally remove themselves into the said towns, where they may acquire an actual settlement, by continual, true, and unfeigned residence, undergoing the usual impositions, and proportion of the municipal expence; otherwise, if any persons have been or shall be received, their reception shall be reputed void; and those received, of what dignity, rank, and condition soever they may be, shall not enjoy, in any case, or on any pretext whatsoever, the rights and liberties of the said cities; and this, notwithstanding whatever rights and privileges may have been obtained, and customs at any time observed, which, so far as they are contrary to this our present law, we, of our certain knowledge, and full imperial power, revoke by these presents, and ordain to be deprived of all force and value.

II. WITHOUT



a II. WITHOUT prejudice, however, to the rights which the princes, noblemen, and others, thus abandoned, have over the persons and effects of their subjects who abandon them in this manner; and as for those who, contrary to the disposition of this our present law, have already presumed, or shall hereafter presume to receive the said citizens and subjects of others, if they do not absolutely send them back in one month after publication made to them of these presents, we declare, that, as often as they transgress our present law, they shall incur the fine of hundred marks of pure gold; one half of which shall irrecoverably be applied to the imperial treasury, and the other to the lords to whom those who are thus received did belong.

b C H A P. XVII.

*Of Challenges.*

I. WE moreover declare, that those who, pretending to have just cause to challenge any one, shall send him a challenge at an improper time, in the places where he hath not his fixed residence, and where he doth not ordinarily dwell, cannot with honour ravage his lands, nor burn his houses, or by any other way hurt his possessions (A).

c II. AND, forasmuch as it is not reasonable that deceit and fraud should be of advantage to any one, we will and ordain, by this present perpetual constitution, that challenges of this kind given, or hereafter to be given, to any noblemen or other persons whatever, with whom the challenger has lived in society, familiarity, or honourable friendship, be of no account; and that it be by no means allowed, under pretext of such challenge, to hurt any one by burning, pillaging, and ravaging, unless the challenge has been proclaimed publicly for three natural days, either to the person himself challenged, or in the place of his ordinary and usual abode, and that proclamation has been testified by sufficient witnesses. We ordain, that whoever dares to challenge and attack any one in the aforesaid manner, shall incur from thenceforward a mark of infamy, as though he had given no challenge, and that he shall be punished as a traitor by every judge, according to the rigour of the laws.

d III. WE forbid and condemn also, all kinds of unjust wars and quarrels, and likewise burnings, unjust ravages and violences, unlawful and unusual taxes and impositions, as also the exactions usually made for safe-conducts and safe-guards, which people have been obliged by force to accept of, and this under the penalties with which the holy laws ordain the said outrages to be punished.

C H A P. XVIII.

*Letters of Intimation.*

e TO you the illustrious and magnificent prince, lord, &c. margrave of *Brandenburg*, arch-chamberlain of the holy *Roman* empire, our co-electors, and most dear friend, we intimate to you, by these presents, the election of a king of the *Romans*, which for reasonable causes ought to be made without delay; and we call you according to the duty of our office, and the custom of the said election, that within three following months, counting from such a day, &c. you are to appear personally, or by your ambassadors or proxies, whether one or more, having sufficient charge and commission, at the place appointed by the sacred laws enacted for that purpose; there to consult, treat, and agree with the other princes your and our co-electors, about the election of a king of the *Romans*, who, by the grace of God, shall be afterwards created emperor; and there to abide till the conclusion of that election, and otherwise to act and proceed as it is expressed in the holy laws for that purpose ordained: failing of which, we will finally proceed in it, with the other princes your and our co-electors, according as the authority of the said laws ordains, notwithstanding the absence of you or your ambassadors.

C H A P. XIX.

*The Form of Proxy to be given by the Electoral Prince, who shall send his Ambassadors to the Election.*

g WE N. by the grace of God, &c. of the holy empire, &c. make known unto all by these presents, that whereas, for reasonable causes, the election of a king of the *Romans* ought to be proceeded on without delay, and that we desire earnestly, as bound also by the honour

(A) Another proof of the bad state in which the empire then was;



and estate of the holy empire, that it be not exposed to any eminent dangers, we having a firm <sup>a</sup> persuasion and sincere confidence in the fidelity, ability, and prudence of our dear and well-beloved, such persons, &c. have made, constituted, and appointed them, as we make, constitute, and appoint them with all right, manner, and form, in the fullest and most effectual manner that we are able, our true and lawful proxies and special ambassadors, them or each of them virtually, so that there shall be no distinction of rank among them, but what shall be begun by one, may be finished and properly concluded by another; and this to treat in every thing with the other princes our co-electors, as well ecclesiastic as secular, to assemble with them, and conclude upon the choice of a person properly qualified to be elected king of the *Romans*; and to assist at the treaties which shall be made upon the election of such a person, and there to treat and deliberate for us in our place, <sup>b</sup> and in our name; as also, in our said name and place, to nominate the same person, and to consent to his being elected king of the *Romans*, and elevated to the holy empire; and to take, upon our conscience, every oath that shall be necessary, agreeable, and usual; even as far as concerns the things to be after mentioned, or any of those that have been mentioned, to substitute and virtually revoke any other proxy or proxies; and to do all and every thing that shall be necessary and useful to be done, as far as concerns the fore-said affairs, till the conclusion of the treaties of this nomination, deliberation, and election, or other such similar and equally useful and important matters, although they or any one of them should require a more special commission, or be of greater consequence, or more particular, than those already mentioned; the whole as we could do ourselves, if we were per- <sup>c</sup> sonally present at the negotiations of the said treaties of deliberation, nomination, and future election, having, and willing to have, and firmly promising always to be satisfied with, and to ratify every thing that shall be negotiated, treated, or done, or in any manner ordained in the fore-said affairs, or in any of them, by our fore-said proxies or ambassadors, as also by their subdelegates, or by those that shall be substituted by them, or by any of them.

## C H A P. XX.

*Of the Union of the Principalities of the Electors, and of the Rights thereto annexed.* <sup>d</sup>

*In the name of the holy and undivided Trinity, and to the increase of our happiness. So be it.*

CHARLES IV. by the grace of God, emperor of the *Romans*, *semper Augustus*, and king of *Bohemia*, for the perpetual remembrance of the thing.

As all and every one the principalities, in virtue of which it is known that the secular electoral princes have a right and voice in the election of a king of the *Romans*, future emperor, are so attached and inseparably united to that right, and to the functions, dignities, and other rights thereto pertaining, and thereupon depending, that the right and voice, the office and dignity, and the other rights belonging to each of the said principalities, cannot fall but to him who publicly possesses the principality, with the land, the vassalages, fiefs, dominions, and their dependencies; we ordain, by this present imperial edict, perpetual and irrevocable, that, for the time to come, each of the said principalities shall remain, and be so strictly and indivisibly joined and united with the voice of election, the office, and all other dignities, rights, and appurtenances, concerning the electoral dignity, that whoever shall be peaceable possessor of one of the said principalities, shall enjoy also the free and peaceable possession of the right, voice, office, dignity, and all other appurtenances that concern it, and shall be reputed by every one true and lawful elector; and as such he, and he only, shall have a right to be invited, received, and admitted, with the other princes at all times, and without any opposition to the elections of the kings of the *Romans*, and to all the transactions which shall concern the honour and welfare of the holy empire; provided that none of the afore-said things, which are or ought to be inseparable, may be at any time divided or separated one from another; or may, in judgment or otherwise, be reclaimed separately, or so declared by sentence in any court of judicature, willing, that all audience be denied to him who shall demand the one without the other; and that if by surprize or otherwise he should obtain it, and that thereupon there should follow any process, judgment, sentence, or any other encroachment, upon our present constitution, the whole, in every circumstance whatever, be of no effect, and actually void. <sup>e</sup> <sup>f</sup>



C H A P. XXI.

*Of the Order of the Proceſſion among the Archbishops.*

I. FORASMUCH as we have ſufficiently explained, in the beginning of our preſent conſtitutions, the order of place, whenever the princes electors ſhall be hereafter obliged to aſſemble with the emperor or king of the *Romans*, about which formerly there have been many diſputes; we have alſo judged it expedient to preſcribe the order to be obſerved by them in public proceſſions.

b II. For this cauſe we ordain, by this preſent imperial and perpetual edict, that as oft as, in the general aſſemblies, the emperor or king of the *Romans* ſhall be preſent, and the ſaid princes, the emperor, or the king of the *Romans*, deſire to go out in public and in ſtate, and that he orders to be carried before him the imperial ornaments, the archbiſhop of *Triers* ſhall go firſt and alone before the emperor or the king, in a right and direct line; ſo that, between the emperor or the king and him, there ſhall be none but the princes, to whom it belongs to carry the imperial or royal enſigns.

c III. But when the emperor or the king ſhall march, without cauſing the ſaid enſigns to be carried, then the ſame archbiſhop ſhall go before the emperor or the king in the aforeſaid manner, ſo that there be abſolutely none between them, the other two archbiſhops electors keeping in the ſaid proceſſions, each the place which hath been already aſſigned him in the ſeſſions, according to the province in which they then ſhall be.

C H A P. XXII.

*Of the Order of the Proceſſion of the Eleſtoral Princes, and of thoſe who are to carry the honorary Enſigns.*

d TO declare the rank which the princes electors ought to keep in marching with the emperor, or with the king of the *Romans*, in public and in ſtate, and of which we have already made mention, we ordain, that every time, during the holding of an imperial diet, the princes electors ſhall march in proceſſion with the emperor or king of the *Romans*, in all actions or ſolemnities whatever, and that they ſhall there carry the imperial or royal ornaments. The duke of *Saxony*, carrying the imperial or royal ſword, ſhall march immediately before the emperor, being in the middle between him and the elector of *Triers*: the ſaid elector of *Saxony* ſhall have on his right the count-palatine of the *Rhine*, who ſhall carry the globe or imperial apple; and on his left the marquis of *Brandenburg*, carrying the ſcepter. All three marching abreſt, the king of *Bohemia* ſhall immediately follow the emperor or king of the *Romans*, without any one marching between the emperor or ſaid e king and him.

C H A P. XXIII.

*Of the Benedictions of the Archbishops in the Preſence of the Emperor.*

f I. EVERY time that the ſolemnity of the maſs ſhall be celebrated before the emperor or the king of the *Romans*, and the archbiſhops of *Mentz*, *Triers*, and *Cologne*, or two of them, ſhall be there preſent, at the confeſſion which is ſaid at the beginning of the maſs, at the kiſſing of the goſpel, and the bleſſing preſented after the *Agnus Dei*; and alſo at the benedictions which are given at the end of the maſs, and at thoſe which are ſaid when ſitting down at table, and at the thanks given after the repaſt, that order ſhall be obſerved, which we have thought proper to eſtabliſh with their advice and conſent, which is, that the firſt ſhall have that honour the firſt day; the ſecond, the ſecond day; and the third, the third day.

g II. We declare, in this caſe, that the order of priority or poſteriority among the archbiſhops, ought to be regulated by the order and time of their conſecration: and that they may anticipate one another by teſtimonies of honour and reſpect, and that their example may oblige the other electors mutually to honour themſelves, we deſire that he, whom the order about the aforeſaid things ſhall regard as firſt, ſhall offer to his colleagues the civility and loving compliment of inviting them to accept of that honour; and, after that, he ſhall proceed to the aforeſaid things, or any one of them.

C H A P.



## C H A P. XXIV.

*The following Laws have been published in the Diet of Metz, on Christmas-day 1356, by Charles IV. Emperor of the Romans, semper Augustus, King of Bohemia, assisted by all the Princes Electors of the sacred Empire, in Presence of the venerable Father in God the Lord Theodoric, Bishop of Alba, Cardinal of the Holy Roman Church, and of Charles, eldest Son of the King of France, illustrious Duke of Normandy, and Dauphin of the Viennois.*

I. IF any one has entered into any criminal conspiracy, or made oath or promise to engage in any such with princes and gentlemen, or even with private or any other persons whatever, not excepting plebeians, against the life of the reverend and illustrious princes electors of the holy *Roman* empire, ecclesiastic as well as secular, let him perish by the sword, and all his estate be confiscated, as guilty of treason; for they constitute a part of our body, and, in these rencounters, the laws punish the will with the same severity as the crime itself: and though it were but just that the sons of such a parricide should die the same death, because from them the same examples may be apprehended, nevertheless we grant them their lives out of our particular bounty. But our will is, that they shall be deprived of the succession of their mother or grandmother; as likewise of all the effects they might expect by right of inheritance and succession, or by the will of their other relations or friends, to the end that, being ever poor and necessitous, they may be for ever accompanied by the infamy of their father; that they shall never attain to any honour or dignity, not even to those conferred by the church, but be reduced to such extremity, as that they shall languish in continual indigence, and thus find their punishment in living, and their relief in dying. Our will is also, that those who shall presume to intercede for such people may be branded with perpetual infamy.

II. WITH regard to the daughters of those criminals, in what number soever they may be, we ordain, that they shall enjoy the *falcidium*, or fourth part of the succession of their mother, whether she hath, or hath not, made a will, that they may have a middling subsistence as daughters, rather than an intire advantage in the name of heirs: for, in effect, the sentence ought to be the more moderate with respect to them, as we are persuaded d the weakness of their sex will prevent them from committing crimes of that nature.

III. WE also declare the emancipations, which such persons may have made of their sons and daughters, since the publication of the present law, null, and of no effect. Likewise, we declare void, and of no account, all settlements of dowry, donations, and all other alienations, which may be made by fraud, or even of right, from the time that they shall have begun first to act in these plots and conspiracies. If women, after having withdrawn their dowry, find themselves in that state, that, whatever they shall have received of their husbands under the title of donations, they must reserve it to their sons, when the term of their possession shall expire; they are to know, that all these things, which, according to law, ought to return to the son, shall be applied to our treasury, except the *falcidium*, or e fourth, which shall be deducted from them for the daughters, and not for the sons.

IV. WHAT we have said of these criminals, and their sons, ought also to be extended to their attendants, accomplices, and servants, and their sons. Nevertheless, if any of the accomplices, touched with a desire of true glory, discovers the conspiracy in its beginning, he shall, for that discovery, receive from us honour and reward: but as to him who shall have been concerned in these conspiracies, and discovers them only very late, yet still before they have been discovered by any other, he shall only be judged to deserve impunity, and pardon of his crime.

V. WE ordain also, that if any outrage committed against the said electoral princes, ecclesiastic or secular, be discovered, the punishment of that crime may be prosecuted anew, f even after the death of the guilty person.

VI. As also, for this crime of treason against the said princes electors, the servants of the accused person may be put to the torture.

VII. WE ordain, moreover, by this present imperial edict, and will, that, even after the death of the guilty person, an information may be commenced against him, that, the crime being proved, his memory may be condemned, and his effects confiscated: for, from the time that any one forms the design of a detestable crime, he is from thenceforward in a manner guilty, and tormented in his soul.

VIII. For this reason, from the time that any one is found guilty of such an outrage, we will, that he shall no more have the power to sell, or alienate, or give freedom to his g slaves, nor even to demand the payment of his just debts.



<sup>a</sup> IX. WE ordain likewise, with regard to this, that is to say, for the crime of conspiracy against the electoral princes, ecclesiastic or secular, the servants of the criminal may be put to the torture.

X. AND if any one of these criminals die, during the drawing up of the process, we will that his effects be put into the hands of justice, by reason that it is still uncertain who shall be his heir.

C H A P. XXV.

*That the Principalities of the Electors may be preserved intire.*

<sup>b</sup> IF it is expedient that all principalities be preserved intire, that justice may be strengthened, and that good and faithful subjects may enjoy a perfect repose, and profound peace, it is without comparison much more reasonable, that the great principalities, dominions, honours, and rights of the electoral princes should also remain intire; for where the danger is most to be feared, there the greatest precaution ought to be used, lest the pillars being defective, the whole edifice should fall in ruins.

<sup>c</sup> I. WE will then and ordain, by this perpetual imperial edict, that from henceforth, and for ever, the great and magnificent principalities, such as the kingdom of *Bohemia*, the county-palatine of the *Rhine*, the dukedom of *Saxony*, the marquitate of *Brandenburg*, their lands, jurisdictions, homages (A), and vassalages, with their appurtenances and dependencies, cannot be parted, divided, or dismembered in any manner whatever, but shall remain in all time coming, united and preserved intire.

<sup>d</sup> II. THAT the eldest son succeed thereto, and that all the dominion and all the right belong to him alone, provided he be not a lunatic, or have such other great and remarkable defect, as absolutely hinders him from governing; in which case, he being excluded from the succession, we will that the second son be called to it, if there is one in the same line; if not, the eldest of the brothers, or lay relations on the father's side, who shall be found the nearest in the direct and male line (B). Who nevertheless shall be bound to give continual proofs of his goodness and liberality to his other brothers and sisters, contributing to their subsistence, according to his good will, and the extent of his estate; prohibiting him expressly from parting, dividing, or dismembering the principalities, and their appurtenances and dependencies, in any manner whatever.

C H A P. XXVI.

*Of the Imperial Court, and of its Session.*

<sup>e</sup> I. ON the day that the emperor or the king of the *Romans* would solemnly hold his court, the electoral princes, as well ecclesiastic as secular, shall assemble for an hour, or thereabouts, at the place of the imperial or royal residence, where, the emperor or the king being clothed in all the imperial ornaments, shall mount on horseback, with all the electoral princes, who shall accompany him to the place prepared for the session, each in the order and manner already prescribed, and inserted in the ordinance which regulates the processions of the said electoral princes.

II. THE arch-chancellor, in whose arch-chancellorate the imperial court shall be held, shall also carry, at the end of a silver rod, all the imperial or royal seals.

III. BUT the secular electoral princes shall carry the sceptre, the apple, and the sword, in the manner which has been already mentioned.

<sup>f</sup> IV. SOME other inferior princes, who shall be deputed by the emperor, and in his choice, shall carry, immediately before the archbishop of *Triers*, proceeding in his rank, first, the crown of *Aix-la-Chapelle*, and in the second place that of *Milan*, which shall never be done but before the emperor, when adorned with the imperial crown.

V. THE empress also, or the queen of the *Romans*, being attired in the habits and ornaments of state, shall go after the emperor or king of the *Romans*, and also after the king of *Bohemia*, who immediately follows the emperor; but she shall be at a convenient

(A) This article does not give to the successor of the elector all the effects of the succession indefinitely, as the elector-palatine pretended in the process about the succession of the elector *Charles*.

in the collateral line, and the difficulty is not determined, whether the order of lines, or the proximity of degrees, ought to be followed: a question which has since been often disputed in the empire.

(B) There is no regulation made for the succession



distance, and accompanied by her principal officers, and maids of honour, and shall a proceed thus as far as the place of the session.

## C H A P. XXVII.

*Of the Functions of the Electoral Princes in the Assemblies where the Emperors or Kings of the Romans solemnly hold their Court.*

WE ordain, as oft as the emperor or king of the *Romans* would solemnly hold his court, and the electoral princes shall be obliged to perform the duties of their office, b that the following order shall be observed.

I. THE emperor or king of the *Romans* being seated in his royal chair, or on the imperial throne, the duke of *Saxony* shall perform his office in the following manner. There shall be put before the place of the imperial or royal session a heap of oats, of such a height as to reach the horse's breast, or the saddle upon which the duke shall be seated: and the duke having in his hands a silver rod, and a measure also of silver, which together shall weigh twelve marks, and being on horseback, he shall fill the measure with the oats, and shall give it to the first groom he meets: after which, thrusting the rod among the oats, he shall retire; and his vice-marshal, namely, the count of *Papenheim*, approaching, or in his absence the marshal of the court, shall give allowance to plunder the oats. c

II. WHENEVER the emperor or the king of the *Romans* shall be seated at table, the ecclesiastic electoral princes, that is to say, the archbishops, standing by the table, with the other prelates, shall bless it, according to the order before by us prescribed. The blessing being given, the same archbishops, if they are there present, or even two, or one of them, shall take the imperial or royal seals from the hands of the chancellor of the court; and the archbishop, in whose archchancelloriate the court shall be held, going in the middle of the two other archbishops, who shall be upon his right and left, and holding with him the silver rod, to which the seals shall be hung, all three shall carry them thus, and shall place them with respect upon the table, before the emperor or the king: but the emperor or the king shall restore them to the said archbishops again forthwith; and he in d whose arch-chancelloriate the ceremonies shall be performed, as has been said, shall hang about his neck the greatest seal, and shall carry it thus all the time of dinner, and after, till he has returned to his lodgings, mounted on a horse belonging to the palace. But the rod, which we have spoke of, ought to be of silver, of the weight of twelve marks; and the three archbishops ought each to pay the third, as well of the weight of the silver as of the price of the workmanship. The rod and the seals shall remain with the chancellor of the court, who shall do with them as he pleases; and therefore, as soon as that archbishop, who had the privilege of carrying the great seal about his neck from the palace to his lodgings, as has been said, shall be there arrived, he shall send, by some one e of his domestics, to the said chancellor of the imperial court, the said seal upon the same horse; and the archbishop, according to the decorum of his proper dignity, and the friendship which he shall bear to the said chancellor of the court, shall be bound to compliment him also with the horse.

III. THEN the marquis of *Brandenburg* shall come on horseback, having in his hands a basin and ewer of silver, of the weight of twelve marks, with water and a fine napkin; when, alighting, he shall present to the lord the emperor, or to the king of the *Romans*, the water to wash in.

IV. THE count-palatine of the *Rhine* shall enter also on horseback, carrying four dishes of silver full of victuals, each dish of the weight of three marks; and, having dismounted, he shall place the dishes upon the table before the emperor, or king of the *Romans*. f

V. AFTER them shall come the king of *Bohemia*, chief cup-bearer, being also on horseback, and holding in his hand a cup or goblet of silver, of the weight of twelve marks, covered, and full of wine and water; and, having dismounted, he shall present it to the emperor, or king of the *Romans*, to drink.

VI. WE ordain also, according as it has hitherto been practised, that the secular electoral princes having performed their offices, the vice-chamberlain of *Falkenstein* should have the horse, the basin, and ewer of the marquis of *Brandenburg*; the master of the kitchen of *Nortemberg* the horse and dishes of the count-palatine of the *Rhine*; the vice-cupbearer of *Limburg* the horse and goblet of the king of *Bohemia*; and the vice-marshal of *Papenheim* the rod and measure of the duke of *Saxony*. Provided still, that these officers g be personally present at the imperial or royal court, and there performing the duties of their offices; otherwise, and if they be all absent, or any of them, then the ordinary officers



a officers of the emperor, or king of the *Romans*, shall serve instead of the absent, each in his office; and as they shall perform the offices, they shall also enjoy the advantages.

C H A P. XXVIII.

*Of the Imperial and Electoral Tables.*

I. THE imperial or royal table must be placed in such a manner as to be six feet higher, than the other tables of the hall, and the days of the solemn assemblies, none shall sit down at it but the emperor or king of the *Romans* alone.

b II. AND also the seat and table of the empress or queen shall be erected at the side, and lower by three feet than that of the emperor or king of the *Romans*, but higher also by three feet than those of the electors. As to the tables and seats of the electors, they shall be erected all of the same height.

III. SEVEN tables shall be erected for the seven electors, ecclesiastic and secular, at the bottom of the imperial table, namely, three on the right side, and three on the left, and the seventh directly over-against the emperor or king of the *Romans*, in the same order as we have prescribed in the chapter of the seats and rank of the electoral princes, so that no one of what quality and rank soever, shall place himself at their tables, or in the spaces betwixt them.

c IV. NONE of the said electoral princes, after having performed his office, shall be allowed to go and sit down at the table prepared for him, before all the other electors his colleagues, shall have also performed their offices: but when any one of them, or more, shall have performed theirs, they shall retire nigh the table, and there shall keep themselves on foot, till all the rest having also finished the said duties of their offices, they shall all sit down at the same time, each at his own table.

d V. FORASMUCH as we find by very certain relations and traditions, so antient, that there is no remembrance of the contrary, that it hath been always happily observed, that the election of a king of the *Romans*, future emperor, ought to be kept in the city of *Frankfort*, and the coronation at *Aix-la-Chapelle*; and that the elected emperor ought to hold his first royal court at *Nuremberg*: therefore we will, for many reasons, that the same be practised in time coming, provided there be no lawful hindrance.

VI. As oft as any elector, ecclesiastic or secular, who shall have been called to the imperial court, cannot for some lawful reason go there in person, or that he shall send an ambassador or deputy; that ambassador, of what rank or quality soever, although, in virtue of his power, he ought to be admitted in the place of him he represents, shall not sit down at the table appointed for him that shall have sent him.

e LASTLY, All the ceremonies of this imperial court being ended, all the scaffolding or building of wood, which shall have been made for the seat, and for the tables of the emperor or king of the *Romans*, and the electoral princes assembled for these solemn ceremonies, or to give the investiture of fiefs, shall belong to the master of the household.

C H A P. XXIX.

*Of the Rights of the Officers, when the Princes do Homage for their Fiefs to the Emperor or King of the Romans.*

f I. WE ordain by this present imperial edict, that whenever the electoral princes, ecclesiastic as well as secular, shall receive their fiefs, or sovereign rights, from the hands of the emperor or king of the *Romans*, they shall not be obliged to pay or give any thing to any one. For as the money which is paid under this pretext is due to the officers, and as the electoral princes have the superiority over all the officers of the imperial court, having even in these kinds of offices their deputies established and hired for that purpose by the emperors, it were absurd, that deputed officers should demand money or presents from their superiors, unless the said electoral princes shall have a mind to give them any thing out of their own good will and liberality.

g II. BUT the other princes of the empire, ecclesiastic as well as secular, when receiving their fiefs, as we have said, of the emperor or king of the *Romans*, shall give to the officers of the imperial or royal court, each sixty-three marks and a quarter of silver; unless any one of them can prove his exemption, and make appear, that by an imperial or royal privilege he is dispensed with from paying the said sum, and all the other rights usually paid when the investiture is taken; and it shall be the master of the household of the emperor



peror or king of the *Romans*, who shall divide the said sum of sixty-three marks and a quarter of silver, in the manner following, a

FIRST, he shall take ten marks of it himself : he shall give as much of it to the chancellor of the empire or king of the *Romans* : to the secretaries, notaries, and directors, three marks ; and to him who seals, for the wax and parchment, a quarter, without obliging the chancellor or secretaries to give any thing for it, besides a certificate of the fief received, or of the simple letters of investiture. In like manner, the master of the household shall give, of the said sum, ten marks to the cup-bearer of *Limburg*, ten to the master of the kitchen of *Nortemberg*, ten to the vice-marshal of *Papenheim*, and ten to the vice-chamberlain of *Falkenstein*, provided they be personally present at these investitures, and there perform the duties of their offices ; otherwise and in their absence, the officers of the court of the emperor or king of the *Romans*, who shall perform the duty of the absent, and shall have had the trouble of it, shall also receive the profit and advantages. b

III. BUT when the prince mounted on horseback, or on any other beast, shall receive the investiture of his fiefs from the emperor or king of the *Romans*, whatever that beast may be it shall belong to the grand marshal, that is to say, to the duke of *Saxony*, if he is present, if not to his vice marshal of *Papenheim*, and in his absence to the marshal of the emperor's court.

### C H A P. XXX.

#### *Of the Instruction of the Electoral Princes in the Languages.* c

I. FORASMUCH as the majesty of the holy *Roman* empire ought to prescribe laws, and command people of different nations, manners, customs, and of different languages, it is reasonable, and the wisest judge it so, that the electoral princes, who are the pillars and key-stones of the empire, be instructed, and have the knowledge of several languages, because, being obliged to ease the emperor in his most important affairs, it is necessary that they understand many people, and mutually make themselves understood by many. d

II. THEREFORE we ordain, that the sons or heirs of the illustrious princes electors, namely, of the king of *Bohemia*, of the count-palatine of the *Rhine*, of the duke of *Saxony*, and of the marquis of *Brandenburg*, who probably know the *German* language, because they ought to have learned it from their infancy, being arrived at the age of seven years, be instructed in the *Latin*, *Italian*, and *Slavonian* languages ; so that when they arrive at their fourteenth year, they may be skilful therein, according to the talent that God hath given them ; which qualification we judge, not only useful but necessary, because the use of these languages is very common in the empire, for the administration of the most important affairs.

III. WE leave, nevertheless, to the option of the fathers the manner of this instruction, so that it shall depend upon them to send their sons or relations, whom they shall judge will probably succeed them in the electorate, to places where they may conveniently learn these languages, or to give them preceptors and young companions in their own houses, by whose instruction and conversation they may be instructed in these languages. e



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# HISTORY of the UNITED PROVINCES, or Republic of HOLLAND.

## S E C T. I.

*Containing a short description of Holland; a character of the people; a view of the different departments of the republican government; of the commerce of the provinces; religion, &c. &c.*

<sup>a</sup> **A** Variety of circumstances conspire in rendering the history of the *United Provinces* entertaining and instructive. The inhabitants of this country have ever been celebrated for their valour, their perseverance, and love of liberty, which remain unaltered amidst the vicissitudes of time, and the most singular reverses of fortune. The extraordinary revolutions, the complex form of the established government, the opulence, commerce, artificial beauty, and other peculiarities of this country, as well as the industry, frugality, temperance, simplicity, and natural disposition of the people, merit the utmost attention of the politician and philosopher. It is not the province of the historian to enter deeply upon such researches; but our plan requires that we should sketch the outlines of the situation, constitution, and whatever regards the present state of the country, previous to an historical detail.

<sup>b</sup> **T**HE *United Provinces*, or *Republic of Holland*, consists of the northern part of the *Netherlands*, bordered to the south by *Flanders*, *Brabant*, *Flemish Guelderland*, and the duchy of *Cleves*; on the east, the frontiers extend to the territory of *Embsen*, and the bishopric of *Munster*, while some portion of the northern skirts, and the whole western coast, are washed by the *German* ocean; we include not the conquests of the *Republic*, which are precarious and eventual. The whole country is delightfully watered, and divided by large rivers, fine canals, and extensive lakes, that present a scene exquisitely beautiful and astonishing to the eye of a stranger. From this happy disposition of land and water, *Holland* derives the utmost commercial advantages: domestic industry is promoted by the facility of carriage, and foreign trade absolutely required from the small proportion of fertile soil, to the number of inhabitants. No part of *Europe*, of the same extent, contains half the number of beautiful cities, towns, and villages, all distinguished by an air of nearness peculiar to *Holland*. Every street, we may say every farm, is bordered by a canal; ships and houses are almost every where blended together, and half the people seem to live upon the waters. Some inconveniences however attend the natural situation of the provinces. To render the soil fertile, it is usual at certain seasons to open the sluices, and overflow great part of the country; when the waters are drawn off, heaps of mud and slime remain, which impregnate the air with noxious exhalations, productive of various diseases. This defect in the atmosphere is however considerably corrected by frequent sharp and keen easterly winds, that purify the air, but on account of their suddenness and severity prove dangerous to the human constitution. Sir *William Temple*, an accurate observer, relates, that he has seen a moist hot southern wind instantly yield to chilling eastern blasts, without any intermediate temperature: in his own words, they succeed like the cold and hot fits of an ague. We may likewise reckon among the inconveniences of *Holland*, the great obstruction to commerce, from the long and rigorous frosts which entirely shut up the canals; and the extreme flatness of the lands, sunk below the level of the waters, and secured from inundations by vast dykes, kept in repair at a prodigious expence <sup>a</sup>.

*Geography, situation, climate, &c. of the United Provinces.*

<sup>c</sup> **A**s to the manners of the people, like those of every other nation, they are influenced by the climate and the nature of the government. Cold, phlegmatic, uninventive, and brutal, they prosecute every measure with indefatigable perseverance, and accomplish the most arduous attempts, without a spark of genius, of liberality, or the true spirit of enterprise; by the single virtue of patience they have become proficient in science and the arts. *Holland* has produced poets, painters, and sculptors; wits of the first class have started up, like grapes in *Siberia*, contrary to the usual course of nature; but these are phenomena which appear like comets, only once in a century, to excite the astonishment of mankind. In general, every passion, every appetite, except that of gain, seems extinguished;

*Character of the people.*

<sup>a</sup> LE CLERC, Hist. Pref. 2. TEMPLE on the Netherlands, chap. iii.



quarrels are seldom seen, unless occasioned by drunkenness; jealousy is never felt, and love is unknown among *Dutchmen*. The dulness and insensibility of the *Batavians* became proverbial among the ancients; their descendants are no less distinguished by the moderns for their want of feeling, of refinement, and of passion. The reader will form a sufficient idea of the national character from a single observation of Sir *William Temple*. “I have known,” says that ingenious writer, a man employed four and twenty years about the making and perfecting a globe, and another thirty in the inlaying of a table.”<sup>b</sup> In a word, invincible patience, and an invariable attachment to self-interest, are the lineaments that distinguish and mark the character of a *Hollander*. *Spain* has had proofs of their courage, *France* has experienced their arrogance, and *Great Britain* still bears shameful and unrevenge marks of their avarice and cruelty.

Government  
of the cities.

THE government of the republic has in it something no less peculiar than the temper of the inhabitants; we can indeed easily trace the latter in the former. Caution and phlegmatic prudence appear in their tedious deliberations, a solicitous regard to freedom in every part of the constitution; composed of seven sovereign provinces, each enjoying its own independent privileges, the state may be termed a confederacy, united by one common interest, and founded upon the league formed at *Utrecht*, to oppose the tyranny and oppression of *Philip II.* *Guelderland*, *Holland*, *Zealand*, *Utrecht*, *Overijssel*, *Groningen*, and *Friesland*, are all separate republics, acknowledging no authority, subordinate to no other power than that vested in their particular states; even the provinces are divided into smaller republics. Every city possesses certain sovereign privileges; and in the provincial states resolutions are formed, not by a majority, but concurrence of voices. The provincial states cannot seize an offender, pardon a crime, or frame laws, within the jurisdiction of a city. Every thing relative to itself, and unconnected with the rest of the provinces, is transacted by its own magistrates: for instance, the sovereign authority resides in the senate of each city; the office of senator continues for life, and formerly the members of this supreme court were elected by the freemen and burghers: now the power of filling vacant places is in the standing senate; whence the government of each city is aristocratical. From this it may be supposed, that the people have absolutely surrendered their privileges; but when we consider the check given to this oligarchy by the annual burgomasters, the small emolument of office, the simplicity required in magistrates, their numerous connections with the body of the people, we shall find that liberty is strictly guarded, while the inconveniences of tumultuous assemblies are avoided. It would be descending to a tedious minuteness to enter upon a description of each particular city-office; sufficient it is, that burgomasters are elected by a majority of voices in the senate; that they preside by turns; that they represent the dignity of the government, and support the honour of the city upon all occasions; that they dispose of all inferior offices, issue out money from the common treasury, for the safety, convenience, and all the expences of the city. Great trust, dignity, and authority, are annexed to this office; yet the salary scarce amounts to 60 *l. per annum*; nor do the burgomasters assume more state than ordinary citizens in their habits, their attendance, their tables, or any part of their domestic conduct.<sup>c</sup>

Provincial  
states.

THE provincial states are composed of deputies chosen by the senate. Here is lodged the sovereign power, and in certain cases an appeal from the city-judicatures. The reader will entertain a clearer idea of the whole, by tracing the regulations of a particular province. In *Holland* the sovereignty of the province is represented by nineteen deputies, chosen out of the nobility, the senators, and magistrates; the nobles have only one voice, the cities eighteen, according to the number called *Stemms*. *Amsterdam* has but a single voice in the states, and the smallest city in the province enjoys the same prerogative. Though the nobility possess but one vote in the states, yet is their influence very considerable, having in their hands the vast employments civil and military, the direction of the ecclesiastical revenue, the right of sending deputies to the states-general, and the nomination of a counsellor in the two supreme courts of judicature. The votes and sentiments of the nobility are delivered by the pensioner of *Holland*, who assists at all the previous deliberations. Notwithstanding the vast credit of the pensioner's office, he is but the servant of the province, and takes place behind all the deputies; yet from the perpetual duration of his employment, the seat he holds in the several provincial assemblies, his collecting opinions, digesting resolutions, proposing all subjects of deliberation, and, above all, assuming a power to determine whether any important affair, on which the benefit or prejudice of the state highly depends, shall be concluded by a majority of voices, give the pensioner the utmost consequence in the republic. This is the general scheme of government in all the provinces; but with certain peculiarities in each, for which the reader must consult political writers. There is no certain rule for the sitting of the states in all the provinces; in *Holland* they assemble at the *Hague* in the months of *February*, *June*, *September*, and *November*: in the three-

<sup>b</sup> LE CLERC. Hist. Pref. 2. BASNAGE, Hist. passim. VOLT. Siècle, tom. i.

<sup>c</sup> Ubi supra.



- a first sessions all vacancies are filled up, forms renewed, and taxes adjusted; in a word, the general good and regulation of the province is debated: the last sitting is expressly set aside for determining the proportion of charges, to be supported by the province, with respect to the whole republic. On extraordinary occasions, the provincial states are convoked by the commissioned counsellors, or *Gecommitteerde Raaden*, properly a provincial council of state, composed of a deputy from the nobles, one from each of the chief cities, and one from every three of the lesser towns. This council sits constantly at the *Hague*, prepares business for the provincial states, and executes their resolutions. The general revenues of the provinces are managed by a chamber of accounts, who, besides this trust, have the absolute direction of the ancient demesnes, without being questioned by the states. A number of inferior regulations and circumstances peculiar to each province take place; but it is our design to exhibit only the general plan of the several departments that compose the republic <sup>d</sup>.

- WE come now to the union of the seven sovereign provinces, which may aptly be compared to the league of several princes, formed for their mutual security, repose, and defence: each preserves his own sovereignty, while he enters upon certain engagements peculiar to the confederacy; they are united into one body by treaty, but they are separated by their particular privileges: no one has the right of imposing laws, or interfering in the government of another; but he is absolute in what does not respect the league, and within his own jurisdiction. Some politicians have supposed the states general possessed of sovereign authority, because they are composed of deputies from the provinces that form the republic, and receive foreign ambassadors; but it must be considered, that the office of deputy continues but for a limited time, that the periods of their deputation are fixed by the provinces, and that they are incapable of coming to any resolution without consulting their constituents, and receiving their authority: out of the deputies are formed three several colleges, the states general, the council of state, and the chamber of accounts, which are to the republic in general, or the union of the seven provinces, what the departments of the same names are to each province. To the states general, the provinces send two or more members at pleasure; by this no variation is made in the determinations of the states, as resolutions are formed upon the votes of the provinces, and not the voices of the deputies. Should a province send twenty deputies, still it possesses but one voice. Almost all the provinces differ in the time limited to their deputies; one sends for a year, another for more, and some for life. *Holland* sends to the states general one of her nobles, who is perpetual, two deputies from the eight principal towns of the province, one from *North Holland*, two from the provincial council of state, and the pensioner. Every province presides in turn for a week, and is represented by the person best qualified among her deputies. This president is seated at the middle of a long table, the *greffier* or secretary at the bottom; and a foreign ambassador admitted to an audience, takes his place opposite to the president. The *greffier*, by order of the president, reads all papers, proposes the question, calls the votes; then the president concludes; or should he refuse determining by a plurality, his place is filled up by the president of the ensuing week. In this channel do all common affairs flow; but in cases of peace and war, of foreign alliances, of raising or coining money, or where the privileges of the provinces are concerned, then each distinct province or member of the union must be consulted, his assent procured, and nothing determined by majority. Never but in one instance has this constitution been infringed. In the year 1668, Sir *William Temple* was dispatched by *Charles II.* to form the triple alliance; in executing this commission, the utmost secrecy and dispatch were necessary: had the business passed through the usual forms, the scheme of the alliance would have been frustrated by foreign ministers, whose duty and interest it was to oppose it. Engaging the voice of one city would have effectually baffled all the schemes of the *British* minister; but he had the ability and address so powerfully to enforce the necessity of expedition, that the states general concluded three treaties, formed and signed instruments in the space of five days, without consulting the provinces, agreeable to the essential laws of their constitution. In this, however, the deputies hazarded their lives; for had the provinces disapproved their proceedings, their heads would have been the forfeit <sup>e</sup>.

- ANOTHER department relative to the general union of the provinces, is the council of state, composed of deputies from each province; here the number deputed is fixed and invariable. *Holland* sends three; *Guelderland*, *Zealand*, and *Utrecht* two each; *Friesland*, *Overijssel*, and *Groningen*, a deputy for each province; the whole council amounting to twelve members. Matters are concluded by the personal, not the provincial voices; and every deputy has his turn in presiding. Formerly the power of assembling the states general resided in this council; it also represented the states general during their recess, executed their resolutions, and judged of the necessity of their meeting. At the earl of *Leicester's* resignation, the provincial states obtained a power of continuing the states general

States General.

<sup>d</sup> BASNAGE, cap. iv. Introduction. TEMPLE, cap. ii. LE CLERC, p. 3. Pref. <sup>e</sup> Aust. citat. ibid.



by their constant respective deputies, under pretence of the too great authority residing in the council of state, who, to prolong and augment their own power, seldom convoked the states general. At present the business of the council of state may be reduced to five classes: their deliberations regarding the security, defence, and protection of the state; and the operations of the war: the orders for marching the troops, the regulation of military discipline, the superintendence of the fortifications, magazines, &c. and the administration of the finances, and proportions of the several provinces to support the general expence of government. With respect to the operations of war, the council always consults with the states general, except when profound secrecy and dispatch are required. The power of the council over the fortifications extends only to those places conquered since the union of *Utrecht*, and the provinces of *Overyssel* and *Guelderland*, which are deemed the frontiers; in a word, this council superintends the army, the garrisons, the public revenues, and the contributions raised in the enemy's country. At the close of the year it forms a sketch of the supplies for the current year, which it presents by way of petition to the states general; implying by the name, a request rather than a demand upon the provinces, with which they may either comply or not, as they see reasonable. Besides the deputies, the stadtholder has a seat and vote in this council; but he is excluded the presidency: at present the treasurer-general has a seat, but only a deliberative voice. We need not enter into particulars; enough has been said to point out the nature of this department<sup>f</sup>.

Chamber of  
accounts.

To ease the council of state, and support a part of the load of public business, the chamber of accounts was erected by consent of the seven united provinces: its first institution was in the year 1607, it was confirmed in 1622, and considerably extended in 1651. It is composed of two deputies from each province, making in all fourteen. It states and examines the accounts of all the receivers, passes the accounts of the admiralty, and registers the orders of the council of state, with respect to the finances<sup>g</sup>.

Council of ad-  
miralty.

We shall conclude our description of the government of the *United Provinces*, with mentioning one more department of considerable importance; we mean the council of admiralty, in which the absolute direction of naval affairs resides. When the states general, by advice of the council of state, has destined a fleet upon any enterprize, and determined its force and number, all the rest devolves upon the admiralty, which is divided into five departments, or different councils, cemented however by certain bonds of union. The province of *Holland* enjoys the benefit of three of these courts, *Zealand* has one, and *Friesland* another: each is composed of seven deputies, four chosen out of the province where the council resides, and three nominated by the other provinces. Here the admiral, or, in his absence, the vice-admiral presides. Besides the care of equipping fleets, and issuing out money for naval services, the admiralty has a judicative power, taking cognizance of all crimes, frauds, and piracies committed on the high seas; or in the payment or collection of the duties upon merchandize. The revenue arising from commerce is wholly appropriated to the purposes of the navy. One circumstance of a very extraordinary nature, that fully displays the precaution of the government against corruption, or bias from consanguinity, or other attachments, is, that no person related in the third degree, influenced by dependence or obligation, can ever be deputed members of the admiralty. This is an indispensable law, and deemed so essential, that all petitions for its abolition have been constantly rejected. When a deputy is appointed, he must swear before the states general, that he was elected by fair suffrage, without the least exertion of undue influence or corruption, bribes or promises; that he will religiously obey the orders issued out by the states general, in concurrence with the provincial states; in a word, that he will promote, with all his ability, the general good of his country, without favour or attachment to any particular province<sup>h</sup>.

Of the dignity  
of stadtholder.

THE dignity of stadtholder, though not essential to the government of the republic, is however so important to its security, upon certain occasions, that it ought not to be omitted in a description of the political machine. This sovereign office would seem to owe its birth to the nature of the government, in which all deliberations are so tedious, as frequently to endanger the state. To remedy this defect, a stadtholder was created in *Holland*, as formerly a dictator at *Rome*, to answer present exigencies, and expedite measures. In the long war with *Philip II.* the infant republic stood in want of a head to support tottering liberty, and oppose the powerful efforts of the house of *Austria*. *William I.* prince of *Orange*, appeared of all men the best calculated to answer the purposes of the republic. He was then governor of three provinces, *Holland*, *Zealand*, and *Utrecht*; his ability confessed; his detestation of tyranny, and ardent love of freedom, had rendered him the darling of the people. He had exposed himself to the greatest dangers in the public service; he had formed the noblest designs, and executed them with a vigour and intrepidity, that justly entitled him to the character of a patriot, hero, and statesman. These qualities, and the necessities

<sup>f</sup> Auct. citat. ibid.

<sup>g</sup> BASNAGE, cap. xiii.

<sup>h</sup> BASNAGE, cap. xxxv.



a of the state, raised *William* to the dignity of stadtholder, with the following rights and privileges annexed. He was captain-general of the forces of the republic, by sea and land; he disposed of all commissions in the army and navy; he directed the operations of war, and led the troops in battle; he had a seat, but not a voice, in the states general; he was president of the council of state; but to retrench his authority, and set bounds to the extension of the stadtholder's power, a council was given him, composed of deputies, from the states-general, and the council of state, who attended him into the field, and concerted with him all the operations of the campaign. Such was the origin, and such the authority vested in the stadtholder. We shall have occasion to mention further particulars in the course of our narrative: what strange revolutions, tumults, and dissensions this dignity produced; how  
b it was abolished by a perpetual edict, and afterwards made hereditary in the illustrious house of *Orange*<sup>1</sup>.

WHATEVER surprise the texture of this constitution, the nature of the country, and the disposition of the people, may excite, we shall find still greater cause of astonishment in the prodigious commercial power and wealth of the *United Provinces*. Politicians remark, that the most fruitful countries are seldom the richest. The necessities of life shooting up almost spontaneously, render the toil and labour of the inhabitants unnecessary. This damps the spirit of enterprise, checks that ardour excited by necessity, and renders mankind indolent, because they can live without industry or danger. In the poverty of the *United Provinces* we shall find the causes of the vast strides they made to opulence and grandeur. The  
c country, in a manner, produces nothing but pasture; at least the produce is very inadequate to the number of inhabitants, and the immense concourse of cities, towns and villages. Of the seven, only three are maritime provinces, and fit for the purposes of commerce. Not a single material for ship building is the growth of the *Netherlands*; the *Dutch* are forced to penetrate almost to the frigid zone for the fundamental requisites of navigation. Even the harbours of the *United Provinces* are incommodious. The disadvantages of the *Texel* are well known. At *Helvoetsluys* nature has formed a large basin of water, defended from storms by a variety of little encircling islands; but access is rendered difficult and dangerous by large sand-banks and ridges, that cannot be passed without pilots. The harbour of *Flushing*, though it has some advantages, is greatly exposed to storms and tem-  
d pests. From *Poland*, and other northern countries, the *Dutch*, for a long time, drew the necessities of life. Still they are supported in these by dint of traffic. No country in *Europe* is so loaded with taxes. Every commodity, every necessary, pays a duty, to support the unavoidable expences of the government. War, the cruellest enemy to industry, has proved friendly to *Holland*. During a bloody contest, that continued forty years, the republic attained to the highest pitch of grandeur. Under such inauspicious circumstances did this common-wealth launch out in the pursuit of commerce and navigation. The civil wars in *France*, the troubles in *Germany*, and the religious persecutions in every part, crouded the *Provinces* with ingenious mechanics and artists; because here they might practise the dictates of conscience, and enjoy the fruits of industry, in security and repose. New manu-  
e factures were every day erected; and trades, too big for the wealth of individuals, were conducted to advantage by joint stocks. The destruction of *Antwerp* was the greatest advantage to *Holland*; it opened markets, before wholly engrossed by that opulent city. When *Philip II.* came into possession of *Portugal*, he prohibited the inhabitants from trading with his rebellious subjects of the *United Provinces*. This, instead of answering the king's design, proved highly beneficial to the republic. It gave spur to her industry, and forced her to attempt a trade directly with the *East-Indies*. The *India* commerce was put into the hands of a company, and managed with so much prudence, industry, and œconomy, that, in the space of six years, a capital of six hundred thousand pounds was increased to six millions sterling, after clearing all charges and expences. After this, the company rose with incon-  
f ceivable rapidity for a number of years; and though the profits have been long diminished, yet, in point of wealth, dominion, and real power, the *Dutch East-India* company is now infinitely beyond any other commerical establishment, and a potent state of itself, taken independant of the republic of the *United Provinces*. The governor general of *Batavia* has the court, the state, splendor, and appointments of a sovereign prince. He makes war and peace at pleasure; can assemble an army, upon the shortest notice, of thirty thousand men; and equip a fleet of fifty sail of the line, without building a single vessel\*. The success of the fisheries, of the *Levant* trade, begun under the auspices of *Henry IV.* of *France*, and of the *East-India* company, gave birth to a company for conducting the trade to the *West-Indies*; which set out with an unexpected tide of fortune, and would have ascended  
g by continued progression, had not the large dividends made, the eager pursuit of conquest, and the neglect of the regular course of traffic, ruined that commerce. The *Dutch*

Of the commerce of the United Provinces.

<sup>1</sup> BASNAGE, cap. xiv. de Chron. introd. p. 8.

\* BASNAGE, cap. xxxvi. Univ. Hist. vol. x. book xiv.



were driven out of the *Brasil*, whence the *Portuguese* drew such immense treasures. Still, however, the *West-India* company is possessed of several important settlements in *Africa*, of some valuable islands in the *West-Indies*, of the profitable establishment at *Surinam*, and of several late-established factories on the continent of *South-America*. We have elsewhere treated so largely of the *Dutch East-India* commerce, that to add would be to render it prolix. Upon the whole, next to that of *Great-Britain*, the trade of the *United Provinces* is certainly the greatest; and that of the *India* company alone equal in value to half the commerce of *Europe*. As to the present low condition of *Holland*, as a maritime power, her temporizing, shuffling, and supine indolence, we shall advance no conjectures. We take up the pen as historians, not as professed political writers.

Of the religion  
of the United  
Provinces.

To conclude this sketch of the present state of the *United Provinces*, we shall subjoin a few remarks on religion, the remote cause of the grandeur of the republic. The restraint on conscience, the establishment of the inquisition, and the bloody persecution of heretics, excited the revolt of the *Provinces*, in the reign of *Philip II*. The reformists were unanimous only in denying the papal supremacy, and reducing belief from the authority of tradition to that of scripture. In a variety of other circumstances they differed, particularly with respect to discipline. Every leading doctor formed a sect; and religious sectaries became as numerous in *Germany*, *France*, and the *Netherlands*, as scholars of rival schools had ever been in *Greece*. All were equally obnoxious to the apostolic see, and the professors of the popish doctrines. They were stigmatized with the name of heretics, persecuted by the sword in this world, and damned to eternal perdition in the next. This indiscriminate persecution of the schismatics and reformists seems to have first suggested the idea of a toleration of conscience in the *Seven Provinces*. The multitudes of sectaries from *Germany* and *France*, that had taken refuge in the *Netherlands*, before the persecution commenced in this quarter, and the necessity of exerting every means to oppose the tyranny of *Philip*, after the arrival of the duke of *Alva*, in quality of governor, rendered an union of all the different sects, for their mutual defence, almost unavoidable. Accordingly, at the union of the *Seven Provinces*, by the treaty signed at *Utrecht*, every province was left at liberty to regulate the affairs of religion in the manner most conducive to her interest; but with this express proviso, that no man should be oppressed on account of his particular tenets, and that all should remain free and unrestrained in points of conscience. It is true, the superiority in point of numbers, of the *Calvinists* and *Lutherans*, procured an act, in the year 1583, declaring the evangelical religion the public belief, and enjoining that this only should be professed in the *Seven Provinces*; but policy has induced the government to wink at infractions of this ordinance; to favour no curious inquiries into the faith of any man; to offer no violence to conscience; and to afford the protection of the laws to every industrious subject, whose opinions break not out into expressions and actions prejudicial to society. The *Roman catholic* religion alone is excepted from this common protection; while *Jews*, *Anabaptists*, *Arminians*, *Brownists*, and *Familists*, are allowed the exercise of their several doctrines. At *Amsterdam* every sect known in *Europe*, almost in the whole world, hath its public meetings. The *Calvinists* however compose the body of the people. They are possessed of all the authorized churches in the dominions of the republic, and their clergy alone are maintained by the public, by certain salaries paid them by the state, without tythes, lands, or contributions on the people. Thus, freedom of sentiment has rendered the country populous, and softened all that theological acrimony and rancour that disturbs the tranquility of other nations, poisons society, and produces effects the most opposite to the dictates of true religion. Ambition and faction are here disabled from concealing their seditious designs and selfish views under the cloak of religion. In *Holland*, the difference of religion makes none in affection; *Jews* and *Christians* live in the strictest ties of amity; they argue without resentment, they dissent without enmity, and they agree without confederacy; all from the freedom of the constitution, and the coldness of the passions. All are citizens associated by the bands of society and government, under the impartial protection of indifferent laws, with equal encouragement of arts, industry, and genius; and equal freedom of sentiment, speculation, and inquiry. Whoever requires more, may be justly suspected of secret designs, arising from other motives than religion; or, at the best, he must be deemed unreasonable and narrow-minded<sup>1</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> BASNAGE, cap. xxxix. TEMPLE, chap. v.



S E C T. II.

Containing the antient state of the Seven United Provinces. The revolutions which first reduced them under the dominion of the house of Burgundy, and afterwards of the house of Austria, &c. &c.

<sup>a</sup> **F**OR many ages the *Low Countries* have been the theatre of war, and scene of bloody battles. No soil in *Europe* has been so drenched with human gore, owing partly <sup>Ancient history of Batavia.</sup> to the obstinate valour of the inhabitants, but chiefly to the ambition of the neighbouring princes. The natives of the country now composing the republic, ever aspired at liberty and military glory; the one they regarded as essential to the security of the other. *Julius Cæsar*, having experienced the valour of the *Batavians*, employed them successfully against the *Gauls*; they every where routed and dispersed that ferocious and warlike people <sup>a</sup>. The *Batavian* cavalry bore the highest reputation, and the infantry fought with the same order, discipline, and intrepidity in the marshes and waters, as upon firm land: even the *Romans* dreaded their resentment <sup>b</sup>. They became the body-guards of the emperors, who reposed equal confidence in their fidelity and courage; *Galba* dismissed them from this trust, but with marks of favour and esteem. In all important expeditions, in every dangerous enterprize, where obstinate boldness was required, the *Batavians* were selected, as troops already sufficiently approved. They generally composed the forlorn hope of the *Roman* army, sustained the first shock of the enemy, and made the first attack with an impetuosity peculiar to themselves. *Vitellius* was so sensible that the fate of the empire depended on the *Batavian* cohorts, that, apprehensive of irritating them, he released their general, who had been confined for high crimes and misdemeanours <sup>c</sup>. They were exempt from tributes and imposts, in consequence of bearing the honourable title of allies to the empire. Afterwards they obtained the appellation of the friends and brethren of the *Romans*; but this was particularly applicable to the inhabitants of *Betaw*, an island formed by the *Rhine*, *Vahal*, or *Wabaal*. The government of this people seems to have been monarchical; and it is conjectured, that *Clodius Civilis* is descended from their kings; *Civilis*, that hero whose patriot eloquence roused the *Batavians* to throw off the *Roman* subjection; whose courage obtained many victories over the *Roman* general *Cerealis*; and whose valour shone more conspicuous and bright in adversity, after he had been defeated by the *German* legion. We know little more of the ancient history of the *Batavians*, than that the fierce and warlike spirit of the people obliged the *Romans* to maintain strong garrisons on the banks of the *Rhine*; that they revolted against *Constantine*; that they performed signal services to *Theodossius* in *Britain*; and that, with the rest of the empire, they <sup>d</sup> fell under the power of the *Franks*; were governed by *Charlemagne*, and his descendants, until, upon the decline of that house, the great lords and officers of the crown, taking advantage of the weakness of the reigning princes, rendered their governments hereditary in their families (A).

<sup>e</sup> AFTER the fall of *Charlemagne's* empire, the provinces of the *Netherlands* experienced frequent revolutions. Sometimes they were distinct and independent on each other; at other times they were united in one monarchy under the same prince. Some provinces had their kings, some were under the government of dukes, and others of counts. *Frise-land* might be termed a kingdom; *Brabant* and *Guelderland*, dukedoms; and *Holland* and *Flanders*, counties, or earldoms. *Utrecht* was a bishopric, the prelates of which became generals and sovereigns, wielding the sword and scepter oftener than the crozier. We shall exhibit such an imperfect sketch of the government of the *Provinces* under the period we are mentioning, as history authorises <sup>d</sup>.

<sup>f</sup> FORMERLY the frontiers of the province of *Holland* were more confined than at present. <sup>History of the Counts of Holland.</sup> The *Frisons* encroached upon one quarter, and the bishop of *Utrecht* on the other. Possibly indeed the provinces of *Holland* and *Groningen* were not at that time separated by that immense bay called the *Zuyder-Zee* <sup>e</sup>. All that tract of land, now overflowed by the sea, might formerly have consisted of low, swampy marshes. This is the conjecture of Sir *William Temple*; and it seems corroborated by observation, and the great number of islands and sand-banks that block up the passage into the bay. However this may be, we have the testimony of *John of Leyden*, that *Holland* contained only four cities, *Dordrecht*, *Haar-*

(A) For the ancient history of the *Batavians*, and History. We have pretended to exhibit no more than other inhabitants of the *Netherlands*, the reader may a few striking features, to render the Modern History consult the 14th, 15th, and 19th volumes of our Ancient more complete and uniform.

<sup>a</sup> JUL. CÆS. Comment. lib. vii.

<sup>b</sup> TACIT. Hist. lib. v.

<sup>c</sup> SÆTON. in Galb. TACIT. lib. vii.

<sup>d</sup> JOH. LEYDEN. l. v. c. 4.

<sup>e</sup> HERMAN. ad ann. 1047.



A. D. 868.

A. D. 1047.

A. D. 1062.

lem, *Leyden*, and *Delft*, at the close of the eleventh century. Historians are unanimous, that *Tbieri*, general of *Charles the Bald*, was the first count of *Holland*. He was invested in that dignity by the sovereign, against the inclinations of the people, who hazarded a battle, and were defeated in the field, in defence of their liberties. Afterwards they revolted, forced *Tbieri* to take refuge with his king, and were a second time conquered, and forced to submit. To confirm the count in his new dignity, and secure him against future rebellions, *Charles* put to death every man who possessed any authority in the country <sup>a</sup>. It is farther asserted, that *Lewis*, brother to *Charles*, invested the same *Tbieri* in the province of *Zealand*; yet it is more consistent with the known policy of *Charles* and *Lewis*, to suppose that *Tbieri* only acted as his governor, or lieutenant. Of the immediate successors of this count we know nothing. Some historians speak of a *Tbieri*, marquis of *Vluerding*, supposed to be the descendant of the first count of *Holland*. His ambition drew him into a war with the emperor *Henry*, out of which his spirited conduct extricated him with honour and advantage. He afterwards, by accident, killed in a tournament the brother of the bishops of *Liege* and *Cologne*, which again involved him in a war. The enraged prelates entered *Holland*, laying waste all before them, and reduced *Dordrecht*. *Tbieri* met them, gave battle, and defeated them; but died of a wound received from a poisoned arrow <sup>b</sup>. His brother *Florence* succeeded to his territories, and with them inherited the war against the bishops, who had levied fresh forces, and again invaded *Holland*. They were defeated by the new count, who did not long survive his victory. In the pursuit he was wounded, and expired a few days after. It not improbable, that the *Tbieri* we have been last mentioning, was the first count of *Holland*, notwithstanding the express assertions of some writers to the contrary; and that the dominion of that province was obtained, not by gift, but by conquest. Both *Tbieri* and his brother *Florence* were ambitious, warlike princes: it is allowed, they greatly extended their territories, and it is not improbable, they incurred the resentment of the emperor, by denying his sovereignty over the province of *Holland*. *Florence* dying, during the minority of his children, *Gertrude*, his widow, took the government into her hands, and conducted the reins with so much address, that she obtained a peace equally advantageous and honourable. Young *Tbieri*, son of *Florence*, was frequently molested during his tutelage by *William* bishop of *Utrecht*. As soon as he came of age, he fully avenged the insults committed by this ambitious and perfidious prelate. We know nothing further of his government, nor indeed of the counts of *Holland*, until the province came under the dominion of the house of *Burgundy*. We are only told, that they were engaged in constant wars with their neighbours and powerful vassals, who were eternally stirring up factions, and exciting revolts, in hopes of recovering their liberty. In a civil war *Florence IV.* lost his life, being besieged, and taken in his own castle, by the lords of *Egmond*, *Brederode*, *Amstel*, and *Waerden*. His son *John* fell a victim to the turbulent and seditious humour of his subjects, notwithstanding he had sacrificed his prime minister *Boerselen*, to appease their resentment <sup>c</sup>.

THOUGH the dignity of count was hereditary, yet before they entered upon the government, the approbation of the barons, the chief lords, and the people, was required, to whom they swore religiously to observe all their rights and privileges. On their accession, the counts made a circuit to all the towns and cities, promising each, in particular, the security of its liberties and peculiar privileges. After they had taken the oaths, the people immediately paid the tax imposed for the support of their authority, which, in general, was very moderate and easy. According to the laws of succession, the female succeeded in default of the male line; hence it was, that the province of *Holland* frequently passed into foreign families, by marriages. At the death of *William IV.* *Margaret*, his sister, succeeded, married the prince of *Bavaria*, and annexed *Holland* to the dominions of her husband. As we cannot enlarge upon this subject, we shall only remark, that when the dukes of *Burgundy* became sovereigns of this province, and indeed of the *Netherlands*, they altered the ancient form of government, appointing a count for the government of each city, and a stadtholder in every province, to administer justice in their name. It was not before the 14th century, that the provincial states were established, or rather renewed. The stadtholder assembled the nobles and deputies from the chief cities, and, in conjunction with them, regulated the affairs of the provinces. Soon the states assumed a power of convoking themselves. This produced numberless disputes between them and the stadtholders. *William I.* of *Orange*, that great assertor of the freedom of his country, was engaged in constant contentions upon this subject, with the provincial states. The debate was referred to the duchess of *Parma*, who decided, that the states had an undoubted right to assemble themselves, but with the knowledge and approbation of the stadtholder. Afterwards the prince obtained a contrary judgment <sup>d</sup>.

<sup>a</sup> JOH. LEYDEN. l. vi. c. 2, 3, 4. Hist. lib. i.

<sup>b</sup> HERMAN. Chron. 141.

<sup>c</sup> Chron. Belgic. p. 120.

<sup>d</sup> CLERC.



- <sup>a</sup> It is mentioned, in honour of *Guelderland*, that it was the last province to receive the Roman yoke, and the first that asserted liberty, upon the decline of the empire. *Charlemagne* bestowed extraordinary privileges on *Nimeguen*, the capital of the province. In the reign of *Charles the Bald*, the people elected *Otho du Pont* their chief, and the government continued many years in his family. It passed from father to son, and would seem to be hereditary, but, in fact, it was elective. The people called the governors tutors, implying, that they elected them for their defence and security. By marriage, the government of *Guelderland* devolved on *Otho*, count *Nassau*, who was approved and confirmed by the people. In his administration, *Guelderland* was erected into an earldom, by the emperor *Henry III.* By his son *Gerhard*, the county of *Zutphen* was annexed to *Guelderland*; but whether by marriage, purchase, or conquest, is not precisely determined. *Henry Nassau*, earl of *Guelderland* and *Zutphen*, extended his dominions, and performed signal services in *Italy* to the emperor *Frederic*. This prince died in 1162, and was so well esteemed, that the people immediately elected his son *Gerhard II.* The whole of *Gerhard's* life was employed in waging war with the bishop of *Utrecht*. He entailed the county on his brother *Otho*, who succeeded him; but the crusade, at that time preached up in the *Low Countries*, healed up the breach, and reconciled the count and bishop. *Gerhard III.* who succeeded his father *Otho*, is distinguished only for encouraging monks, and building monasteries. His son *Otho the Crooked*, after sustaining the strangest reverses of fortune, and living for some time in captivity, raised *Guelderland* to a powerful, opulent, and respectable province. *Arnheim*, *Gosch*, *Bemmel*, *Herderwyk*, and other towns that lay open and exposed, he surrounded with walls, and strengthened by fortifications, conferring upon them a variety of privileges. After mortgaging the city of *Nimeguen* for twenty thousand marks of silver to *William* king of the *Romans*, he attacked and reduced it, annexing this capital of the ancient *Batavians* to *Guelderland*. Towards the close of his life, he was chosen guardian to *Florence V.* earl of *Holland*. The guardianship was disputed with him, but he defeated his enemies in a bloody sea-fight, before *Dyveland*, carried his point, and soon after expired <sup>k</sup>.
- His son *Renaud* was in hopes of enlarging his dominions, by the addition of *Limburg*. With this view, he married a daughter of the duke of *Limburg*; but the duchy was not annexed to *Guelderland* till the death of her brother *Henry*. It was disputed with the duke of *Brabant*, a bloody battle ensued, *Renaud* gained his ends, but he was soon after imprisoned by his ambitious son, and detained a captive for the last six years of his life. While his father lived, *Renaud* surnamed *the Red*, assumed no other title than that of son to the earl of *Guelderland*. His marriage into the house of *Mechlin* produced a war with the duke of *Brabant*, who claimed some part of what *Renaud* deemed his wife's fortune. The duke was defeated, and to the glory of a victory, *Renaud* had the additional honour of erecting *Guelderland* into a duchy, by an edict of the emperor *Lewis* of *Bavaria*. This mark of the emperor's esteem had almost proved fatal to *Renaud*. During his attendanc at *Francfort*, his dominions were invaded by the combined forces of *Liege* and *Brabant*. He flew to the relief of his subjects, met, defeated, and dispersed the enemy. In a word, this prince, so highly celebrated for his valour, clemency, and justice, raised *Guelderland* to the utmost power the province ever attained only to be sunk the lower by the contention among his children.
- THE younger aspired at succeeding his father, the elder maintained his birthright, and both made preparations for deciding the dispute by the sword. *Renaud the Gross*, the eldest, fortified himself in *Tbil*, while *Edward*, the younger, assembled an army at *Nimeguen*. The nobility and people took different sides; *Edward* was victorious; he took his brother prisoner, kept him two years confined, defeated the duke of *Brabant*, and was afterwards slain in a mutiny of his own officers <sup>l</sup>. His death set *Renaud* at liberty, and restored him to his right, which he lived but few months to enjoy.
- <sup>f</sup> BOTH the brothers dying without issue, the confusion of the province was augmented. Their two sisters disputed the succession; the people were divided. The lords of *Eckeren* supported the pretensions of *Margaret*, the elder sister; and the *Bronchorst* faction, always zealous for the younger branch, espoused *William*, duke of *Juliers*, and son of *Mary*, the younger sister. This civil war was brought to an issue only by the death of *Margaret*, by which the claim of the young duke remained undisputed. *William* distinguished his valour in several wars with the duke of *Brabant*, in all which he proved victorious. His dominions fell to his brother *Renaud*, who made war on the earl of *Holland*, fought the bloody battle of *Gorcum*, and died without issue <sup>m</sup>.
- By *Renaud's* death, the duchy of *Guelderland* passed out of the house of *Juliers* into that of *Egmond*. A daughter of *William*, duke of *Juliers*, and grand-daughter of *Mary*, his mother was married to the lord of *Egmond*. Her portion consisted of the duchy of *Guelderland*.

<sup>k</sup> Chron. Geld. p. 19.

<sup>l</sup> Belg. Chron. p. 86.

<sup>m</sup> Id. ibid. Egmond. Chron. p. 52.



*Guelderland* and county of *Zutphen*; but her husband lived but a few days to enjoy this vast accession to his honour and dominions. It was his son *Arnaud* who first took possession of his mother's inheritance. *Arnaud* claimed the duchy of *Juliers* by the same right he held *Guelderland*. He maintained a war to gain possession; but the inhabitants could never be brought to acknowledge his sovereignty: at last, after having governed forty-eight years, he was confined by his own son, tired out with the expectation of succeeding at the decease of a superannuated father. The unnatural *Adolphus* entered upon a dangerous alliance, marrying *Catherine* of *Bourbon*, whence he became brother-in-law to *Charles* duke of *Burgundy*, who punished him for the want of filial duty, by depriving him of his dominions. The duke invited *Adolphus* to his court, endeavoured to reconcile him to his father; but finding him inexorable, he had him arrested, and then released old *Arnaud*, after first obliging him to sell the duchy of *Guelderland*, the county of *Zutphen*, and to disinherit his son. By the death of his father, and the duke of *Burgundy*, slain at the battle of *Nanci*, *Adolphus* recovered his dominions, uniting the dominions of *Burgundy*, *Guelderland*, and *Zutphen*, in his own person. His first wife being dead, he married *Mary*, only child and heiress of *Charles* duke of *Burgundy*, who had been forced into the match by the citizens of *Ghent*. They chose him general of their forces against the *French* king, and *Adolphus* was slain bravely defending *Tournay*. His son *Charles*, born of the last marriage, succeeded, and was taken prisoner and detained fourteen years by the enemy, during which time his aunt was acknowledged sovereign by the people. He no sooner procured his release, than his subjects received him with open arms; and indeed his conduct merited their utmost attachment and fidelity. Nothing could be more spirited and vigorous than the whole series of his administration; but he was at length obliged to yield to the irresistible power of the emperor *Charles V.* by which means *Guelderland* passed from the house of *Bourbon* into the *Austrian* family <sup>a</sup>.

Ancient history of *Zealand*.

WITH respect to the ancient history of *Zealand*, writers differ widely; some asserting that *Lewis le Debonaire* presented the islands that compose this province to the earl of *Holland*, provided he would protect them against the *Germans*; others, on the contrary, affirming, that the emperor *Henry* invested *Baldwin* earl of *Flanders*, in the isle of *Walckeren*, and all its dependencies. One writer in particular agrees to both assertions, and alleges, that the earls of *Holland* and *Flanders* were long engaged in the war for the property of *Zealand*. Certain it is, that the earls of *Holland* had the sovereignty of this province at a very early period; that the two provinces were always united under the same governors, and that they had the same stadtholder, when the desertion of the *Netherlands* produced the union of *Utrecht*. As we have already exhibited a sketch of the ancient history of *Holland*, it would be unnecessary to dwell upon that of a province connected with it in interest, laws, government, and sovereignty <sup>b</sup>.

Ancient history of the province of *Utrecht*.

THE province of *Utrecht* has experienced four different forms of government: first it was dependent on the kings and dukes of *Friseland*; next the government became ecclesiastical; or, in other words, the sovereigns were bishops, who extended their dominion over several of the adjacent countries. *Charles V.* effected the third revolution, by divesting the bishops of their temporal sovereignty, and rendering himself absolute master of the liberties and privileges of the province. The last change of government happened at the general union of the seven provinces, to oppose *Philip II.* While *Utrecht* was dependent on *Friseland*, it necessarily felt the revolutions which were ever changing the situation of that warlike province. *Pepin Heristal* first asserted the liberty of *Utrecht*, and recovered its independency; as he proposed fixing the sovereignty in his family, he omitted nothing that could engage the clergy in his interest. With this view, he not only assembled a kind of ecclesiastical council, but determined to restore the old custom of governing the province by states, in which the bishops and clergy should have voices: the happy influence of this institution shewed how wisely it had been projected; it continued under *Charlemagne* and his successors; and to the provincial state of *Utrecht* is the world obliged for that excellent collection of the ancient laws of the *Franks*. *Pepin Heristal* was not satisfied with diffusing happiness through every part of his own dominions; his soul aspired after a more universal benevolence; he dispatched missionaries to convert the idolatrous inhabitants of *Friseland* to Christianity. *Willidibrod* was sent to preach the gospel among those barbarians; *Utrecht* was erected into an episcopal see by pope *Sergius*, in favour of *Willidibrod*, and he became the first bishop. *Charles Martel* conferred many additional privileges on the infant bishopric; he endowed it with lands, and freely gave away what cost him little more than the trouble of framing the necessary charter. These were indeed happy times for the church; when the whole of piety consisted in liberality to the clergy, and the most profligate could purchase future felicity by founding a convent, or adding a few acres to the ecclesiastical domain <sup>c</sup>.

<sup>a</sup> Chron. Egmond, p. 59. Chron. Geld. p. 26.

<sup>b</sup> Hist. Hedæ. p. 186.

<sup>c</sup> BONIF. epist. ad Steph.



<sup>a</sup> THE first bishops of *Utrecht* laboured assiduously in the vineyard of salvation; their industry and zeal were whetted by the ambition of extending their jurisdiction. As Christianity spread itself over the neighbouring country, so did the authority of the bishops, who made subjection the test of the sincerity of their converts: in a word, the superstitious generosity of the people, so increased the power of the bishop of *Utrecht*, that in a short time he became a powerful temporal prince, able to make head against the earls of *Holland*, the most formidable of the surrounding powers, and even the emperor himself. About the close of the tenth century, a descent of the *Normans*, the pests of *Europe*, almost wholly destroyed the city and province of *Utrecht*; nothing sacred or prophane escaped their fury; churches, houses, and cornfields were set on fire; the city was burnt to ashes, and the cathedral reduced to a heap of ruins; but *Baldric*, who had great interest with the emperor *Otto*, soon rebuilt the episcopal city, and procured such immunities as rendered it the capital of *Holland*, if we may credit some old verses inscribed on the wall of the church of *St. Martin* at *Utrecht*. *Baldric* was the first bishop who coined money by authority <sup>a</sup>.

A. D. 995.

<sup>b</sup> *ADELBOLD*, counsellor of state to the emperor *Henry II.* being elected bishop of *Utrecht*, carried his pretensions farther than any of his predecessors. Some historians allege, that he was the first bishop who made use of the sword to extend his power; but this is certainly a mistake, as we find the bishops engaged in bloody wars at a much earlier period. He maintained a long dispute with the earl of *Holland*, which they decided by the sword; and was afterwards engaged in a war with the earl of *Guelderland*. *Adelbold's* example was copied by his successors, who made equal use of spiritual and temporal weapons to extend their authority. Jealous of their ecclesiastical rights, they became warriors, and compelled where they could not inspire respect: sometimes they were supported by the emperor, but often opposed, their pride giving offence to the imperial authority: it frequently happened that the rigid exertion of their spiritual power, excited revolts among their own subjects; and the election of bishops was seldom unattended with bloodshed. The neighbouring states interposed; the competitors were supported by the earls of *Holland* and dukes of *Guelderland*; so that the sword rather than the votes of the canons generally confirmed the bishops.

A. D. 1017.

<sup>c</sup> As it is not our intention to give a regular succession of the bishops of *Utrecht*, we shall think it sufficient to mention the peculiarities that distinguished this dignity. What right those prelates had to temporal authority, will appear from the following observations. *Utrecht* was originally detached from *Friseland*, to be erected into an episcopal see: the bishops, by extending their authority over the surrounding towns and cities, came to be obeyed as sovereigns; they were elected by the city and chapter, and, after taking possession of the episcopal throne, acknowledged and obeyed as temporal sovereigns. All seditions, tumults, and revolts among the people, were punished as rebellions against the lawful sovereigns. The bishop's jurisdiction extended beyond his own province. *Woerden*, a city properly belonging to *Holland*, had long been the subject of contention between the bishops and earls. *Bodegrave* had likewise occasioned wars between the bishops of *Utrecht* and earls of *Holland*; and although the latter possessed certain castles at *Dordrecht*, where they often resided; yet the bishops claimed a temporal authority over half the island. To the time of *Henry of Bavaria*, the episcopal jurisdiction extended over *Overijssel*, and the greater part of *Friseland*. *Henry* sold the sovereignty to *Charles V.* and in the instrument of sale are reckoned the towns of *Zell*, *Dipenheim*, *Coeverde*, *Oldenzeel*, and the territory of *Drenth*.

<sup>d</sup> SEVERAL changes in the magistracy of *Utrecht* happened under *William de Nassau*: that prelate became the most illustrious of his age, though his parentage was unknown, and his ignorance so extraordinary, that the pope refused him a bull, at a period when no great portion of learning was required to qualify for a bishopric. *William* was engaged in constant disputes with his neighbours, and with his own subjects; at last, their rebellion became so general, that they banished the nobility, who had sided with the bishop; changed the form of government, and lodged the legislative power in the people; artisans and mechanics were divided into companies, each of which had a vote in the election of magistrates. The new magistrates regulated the affairs of the city, changed the seal and the arms in despite of the bishop, who was at last compelled to renounce his dignity.

A. D. 1288.

<sup>e</sup> *WILLIAM* of *Mechlin* was the first of the succeeding prelates who attempted to restore the episcopal authority; his efforts were bold, but unsuccessful: the magistrates of *Utrecht*, seconded by the *Hollanders*, made him prisoner. He broke out of confinement, fled to *Rome*, levied an army, and waged war against his subjects: often vigorous, sometimes vanquished, he fell at last in battle; leaving the magistrates and people in the full possession of their liberties, and the supreme authority. His successor, less enterprising and ambi-

A. D. 1300.

<sup>a</sup> Descrit. GUICCIARDINI, p. 199.



tious, prudently confirmed the privileges of the magistrates, granting them charters to that effect; which he had scarce signed, when he suddenly expired. The succeeding bishops made a handle of this extraordinary event, as if it had been a judgment from heaven to avenge the impiety of surrendering the rights of the church. They endeavoured to recover the authority of which they were unjustly divested; long struggles ensued, and the people, whenever they found themselves unable to resist, called in the assistance of some neighbouring power. *David*, the natural son of *Philip* duke of *Burgundy*, was so violently opposed by the magistrates, that he abdicated the episcopal throne. *Frederic* prince of *Baden* being elected bishop, he retired to *Mentz*, unable to support the seditious humour of his subjects; *Maximilian*, to whom he was allied, opposed his dismissal, and prevailed on him to return to *Utrecht*: he might have lived in peace, had not his ambition and avarice again obliged the people to revolt. *Philip*, the bastard son of *Philip* of *Burgundy*, was next elected: as this prince had always been bred at court, where he had learned only the art of war and politics, he found himself greatly embarrassed with the ecclesiastical dignity. In his spiritual capacity *Philip* acquired no great reputation; he therefore pursued the maxims of a temporal prince, rendered himself respectable by his prudence, and formidable by his valour: the troops of *France* and *Guelderland* experienced his ability in the field. *Erasmus* highly extols this prelate; but his amours drew upon him the censures of the church.

HITHERTO the bishops of *Utrecht* were the friends and allies of the imperial crown; *Charles V.* wanted an opportunity of appropriating the sovereignty to himself; and he succeeded in the following manner: *Henry*, son of the count palatine of *Bavaria*, was preferred to a great number of other competitors, and elected bishop of *Utrecht* by a great majority; he was hardly established in his new dignity, when he cited the senate and magistrates of *Amsterdam* before his tribunal, for permitting clandestine marriages. Instead of obeying the prelate's summons, the *Hollanders* preferred their complaints to *Charles V.* as earl of *Holland*. That prince annulled the bishop's sentence, and removed the excommunication denounced against the senate; declaring both were unjust, arbitrary, and contrary to the privileges of the city. His ambition did not stop here; he encroached on the liberties of *Utrecht*, and so excited the resentment of the people, that one day they shut the gates and denied him entrance. The prelate raised an army, the magistrates called in the forces of *Guelderland*, a bloody war commenced, and the country was desolated by the episcopal forces, who destroyed all before them with fire and sword: he soon, however, was unable to support his army; the troops mutinied for want of pay, and the bishop applied to the emperor for money. *Charles*, like a true politician, seized this opportunity of accomplishing his design; he furnished the sum required, on condition that the bishop ceded to him the sovereignty of *Utrecht* and its dependencies. The first treaty was signed at *Schoonhoven*; but the magistrates and people, incensed at the bishop's dishonourable proceedings, so contrary to their liberties, deposed him, elected another, and resolved to defend their privileges against all the power of the empire. In the short war that ensued, the province was cruelly harassed, but the spirit of the people was invincible: at length, some persons attached to the emperor and the deposed prelate, privately introduced a body of imperial forces into the city, the bishop returned, and made his public entrance, and three days after proposed to the clergy and council the necessity of yielding to the emperor, and making entire cession of the sovereignty to a prince able to protect them, and who would undoubtedly obtain by force what they now had an opportunity of granting as a favour. Warm debates arose in the assembly, but to little purpose, as the town was already in the possession of the Imperialists. At length, all agreed in signing an instrument, whereby the sovereignty was perpetually vested in the house of *Austria*.

SOME years after *Charles V.* united the province to *Holstein* and *Zealand*. An instrument was drawn up, whereby the provinces were to be governed by the stadtholder, cemented so strictly as never to be separated by marriage, sale, bargain or engagement, and united so intricately, that the same laws should take place in all; criminals banished from one province should not be screened in another; in a word, it was proposed, that the government, money, customs, and laws, should be the same in *Holland*, *Utrecht*, and *Zealand*; each however, reserving its own peculiar rights, exclusive of the general union. This plan of union could not, however, for a long time be rendered complete, or fully executed; it was nevertheless renewed in 1584. The other provinces were alarmed at the confederacy; but such arguments were urged as quieted their apprehensions; and the union at last became general among the seven provinces.

No people on earth were more passionately enamoured of liberty, or more obstinate in the defence of freedom, than the inhabitants of *Friseland*. The fortune, the military skill,

\* GUICC. *ibid.* p. 104. *Batavia Sacra*, l. i. ii.

\* GUICCIARD. *Descrit.* p. 199. † *Id.* *ibid.*



- a the power of the *Romans* however prevailed. *Drusus* attacked them in every quarter with such irresistible impetuosity, that they were forced to submit to the *Roman* empire. At the death of this general they revolted, massacred all the *Romans* in the province, defeated the army sent against them under *Apronius*, and again gloriously recovered their liberty, after having lived forty years in subjection \*. Complaints were carried to the emperor *Nero*, that the *Frisons* had not only abjured his sovereignty, but seized upon certain land belonging to the empire, and allotted for the maintenance of the *Roman* troops. The ambassadors of the province boldly appeared at court, asserted to the emperor's face, that no nation exceeded the *Frisons* in equity and valour; protested their desire of living in amity with the *Romans*, but not in subjection; and concluded with demanding a place in *Pompey's* theatre, to which they understood they had a right as ambassadors w.

- b For a long series of years the *Friselanders* enjoyed their liberty; but most historians relate, that on the decline of the *Roman* empire, they fell under the dominion of the *Franks*. *Adalgise*, who is considered as the first Christian king of *Friseland*, refused to pay the *Franks* homage; a war ensued, and *Pepin* was forced to give battle to *Radbode*, the succeeding monarch, who pursued the independent system of his father. *Radbode* was defeated, but his valour procured him *Pepin's* esteem, whose daughter he married. This harmony was of short duration; *Charles Martel* returned with a numerous army, gave battle to *Radbode*, A. D. 715. and was compleatly overthrown, with prodigious slaughter: *Charles* left the *Friselanders* unmolested, while he had other business in hand; but as soon as he was at liberty, he determined to wipe off the late dishonour. He invaded the province with a formidable squadron and numerous army, fought divers bloody battles, and at last so far subdued the spirit of the inhabitants, that they consented to acknowledge his superiority, but not his sovereignty: the former expression was equivocal; the latter would be a plain confession that they were subdued \*. Under *Charlemagne* the province was absolutely conquered, the *Friselanders* agreeing to pay a tribute of thirty pounds of silver annually. It was the policy of *Charlemagne* to govern the province by counts or lieutenants: *Friseland* was assigned to the direction of a governor, with the title of *Potestas* or *Podestad*. *Forteman the Great* was the first person invested with this title and employment; he presided at courts of justice, representing the emperor's person, and executed all the orders of the imperial court. The great services performed by *Forteman* and the *Friselanders*, against the *Saxons*, so won upon *Charlemagne* that he exempted the province from every mark of servitude, declared it free, and left the inhabitants to fix upon what plan of government they thought proper. They made no alteration, but continued *Forteman* for his life in the government.

- c THE administration of *Ludigman*, the second *podestad*, was less fortunate. In his time the province was invaded by the *Normans*, and after the defeat of the *Friselanders* wholly destroyed; those barbarians sparing no sex, age, or condition. *Haarman*, the fourth *podestad*, was in the same manner infested by the *Danes*, enemies no less cruel than the *Normans*. *Sigefrid*, their king, exerted the most despotic tyranny; but the valour of *Haarman* rescued the *Friselanders*, expelled the *Danes*, and slew their king. *Galem*, the next *podestad*, took every precaution to secure his coasts against those swarms of barbarians issuing annually out of the northern kingdoms. All his endeavours could not, however, prevent great numbers from settling in the country, where their descendants continued for a term of years r.

- d WILLIAM, earl of *Holland*, and king of the *Romans*, bestowed many valuable privileges on the *Friselanders*. He hoped, by gaining their affections, he should obtain the sovereignty of the province; but the *podestad* *Sierdama*, supported by a numerous body of the people, declared, they would never betray their country to oblige an emperor; and to convince *William* of their resolution, they struck a medal, on the reverse of which was this motto in *Latin*, "*Liberty prevails over gold!*" This was construed as an affront by *William*. A. D. 935.

- e He led his army twice into the province, and was slain in the second expedition z.

- f MARTENA was one of the most warlike of the *podestads*. He drove away the foreigners, who came in shoals to invade the province, defeated the *Hollanders*, burned the town of *Enckbuse*, the inhabitants of which made a descent on *Friseland*, and laid all the surrounding territory desolate. Many of the noble families, now flourishing in the provinces, are lineally descended from this hero. After his death, the election of a successor produced two violent factions, called *Skirrangbers* and *Wathopers*, which for a number of years filled the country with confusion and discord. *Invingen*, his successor, maintained his post with the utmost difficulty. Besides the domestic troubles, he had to sustain a foreign war against *Albert* of *Bavaria*, who entered the province at the head of a numerous army, upon some provocation. *Invingen* endeavoured, on account of the superiority of the enemy, to keep the *Friselanders* within their camp; but their impetuosity would submit to no restraint. They marched into the open field, fought with the utmost obstinacy, nor yielded victory,

\* Dio, Hist. lib. xlv. v. cxxvi. cxxvii. part. ii. p. 676.

w TACIT. l. xii. cap. 54.

x Chron. Frigedi, Continuat.

y FRIUS Rer. Batav. lib. ix.

z Id. ibid.



before almost their whole army was cut in pieces. *Albert*, leaving garrisons in the other towns, retired; and so low were the *Friselanders* reduced, that several persons refused to accept the dignity of *podestad*. It is probable, that the violence of the two factions rendered the office equally fatiguing, unprofitable, and dangerous. To please both parties, and in some measure close those wounds that brought the state to the last gasp, two *podestads* were elected, one out of each faction. This expedient did not answer expectation; the people ranged themselves under the banners of the different *podestads*, and fought with all the acrimony of inveterate enemies. Ambition had begun the quarrel, and now habitual animosity continued it; for all real cause of dissension was removed by the division and partition of the supreme power. The parties were gratified with all they could require; but they could not be satiated with blood until they had extirpated each other, and ruined their country. In what manner this province became subject to the empire we know not; but a declaration of *Sigismund's*, declaring it unalienable, and imposing a tribute, renders the fact undoubted. Probable it is, that the weaker faction besought the emperor's protection, and, as an equivalent, surrendered their privileges<sup>a</sup>.

A. D. 1417.

A LONG war between *Joan of Bavaria*, and *Philip the Good*, of *Burgundy*, ended in the reduction of *Friseland*, which passed into the house of *Bourbon*. Afterwards the province became subject to the house of *Austria*, but never recovered its liberty until the revolt in the *Netherlands* gave birth to the republic of the *United Provinces*.

Ancient history  
of Overijssel.

WITH respect to the ancient inhabitants of *Overijssel*, there are various opinions among the learned. To avoid critical disquisitions, we shall exhibit that which to us seems founded upon the best authority. All agree that the province was first peopled by a nation called *Salians*; but as several different nations bore this name, the difficulty is, to ascertain which of them first migrated into *Overijssel*. Writers distinguish the river *Iffel* into *old* and *new*; the former was called *Sala*, and the latter was the *Fossa Drusiana*, or communication opened by *Drusus*, between the *Rhine* and the *Iffel*, lower down than their first confluence. On the banks of the *Old Iffel*, or *Sala*, lived a people called, from the name of the river, *Salians*. In their neighbourhood were the *Sicambri*, and both were separated from the *Romans* by the river. *Ammianus Marcellinus* mentions their frequent irruptions, their warlike humour, the battles they fought with *Julian*, the services they afterwards afforded him, and the regard he expressed for this nation<sup>b</sup>. *Tacitus* describes their situation and manners so justly and expressively, that we can entertain no doubt of their having been the inhabitants of that country we now call *Overijssel*, which extends along the banks of the *Iffel*. To strengthen our conjecture, that part of the province bordering upon the river is still called *Salandt*, or the land of the *Salians* (B). And the river itself, which waters the province, was for many ages called the *Sala*<sup>c</sup>.

THE manners and government of the ancient inhabitants of *Overijssel* are admirably painted by *Tacitus*. They had a general, to whom they committed the conduct of the army. He held the title of king, but he was chosen by the people, and his authority circumscribed to narrow limits. The whole legislative power was in the people, and a part of the executive, particularly what regarded punishments. All public affairs were canvassed in general assemblies of the cities, or rather of the clans. Here a priest assisted, whose province it was to preserve solemn order and decorum. Each of the chiefs delivered his sentiments, and was favourably heard, in proportion to his reputation for eloquence, military valour, or patriot virtue. Shouts, cries, and the rattling of arms, notified the approbation of the assembly. Among the *Salians* were three kinds of punishments. Petty criminals were mulcted a horse, cow, or some other animal, which makes their code widely different from the *Salique* law, where fines were always paid in specie. Traitors were hanged on the nearest tree, and infamous persons thrown into the sea, or stifled in mud; and as to quarrels and differences, they were usually decided by single combat. It is absurd to derive the *Salique* law, so celebrated in *Europe*, from the customs of the inhabitants of *Overijssel*. Probability is strongly against this etymon, which cannot indeed be supported by a single argument besides the affinity of names. Several excellent writers have made it appear, that the *Salique* law is nothing more than an abridgment of the code of law in use among the *Franks*<sup>d</sup>.

*CHARLEMAGNE* introduced great changes into the government of *Overijssel*, which he conquered, while the king and army were engaged in *France*. Counts were created governors, to administer justice in the king's name. They were to be assisted by an officer,

<sup>a</sup> WEINPIN. p. 319. SNOC. Rer. Bat. lib. ix. <sup>b</sup> SNOC. lib. xiii. cap. ix. <sup>c</sup> JUN. Batav. cap. ix. TACIT. de Mor. Germ. cap. xii. Anc. Univer. Hist. tom. xvi. p. 206. <sup>d</sup> DANIEL, Dissert. iii. sur l'Hist. de France.

(B) Writers mention a people called *Salians*, towards *Lorraine*, between the *Rhine*, the *Meuse*, and *Moselle*. *Livy* speaks of a nation of this name in *Provence*. Modern authors alledge, that some officers of the imperial court had the name of *Salians*. "*Majores domus aut Sala*." From one or other of these, they pretend to

deduce the origin of the *Salique* law, or that regulation by which the female line is excluded from succeeding to the crown in *France*. It would be entering upon dry and tedious criticism, to follow authors thro' this subject; what we have said is all that can be asserted with probability.



- a termed *Sculiet*, without whom no act of the governor's was valid or legal. In the division of the empire, between *Charles the Bald*, and *Lewis of Bavaria*, *Overyffel* and the other provinces were adjudged to *Lewis*; but he was forced to support his right by continual wars with the emperor *Lotharius*, which desolated the country. Next *Overyffel* became subject to the bishops of *Utrecht*, more oppressive and arbitrary sovereigns than either the emperor, or house of *Bavaria*. This indeed was a power they assumed, but what the people never acknowledged, and which they only exercised when their fortune in war happened to prevail. *Barnulph* was the first bishop who rendered his dominion universal over that province; and he indeed governed it with all the rigour of an ecclesiastic, ambitious of power, and insolent in the possession. He, however, admitted the imperial sovereignty, as appears by his making application to *Henry III.* to confirm him in his jurisdiction. In a word, the intrigue, the capacity, and policy of this prelate, raised him to the sovereignty of *Overyffel*; for as to the emperor's confirmation, it was a mere empty compliment, made with intention to quiet alarms, and lull the jealousy *Henry* might entertain of the growing power of the see of *Utrecht*. At length, however, the inhabitants perceiving the aspiring views of the bishops, determined to set bounds to their authority. The most natural barrier of liberty that occurred, was, restoring the power of the states, an ancient form of government in all the provinces, and long neglected in *Overyffel*, under the kings, counts, and bishops. Whether this resolution met with opposition we know not. Probably the bishops dreaded discovering their real designs, by obstructing a measure so wholesome, so equitable and constitutional. The executive power still remained with them, but the legislative was lodged in the states, and the sovereigns, united in council. The bishops abused even this remnant of their authority. By the permission given them of wielding the sword, they engaged the province in perpetual wars; and though they were generally victorious, yet their conquests served only to depopulate and impoverish the country. *Holland*, *Guelderland*, and *Friseland*, experienced the weight of their arms, but the province almost sunk under the burthen of taxes, and the ravages consequent on a perpetual course of war. Frequently the people, who deduced no benefit from the most brilliant victories, opposed the march of the army, and when they found the bishops engaged in bloody wars, stood spectators of the event, and regulated their conduct accordingly. This cautious conduct of the states proves their inclination to throw off their subjection to the bishops, and likewise their inability, until those prelates were weakened by the violence of their conflicts, the number of their battles, and the extent of their conquests, which it required a constant standing force to maintain.

- But, besides the states, there was another check on the ambition of those warlike ecclesiastics. The lords or barons of the province, many of whom were powerful, and all absolute within their own jurisdictions, frequently armed their vassals, entered into a confederacy, and violently opposed the bishops. Bloody battles were fought, but the fortune of the barons prevailing, animosity and the desire of revenge stimulated them to solicit the protection of the empire, to admit the imperial troops into their strong towns, and to reduce the power of the bishops, by acknowledging a sovereignty more absolute and despotic, because it was more potent and able to enforce subjection. Even the first effects of this resolution proved fatal. The imperial troops, at first introduced, not being sufficient wholly to expel the ecclesiastical army, plundered and destroyed the country, under pretence of defending the privileges of the people. The neighbouring states took advantage of the ruinous condition of *Overyffel*. They made terrible irruptions, and fully revenged the defeats and disgraces sustained from the spirited conduct of the bishops. At last the province experienced a sudden and extraordinary revolution, owing to the prodigality of *John III.* bishop of *Utrecht*, raised to the episcopal throne by one of those bold strokes which the popes sometimes hazarded, to display their power, and procure a confession of their sovereignty. The situation of the empire had obliged the emperor to neglect the affairs of *Overyffel*, the episcopal see was vacant, and the chapter, in which always resided the right of election, raised the lord of *Bronckhorst* to this dignity. However, the pope thought proper to declare this election void, appointing a creature of his own, the secretary of the *French* king, afterwards known by the name of *John III.* The profusion and dissipation of the new prelate soon encumbered him with such an enormous load of debt, as rendered it necessary to mortgage a great part of his territories. He found means to involve the province in his distress; and, to extricate themselves, the states were forced to dispose of several fiefs, which greatly retrenched their extent of dominion. *Zealand*, *Twente*, and *Vollenbove*, were sold to the duke of *Guelderland*, and earl of *Holland*. *John*, however, paying the last tribute to nature, *Frederic Blankenheyden* was elevated to the episcopal throne, and soon redeemed by his penury and avarice what *John* had sold to answer the purposes of profligacy. In particular, he recovered the castle and appennage of *Vollenbove*, in which he spent the last days of

<sup>a</sup> Guicci. Descrip. p. 185. REVII. Hist. lib. 5. <sup>f</sup> REVII. Hist. lib. v. SYLVAN. p. 28. GUICCIARD. de scrit. p. 191.



- A.D. 1412. his life. The parsimony of *Blankenbeymen* would seem to have restored in some measure the power of the bishops. The wealth of the episcopal see gave it influence, enabled the prelates to extend their views, and to build and garrison forts and castles, to restrain the insults of neighbouring states, and to over-awe the attempts of the people to recover their liberty. In this manner *Florence* fortified *Hardenberg*, which he made the place of his residence in *Overyssel*. But all these precautions could not hinder the people from revolting against *David* of *Burgundy*, natural son of *Philip the Good*, who was elected bishop of *Utrecht*. The inhabitants of *Overyssel* threw off the yoke, refused to acknowledge him, disregarded all his spiritual denunciations, and prepared to resist his temporal power. They even had the boldness to accuse the pope of corruption, and affirm that he had been influenced by the duke of *Burgundy's* money to confirm the election. *Philip*, incensed at the affront offered to his son, poured his troops into *Overyssel*, over-run the country with three great armies, and laid siege to *Deventer*. After a siege of nine weeks, the duke of *Cleves* offered his mediation, obliged *Philip* to relinquish the siege, and the province to acknowledge the bishop. *David* held the dignity for forty years, and died in the year 1497. Nothing extraordinary happened from this time, until the province passed into the house of *Austria*, *Charles V.* taking possession, in consequence of the cession made to him of the diocese of *Utrecht*. His son *Philip II.* was acknowledged in 1584; the inhabitants swore fidelity to him, but he did not long keep possession. The rebellion broke out in the *Netherlands*, the tide of faction became strong, and *Overyssel* followed the current of popular humour, entered into the designs of *Utrecht*, and formed a part of the republic of the *United Provinces*.

*Ancient history of Groningen, and the Ommelands, or surrounding territory.*

SOME writers ascribe great antiquity to the province of *Groningen*, deducing the name from some of the most renowned *Trojan* warriors. Such assertions are founded in imagination, and merit no consideration. But a learned antiquarian of that country proves irrefragably, that *Groningen* is the citadel built by the *Roman* general *Corbulo*, to secure the obedience of the *Friselanders*, or at least restrain their irruptions into the *Roman* territories<sup>a</sup>. This allegation is confirmed by a great number of ingenious remarks on the route of *Germanicus*, when he marched against the *Cherusci*, and particularly by the conformity between the governments of *Groningen* and of ancient *Rome*. In the former we find a senate, invested with sovereign authority, consuls, prætors, censors, and ædiles, and, occasionally, a dictator. Several of the laws appear to be founded directly on the *Twelve Tables*; and yet, after all, there are scarce any monuments of the *Roman* power remaining. From these circumstances we must infer, that *Groningen* was originally a *Roman* colony, which, towards the decline of the empire, raised itself to independency. It became afterwards subject to the bishops of *Utrecht*, though we are not particularly informed of the steps by which those prelates acquired the sovereignty. In the eleventh century, *Groningen* was a flourishing city, had a very extensive territory, but was nevertheless dependent on the see of *Utrecht*. The inhabitants revolted against *Godfrey* the bishop; he laid siege to the city; it was valiantly defended against *Godfrey* and the earl of *Holland*, and at length relieved by the emperor's interposition, who reconciled the bishop and the citizens. In this war *Groningen* lost a great part of its territory. The city afterwards became the subject of contention between the see of *Utrecht* and the earls of *Holland*. Each pretended a right, and the emperor claimed to himself the power of acting in quality of umpire, as feudal lord. Some time after *Groningen* flourished exceedingly, grew so wealthy and powerful, that, like *Rome*, the city aspired at the conquest of the neighbouring provinces, especially of *Friseland*. *Albert* of *Saxony* was sent by the emperor *Maximilian* to check the designs formed by the *Gruns*, for so the inhabitants of *Groningen* were called. The emperor proposed reducing *Friseland* under his own obedience, and thought it could not be more commodiously effected than by protecting the provinces against the ambitious views of the *Gruns*. A war ensued; *Albert* laid siege to *Groningen*, and the citizens repelled all his attacks with the utmost valour and magnanimity. After suffering extreme hardships, they entered into a treaty with the bishop of *Utrecht*, whereby they consented that a judge should be nominated by the prelate, to preside in the city, but under the direction of the magistrates, and with this proviso, that the city should be left in the full possession of liberty. Under the protection of the bishop they hoped to escape the imperial yoke; however, when it was proposed that they should restore to the emperor their conquests in *Friseland*, the *Gruns* boldly declared, they would rather hazard all than evacuate what had been purchased with their blood. The congress broke up, and the war was renewed with *Albert* of *Saxony*, whom they defeated. *Albert* died of chagrin, and left his disgrace to be renewed by his sons, *Henry* and *George*, who attacked the *Gruns* with great violence and impetuosity. *Groningen* applied for aid to the duke of *Guelderland*<sup>b</sup>; but the consequence was, that, after a tedious and ruinous war, the city was surrendered to the emperor *Charles V.*

A. D. 1490.

A. D. 1536.

<sup>a</sup> Vid. sub. Hist. Utrecht.

<sup>b</sup> MENSIO. ALTINO. descrip. agr. Batav. Frisii. p. 54.

<sup>c</sup> HEDA, p. 341.



- a As to the *Ommelands*, or country surrounding *Groningen*, it formerly composed a sovereignty independent of the city. That quarter called the *Fivelingo* was governed by consuls, generally chosen out of the principal inhabitants. On the decline of the state, the consular dignity dwindled into the office of *Eschevin*, or magistrate of justice. Several civil wars were lighted up by the ambition of certain families to obtain the consulship; and this might possibly be the reason why the dignity declined. The people found it necessary to retrench the authority of that supreme magistrate, in order to restrain the ambition of competitors, induced by the elevation in which it placed them, to aspire at the office. In the year 1280, a war broke out among the candidates for the consulship, that almost terminated in the destruction of the country. Houses were burned, fields destroyed, old men, b women, and children massacred with the most savage barbarity, and unrelenting animosity.

- ONE circumstance shews, that part of the *Ommelands* was subject to the spiritual jurisdiction of the bishop of *Utrecht*. *Ludolphus*, one of the bishops, laid the whole territory of *Fivelingo* under a severe interdiction, for having espoused certain persons prosecuted for the violent death of a clergyman. But the *Ommelanders* long refused to acknowledge the sovereignty of the bishops of *Utrecht*, after they were possessed of the supreme authority of *Groningen* <sup>k</sup>. Nothing shews more clearly that they were an independent, free people at a late period. This farther appears from the frequent wars carried on between them and the city. In the year 1232, the cantons, if we may so express it, of *Fivelingo* and *Drenth*, c united against the city of *Groningen*, and formed an alliance offensive and defensive. They were indeed defeated in every engagement, owing to a new kind of arms used by the *Grunts*, but still they maintained the war with great obstinacy. It ended, however, greatly to the disadvantage of the *Ommelanders*, most of their chiefs being carried prisoners to *Groningen*, or slain in the field of battle. Another war broke out in 1252, in which they fully revenged the disgraces of the succeeding rupture. A mortality appeared among the cattle of *Friseland*, which made the *Grunts* raise the duties upon all merchandise, and particularly cattle, sent to their markets by the *Ommelanders* <sup>l</sup>. The inhabitants of *Fivelingo*, shocked at their oppression, and the barbarous disposition of profiting by the misfortunes of their neighbours, formed an alliance with the other cantons, raised an army, and laid siege to d *Groningen*. So spirited were the endeavours of the allies, that *Groningen* was forced to capitulate, consent to have her walls demolished, and all the forts and outworks raised. We shall close this account with observing, that the cantons were independent of each other, and only united by interest. Each had its own army, laws, and political maxims. They made war upon each other, and shewed every other prerogative of sovereignty. The differences of individuals became frequently the occasion of a war between the cantons, and nothing was more common than to see the whole country laid desolate for the most trifling circumstance. It was this want of union that at last brought the *Ommelands* under the dominion of *Groningen*, a more firm and compact body. This much, we apprehend, will be sufficient to convey an idea of the ancient history of the *United Provinces*. The detail was too e minute for an ancient history; yet is it a necessary introduction to the account we propose giving of the origin, rise, and progress of the republic of *Holland*.

### S E C T. III.

*Of the origin of the dissenters in the Netherlands, and the first seeds of the rebellion that began to appear in the year 1566 and 1567.*

- f T H E *Netherlands* came into the possession of the house of *Austria*, by the marriage of *Mary of Burgundy* to *Maximilian*. Upon the emperor's resignation, with the whimsical design of ascending the papal throne, the *Seventeen Provinces* devolved, by right, on don *John*, prince of *Spain*. This prince died young, and left a son who did not long survive his father. *Philip le Beau* was the next heir by the death of these two princes, the one the brother, and the other the nephew of *Joan of Arragon*, his spouse. He mounted the *Castilian* throne in the year 1505, and died the year following, leaving his son *Charles V.* a minor, under the tutelage of *Lewis XII.* of *France*. *Charles* ascended the imperial throne by election, he succeeded to the kingdoms of *Spain* and *Naples* by inheritance in right of his mother, and to the *Netherlands*, as nearest heir to his grandfather. At his accession several of the provinces, now composing the republic of *Holland*, claimed a kind of independency; but the policy, power, and warlike disposition of *Charles* soon g reduced them under his obedience. When he resigned the imperial diadem into the hands

*Introduction to the history of the United Provinces.*

<sup>k</sup> BUCCHER. Not. ad Hedam. p. 255.

<sup>l</sup> ANONIMI CONTINUAT. Menalcine, tom. iii. p. 288.



of his son, the *Low Countries* were in a most flourishing condition; at least that part now termed the *Spanish Netherlands*. *Philip* could reckon in this small portion of his vast dominions above three hundred and fifty cities enclosed by walls, and six-thousand-three-hundred towns, all considerable, wealthy, and commercial. The number of the inhabitants was prodigious for the extent of the country. The *Flemings* were remarkable for their skill in navigation, their assiduity in commerce, and valour in war. Under the mild government of the house of *Burgundy* they became excellent artizans and rich merchants; during the warlike reign of *Charles* they were made soldiers, or rather they improved those military talents already arrived at considerable perfection by the perpetual ruptures among themselves, and disputes with their neighbours. This was the situation of the *Netherlands* when *Philip* came into possession. That prince was supposed perfectly to understand the art of reigning. He was master of vast talents, and could give peace or war to *Europe* without stirring from his cabinet. The *Flemings* had approved their loyalty to his predecessors; and yet, by a strange fatality, by the influence of superstition, and from a certain haughtiness of conduct, and arbitrary maxims which he adopted, *Philip* lost the affections of the *Flemings*, and a great part of his dominions. No period of history is more striking than this, and no war more important than the revolution which placed seven small provinces in a state of independency, in despite of the utmost efforts of the most powerful monarch in *Europe*. It is remarkable, that only the poorer and less populous provinces recovered their freedom; and that, in consequence of their liberty, they rose to an unparalleled height of grandeur and affluence, amidst all the horrors of a war, the most tedious, ruinous and oppressive that can be imagined. Roused more by despair, than well grounded hopes, and feebly assisted by the neighbouring powers, they encountered the most celebrated generals of *Christianity*, backed by the veterans of the *Spanish* monarchy, supplied with the money, and directed by the counsels of the richest, the most politic, and ambitious monarch of the age. The princes of the house of *Nassau*, who were the soul of the provinces, and the genuine assertors of liberty, were too inconsiderable to maintain armies above a single campaign; yet did their detestation of the *Spanish* nation, their love of liberty, their perseverance and courage, enable them to surmount every difficulty, excite a spirit of freedom throughout all the *Netherlands*, and form leagues, which, though of short duration, contributed however to the great design of effecting a revolution, and throwing off the galling yoke of servitude and subjection. In a word, the great grandson of *William I.* prince of *Orange*, became, in a little more than a century, the arbitrator of *Europe*, and the chief bulwark against the aspiring views of the house of *Bourbon*, of that very monarchy by which his predecessor was proscribed<sup>1</sup>.

The first causes  
of discontent in  
the Netherlands.

THE different characters of *Charles V.* and *Philip* were soon perceived by the nobility of the *Netherlands*, and this circumstance offered the first cause of chagrin. *Charles* was a warrior, he always appeared at the head of his own armies; whereas *Philip* embroiled *Europe*, governed states, and commanded armies by orders issued from his cabinet. The father was courteous, affable, and free of access; the son, grave, austere, and harsh in his manners. The one accommodated himself to the disposition and humours of the different nations under his government; the other was altogether a *Spaniard*, and discovered a partiality for that nation, which could not but prove disgusting to his other subjects. *Spaniards* engrossed the royal favour, they alone enjoyed *Philip's* confidence; to them all places of trust and profit were given; and the nobility of the *Netherlands* were excluded from a share in the government of their own country; at least, the places they enjoyed were of an inferior nature, and themselves subjected to the contempt and caprice of foreigners.

To these causes of discontent were superadded others on the score of religion; than which nothing more universally influences the human mind. The doctrines of *Luther* were already established in *Germany*; those of *Calvin* had taken deep root in *France*. The persecutions carried on against the reformists of both were of the utmost benefit to *England* and the *Netherlands*. The vast commerce of the latter required an accession of inhabitants, and the fugitives were joyfully received, without inquiry made into their religious opinions. The natural inconstancy of the human mind renders it fond of novelty; new doctrines, the most absurd, spread sometimes with inconceivable rapidity; but those of *Luther* and *Calvin* were adopted in the provinces with unusual credit, because they were congenial to liberty. *Charles V.* had published rigorous edicts against the *Lutherans*; and it is confidently reported, that in the *Austrian* dominions no less than a hundred thousand persons perished under the rod of persecution; but, instead of diminishing the reformists, their number was every day increased. *Mary* queen of *Hungary*, sister to the emperor, and governante of the *Low Countries*, observed the progress of the contagion; she endeavoured

<sup>1</sup> Mod. Univ. Hist. tom. xxi. b. xix.



- a to soften the emperor, and invited him into the *Low Countries*, to behold with his own eyes how persecution began hereby.<sup>m</sup> Charles prudently dropt his severity; but Philip proved inflexible. The more narrowly to watch over the reformists, an inquisition, similar to those of *Spain* and *Italy*, was established: nothing could be more odious to the *Flemings* than this detestable tribunal, which they loaded with just execrations, not doubting but their lives and liberties would soon become the victims of its tyranny and cruelty. The people in general were not more incensed at the establishment of the inquisition, than the clergy were at his erecting a number of new bishoprics, under pretence that the present dioceses were too large for the bishops to have an eye over their whole flocks. To maintain these new dignities, it was necessary to suppress several abbeys, and assign their revenues to the bishops.
- b Thus the abbots, instead of possessing the first place in the assembly of the states, were forced to yield the precedence to the bishops, and content themselves with an inferior station. Instead of three dioceses, the provinces now saw themselves encumbered with no less than seventeen; of which three were arch-bishoprics, that of *Mechlin* being given to cardinal *Granvele* with the dignity and authority of primate. The inferior clergy exclaimed against this proceeding, as an usurpation of the rights of the church; the nobility called it an innovation dangerous to their liberty, by introducing so many new members into the great council; and the people murmured at this additional restraint on liberty and conscience, by making such a number of spiritual tribunals dependent on the king and the apostolic see. In short, persons of all ranks and degrees
- c cried out against the inquisition and the new bishoprics, as a direct breach of the king's oath. But of all the discontented party, only two particularly distinguished themselves by their birth, their capacity, their alliances, services, friends, and employments: these were *William* of *Nassau* prince of *Orange*, governor of *Utrecht*, *Holland*, and *Zealand*; and count of *Egmond*, governor of *Flanders* and *Artois*, who drew upon them the eyes of all *Europe*. The former was born in *Germany*, of protestant parents; but having entered young into the service of *Mary* queen of *Hungary*, and afterwards into that of *Charles V.* he conformed to the religion of the court, became a great favourite of the emperor's, and received the most substantial marks of his confidence and friendship. Count *Egmond* was a native of the *Netherlands*, and enjoyed the most considerable posts, honours, and distinctions civil and military.
- d He gained great reputation at the famous battle of *St. Quintin*, and commanded in chief when the victory at *Gravelin* was obtained. Those two persons, very opposite in their characters, were equally esteemed and beloved. *William* of *Nassau*'s genius was better adapted to the cabinet than the field; he was prudent, penetrating, popular, and plausible; his eloquence was specious, and his discernment happy in unravelling the most mysterious intrigues and negotiations. On the contrary, *Egmond* was a warrior, free in his speech, open in his conduct, familiar in his behaviour to the soldiers; but too sincere and honest for a courtier. He publicly expressed his resentment against the late severe edicts, the establishment of the inquisition, and the regulations made in the church; while the prince of *Orange*, then a hostage in *France* for the execution of the peace of *Cambray*, discovered the design formed by *Henry II.* and king
- e Philip, of exterminating the protestants, and gave notice of it to his friends in the *Netherlands*.

- f We have already seen cause sufficient for discontent, but the public murmuring grew louder, when Philip's intention of fixing his residence in *Spain* was known, when it was seen that he put the government of the *Netherlands* into the hands of the dutchess of *Parma* his natural sister, assisted by the counsels of *Granvele*, a detested ecclesiastic; that a demand of money was made for the support of the foreign troops, with which the provinces were oppressed; and that *Granvele*, in the king's name, had, at the general assembly of the states, in a particular manner recommended the persecution of the protestants, and made work for the inquisition. Before the king's departure the states respectfully petitioned that the foreign troops might be withdrawn; Philip thence perceived that his designs were suspected: he pretended to approve of the request; but, instead of complying, he resolved to prevaricate, by appointing the prince of *Orange* and count *Egmond* to the command of three thousand *Spanish* troops left in the country: both however refused the employment, as unconstitutional; but the truth is, they aspired at the government of the *Netherlands*, and were chagrined at the disappointment. What above all gave umbrage to the nobility, was the elevation of cardinal *Granvele*, in whose hands the chief direction of affairs were placed; they could not with temper behold the superiority of a person of obscure birth, an ambitious crafty churchman, and furious zealot. Three councils were
- g established at *Brussels*, one to preside over the laws and courts of justice; a second to direct

<sup>m</sup> GROT. Annal. l. i. p. 12. LE CLERC, l. i. p. 2. p. 25. \* GROT. l. i. p. 11. & seq.

<sup>n</sup> TEMPLE'S Mem. c. i. p. 23. BENTIVOG. p. i. l. i.



every thing respecting peace or war; and the third to manage the revenues: but the duchess of *Parma* was particularly ordered to consult *Granvele* in every matter, and place her chief confidence in that prelate<sup>a</sup>.

A. D. 1560.

*Remonstrances made to the duchess of Parma, and to the king.*

THE duchess no sooner arrived at *Brussels* to enter upon the government, than complaints poured in upon her from the ecclesiastics, against the proposed establishment of new bishoprics. She endeavoured to appease them with soothing expressions, refused introducing the new bishop at *Antwerp*; but said, that the king's orders must be executed in all the other provinces. The people exclaimed against the inquisition already beginning to exercise its tyranny. The prince of *Orange* and count *Egmond* blamed the cardinal, by whose advice it was erected. This prelate had likewise incurred the displeasure of *Philip de Montmorency*, count *Horn*, for having obstructed his promotion to the government of *Guelderland*. They carried their grievances to the governante, and the prince of *Orange* strenuously insisted upon assembling the states general, to apply proper remedies to those disorders, which must infallibly destroy the constitution, and overturn the government. *Granvele* opposed this proposition with violence; which determined the prince of *Orange*, count *Egmond*, and count *Horn*, to write to the king, that the only possible means of restoring the tranquillity of the provinces, was by removing the cardinal, whose insolence rendered him odious to the people. They promised, if their request was granted, to support the crown, the governante, and the established religion, with all their power and influence. *Philip* long deferred returning an answer to this letter; at last he replied, that it was not usual with him to remove his ministers, without suffering them to give an account of their conduct. He added, that he should be glad to have a more explicit account of the transactions in the *Low Countries*; he invited either of the noblemen to *Spain* for that purpose, and assured them of a favourable reception. An answer so general and unsatisfactory, obliged the prince, *Egmond*, and *Horn*, to write again in a more pressing strain, and acquaint the king, that they could not with honour assist at the council, while they were exposed to the insults of the cardinal. *Philip's* answer was so gracious, that they were encouraged to pass such affronts and mortifications on *Granvele*, as obliged him to retire to *Spain*; a conduct which the king never forgave.

*Cardinal Granvele resigns.*

A. D. 1564.

*The decrees of the council of Trent published.*

CARDINAL *Granvele's* resignation did not produce the expected effect. *Viglius* and count *Barlaimont*, two of his creatures, were admitted into the council of state. They possessed the governante's confidence; and trod exactly in the cardinal's footsteps. They pushed on the inquisition to persecutions, stigmatized the principal nobility as disaffected heretics, and broke out in the most ungovernable zeal for the catholic religion. Their violence appeared so unseasonable, that one of *Philip's* ministers represented to him the danger of a general revolt of the provinces, unless the rigour and severity of the inquisition were mitigated; to which that prince replied, "He had rather be without subjects, than be a king of heretics." Agreeable to these sentiments, he published the decrees of the council of *Trent* in all his dominions, ordering they should especially be enforced in the *Low Countries*, notwithstanding they were diametrically opposite to the rights and liberties of the provinces. It is said, the prince of *Orange* gave offence by the remonstrances he made on this head; it is certain, that the proposal for investing the council of state with the whole power, and abolishing the two other councils, in which *Viglius* and *Barlaimont* had great influence, met with violent opposition. The divisions produced in the council by this motion, the difficulty of establishing the decrees of the council of *Trent*, and the bold spirit of the people, who had wrested out of the hands of the inquisition certain persons condemned to be burnt for heresy, greatly disturbed and embarrassed the duchess of *Parma*. She approved of the scheme suggested in council of sending count *Egmond* into *Spain*, to inform *Philip* of the state of affairs; but the prince of *Orange* remarked, that it was of the utmost consequence the count should have clear and explicit instructions; by which he was thought to point at *Viglius*, nominated to attend the ambassador. *Egmond* was well received, the king remitted the rigour of the edicts and of the inquisition; all tumults and discontents were appeased, the prince of *Orange* and his friends were consulted by the governante in the conduct of affairs; and she, in return, was obeyed and honoured. The prince of *Orange*, however, entertained suspicions about the sincerity of this change in the king's disposition; and even declared publicly, that *Egmond* was either over-reached by the policy, or bribed by the money of the court of *Spain*.

*Count Egmond sent into Spain.*

A. D. 1565.

*A project for extirpating the protestants.*

THE prince's conjectures, with respect to the latter, were too well founded; in the beginning of the following year, the queen-mother of *France*, and her son *Charles IX.* had a conference with *Isabella* queen of *Spain*, at *Bayonne*; the duke of *Alva* assisted, and it was pretended that this interview had no other object than a tender expression of love between the mother and her children; though it was shrewdly suspected, that the extir-

<sup>a</sup> GROTIUS. l. i. p. 11. & seq. BENTIVOGLIO. p. 14. <sup>b</sup> LE CLERC. l. i. p. 5. <sup>c</sup> BENTIVOGLIO. p. 11.



- a pation of the protestants of *France* and the *Netherlands* was here concerted. The prince of *Orange* made the first discovery, which was afterwards confirmed by an acknowledgment, that religion formed a part of the subject of the conference; and by the king's letters to the dukes of *Parma*, disclaiming the interpretations put on his instructions to count *Egmond*; ordering that the decrees of the council of *Trent*, and the imperial edicts, should be strictly observed; that the utmost assistance of the civil power should be given to the inquisition; and that all heretics should be put to death without remission. Astonishment and dread first appeared in every face, upon the publication of the edicts; rage succeeded, written libels were published, bold speeches uttered, and dangerous cabals formed against the government. The public indignation was increased by the terrible spectacles every day presented by the inquisition, of men perishing in the flames on account of religion. The constancy of the sufferers strongly moved the passions of the beholders, weakened the opinion of their guilt, heightened the detestation of the punishers, and inspired them with sentiments of revenge. Open mutinies of the citizens in several towns appeared, the prisons were forced, and the unhappy convicts rescued out of the hands of the executioner. A confederacy of the nobility was formed, never to suffer the inquisition in the *Netherlands*, under the force of edicts, visits, commissions, or any other shape or denomination this terrible tribunal should assume, as being contrary to all laws sacred and prophane, and the most arbitrary, execrable, and iniquitous species of tyranny ever devised or invented by human genius, fruitful in wicked expedients. The confederacy became general, and was subscribed by a multitude of catholics as well as protestants; by nobles and burghers, merchants, tradesmen, and peasants.\*
- b So unexpected and formidable a shew of resistance disconcerted the dukes of *Parma*; she found that all resolutions of force and rigour would be unsafe for the government, now too weak to enforce them by the weight of authority. The confederates, headed by *Henry de Bredenrode*, descended from the old earls of *Holland*, and much respected in the country, went in a body to *Brussels*, and in bold terms petitioned the governante to abolish the inquisition, and recal the edicts against liberty of conscience. It was disputed in the council of state whether they should be admitted to an audience; but their numbers were so formidable, as to render a denial hazardous. The dukes used every possible means to appease the confederates; but they insisted so peremptorily on the terms of the petition, that she was forced to dismiss them with an absolute promise they should be granted; for which purpose she immediately employed all her interest with the king. In the mean time, strict injunctions were laid on the inquisition, not to persist in their persecution of heresy. Sir *William Temple* alledges, that *Philip*, in consequence of the governante's remonstrances, granted all that was required, but too late; all other historians affirm, that he was inflexible, and the dukes could procure no better conditions than that the heretics should henceforth be hanged instead of being burned. Even this appeared a concession unworthy of the king; the royal name was therefore forbid to be used.†
- c BEFORE the confederates proceeded to extremities, they sent deputies to *Madrid*; but, according to *Bentivoglio*, they were refused admittance into the king's presence. It appears however, from circumstances, that they found means of representing to the king and council, that the disturbances in the *Low Countries* arose from the detestation in which people of all degrees held the inquisition. Their remonstrances produced no other effect than a kind of promise couched in equivocal terms; and it was soon perceived that the governante had express orders to resume her severity, and punish with the utmost rigour every deviation from the established religion. Irritated with this conduct, the people broke out into open acts of rebellion; in several towns of *Flanders*, *Holland*, and *Utrecht*, the mob assembled, destroyed the churches, pulled down images, beat the officers of the inquisition, and committed a thousand irregularities, the effects of barbarous rage and brutish resentment: still however the nobility and more wealthy inhabitants kept themselves within bounds. They were unsatisfied with the government, but they dreaded the consequences of popular tumults as the greatest of misfortunes. Many of them united their councils and forces with those of the governess, to suppress the seditious and turbulent humour of the people. The prince of *Orange* and count *Egmond* were the chief instruments of the repose that ensued. Their moderation, authority, and the veneration in which they were held, operated so powerfully, that had the government made but reasonable concessions, the public tranquillity might have again been restored, and the affections of the *Flemings* regained.‡
- d THE submission of the people served only to augment the security of the government. A new oath of allegiance was now administered by the governante, and all persons obliged

A. D. 1566.

A confederacy formed against the inquisition.

The king evades the petition of the confederates.

Prince of Orange retires to Germany.

\* GROTIUS, l. i. p. 20. LE CLERC, l. i. p. 7.

† BENTIVOGLIO, p. i. l. ii. p. 18.

‡ LE CLERC, lib. i. p. 18.



A. D. 1567.

The duke of  
Alva with an  
army sent to  
the Nether-  
lands.

A new coun-  
cil established.



to swear they would regard as traitors and enemies to their country, all whom the king should think proper to proscribe. *Egmond*, and great numbers of the nobility, took the oath; but the prince of *Orange* refused to alter the usual form required by the laws of his country. He said it would be unnatural in him to swear the destruction of his wife and family who were protestants, and of consequence in the number of the proscribed. In the mean time, the promise made by the governante was wholly neglected. The persecution went on with redoubled violence; the fury of the inquisition seemed enraged by the short suspension of their authority. Thousands of wretches groaned under the extremity of torture, and breathed their last in bitter execrations poured out on the authors of their misfortunes. Troops were levied to support their diabolical tyranny, and the resolution was taken at court to send the duke of *Alva* with ten thousand veterans to put the last hand to the miseries of the people, and the despotism of the court. Upon advice of this final resolution, the prince of *Orange*, count *Broderode*, count *Hoogstrade*, followed by great numbers of the nobility and people, retired into *Germany*, apprehending they could not remain in safety under a government supported by violence and the sword \*.

HAD *Philip* now granted a general amnesty, it is more than probable he might have still commanded the respect of the people; but it appears that he was not satisfied with enjoying his possessions in tranquillity; he must punish his headstrong subjects with the loss of their privileges. The duke of *Alva*, with the troops destined for the *Netherlands*, embarked at *Barcelona* on the 20th of *May*. The army was composed of the best *Spanish* and *Italian* soldiers, commanded by the most experienced officers which the wars of *Charles V.* and *Philip II.* had bred up in *Europe*. These on their arrival were joined by two thousand *Germans* raised by the dukes of *Parma* during the late commotions. Such a force, under so renowned a general as the duke of *Alva*, a man haughty, morose, severe and cruel in his disposition, could not but terrify the inhabitants, who beheld these vast preparations with astonishment, submission, and despair. From the character of *Alva*, the princess of *Parma* foresaw that he would assume the chief authority, though his commission extended no further than the supreme command of the army. She endeavoured but too late to divert the king's intention of sending an army into the *Netherlands*, assuring him that all was now in perfect tranquillity, the heretics either in custody or banishment, and sufficient garrisons in all the towns. She represented the outrage offered by the presence of such a military force to the privileges of the provinces; but *Philip*, who regarded these privileges as chimeras, pursued his resolution †.

ON the duke's arrival at *Brussels*, the governante received him civilly, and told him that if the prince of *Orange* and the lords of his party were treated with lenity, she was persuaded they would continue firm in their loyalty; but such measures were not agreeable to the proud *Spaniard*. He immediately made public the powers vested in him by the king, whence it appeared that the authority of the governante was greatly retrenched. *Alva* had not only the command of the troops, but the presidency of the councils of state, justice, and the finances. He had the right of punishing or pardoning crimes, and of rewarding all who had faithfully served the king. In a word, he was chief in every thing, civil and military, and the dukes of *Parma* was reduced to a mere cypher. He begun his government with removing the edicts against the reformists, and exerting the full power of the inquisition. Instead of the ordinary judges, *Alva* established a council of twelve, to take cognizance of the late tumults, and punish with the utmost rigour all who were suspected on account of their religion. The cruelty of this tribunal soon gained it the appellation of the bloody council. One *Vergas* a *Spanish* lawyer, was set up at the head of this iniquitous council, and it became a proverbial expression in Spain, *That the gangrene in the Low Countries required the keen knife of Vergas*. To this extraordinary board was committed the care of mortifying at pleasure the rights and privileges of the province. It annihilated the authority of the council of state, which never afterwards met but in the duke's chamber. All who had presented petitions, requesting that the severity of the religious edicts might be mitigated, were treated as traitors. Those who, from the necessity of the times, had connived at the protestant assemblies, were regarded and punished as heretics. But blood alone was not the object of this tribunal; it confiscated the estates of every one, convicted of any tendency to schism, or of shewing the least favour to the reformists. Part was appropriated to the crown, the greater portion went into the pocket of the duke of *Alva*, and was assigned as a reward for the barbarity of the judges. The towns in vain lamented the breach of their charters, the people of their liberties, and the Knights of the Golden Fleece of the privileges of their order. Their murmurs were muttered only in whispers; the terror of the new council seemed for a time to have deprived them of the spirit of resentment. Multitudes of people retired out of the province

\* Id. *ibid.* GROT. lib. i. p. 29.† *Auct. sup. citat. ibid.*



a into places of security ; and the duchess of *Parma* was at length forced to acquaint the king, that above an hundred thousand persons had, in a few days, withdrawn with their effects and money ; that the country would be quite depopulated, and that as a governante The duchess of Parma resigns. would then be unnecessary, she begged leave to resign before she should have the mortification and disgrace of being left alone in the *Netherlands*. Her request was readily granted, and the whole power given to the duke of *Alva*, with the same titles and badges of authority the princeps enjoyed <sup>2</sup>.

ONE of the duke's first exertions of the supreme authority was the imprisonment of the counts of *Egmond* and *Horn*. The prince of *Orange*, his brother count *Lewis* of *Nassau*, the counts of *Hoogstrate*, *Bregue*, *Guylemberg*, *Broderode*, and others, were cited to appear b in six weeks ; but they refused to acknowledge the authority of the citation, which determined the duke of *Alva* to condemn them as guilty of treason. Not contented with these processes against the nobility, he heightened, if possible, his cruelty to the people. Several protestants condemned of attending their religious meetings, were dragged by horses, with their hands tied behind, to the place of execution, where they ended their lives in the most excruciating tortures. The declarations of the inquisitor-general of *Spain*, and the king's edicts, confirmed and approved all that had been done by the duke of *Alva* ; whence it appears, that his barbarity was not entirely the result of his own inhumanity, but of the instructions of a merciless and proud prince, set at too great a distance from his subjects to feel their misfortunes. In a word, the king was inflexible in his determinations to c root out heresy, and deprive the provinces of their privileges ; *Alva* was the cruel minister of his purposes. The new army was fierce, brave, and insolent, desiring nothing so much as a civil war, in which they might enrich and distinguish themselves ; the people were enraged, but overawed and unheaded ; all was seizure, confiscation, imprisonment, torture, blood, horror, and despair ; punishments executed, and meditated revenge. *Egmond* and *Horn*, without regard to their quality, to their merit in the services performed to the king and his father, were publicly beheaded at *Brussels*, with marks of ignominy more cruel than death. The execution of *Egmond*, and the confiscation of the prince of *Orange*'s estate, the two great favourites of the people, broke all patience. They now called aloud for revenge, invited the prince of *Orange* into their country, and seemed to lose all dread of the d veteran troops of *Spain* in the desire of recovering their liberty <sup>3</sup>.

IN the mean time the prince of *Orange*, and his brother *Lewis* of *Nassau*, were labouring to form alliances among the protestant princes in *Germany*. He made use of every argument that could influence the understanding or move the passions ; he obtained promises, but could raise only a handful of soldiers. He published several manifestos, which appeared so strong and unanswerable to the emperor *Maximilian*, that he voluntarily sent an ambassador to *Spain*, exhorting the king to treat his subjects in the *Netherlands* with less rigour. The embassy was haughtily received, *Philip* continued his prosecutions, and the prince of *Orange* his preparations to enter into the *Low-Countries*. It was thought adviseable to divide the *Spanish* forces, by making excursions on every side. A detachment of *Germans*, in e the service of the prince, attempted to penetrate into *Brabant*, and surprised *Ruremond*, but they were defeated by a corps detached against them by the duke of *Alva*. Another party, chiefly *French*, were preparing to push into *Artois*, on the side of *Picardy*, when their officers were arrested by order of *Charles IX*. *Lewis* of *Nassau* was at first more successful in *Frise-land*, of which count *d'AreMBERG* was governor. His design was to gain possession of *Groningen*, but he was opposed by the count at the head of a body of *Spanish* forces. *Lewis* encamped in an advantageous post ; but the *Spanish* soldiers, who despised his raw and undisciplined army, attacked him contrary to the opinion of the count. They were defeated, and *d'AreMBERG*, with above six hundred soldiers, was killed. In this action fell *Adolphus* of *Nassau*, the greatest loss which the reformists sustained. Count *Megen* was immediately dispatched to *Groningen*, to collect the scattered remains of the *Spanish* army ; and his vigilance prevented *Lewis* of *Nassau* from drawing any important consequences from his victory <sup>4</sup>.

THE duke of *Alva* was greatly chagrined at this first check to his power, and resolved to march in person to revenge the insult. A general muster of his army was made in every part, and he appeared so formidable, that the counts of *Nassau* and *Hoogstrate* were forced to retire to the banks of the river *Ens*, where they posted themselves in a situation which would have proved impregnable, had not the duke of *Alva*'s expedition prevented their cutting down the dykes, and the scarcity of money excited a mutiny in their army. Thus labouring under insurmountable difficulties, they were attacked and easily g defeated by the duke, who put to the sword all who fell into his hands. The whole in-

<sup>2</sup> STRADA, lib. vii. GROTIUS, lib. ii. p. 30. LE CLERC, lib. ii. p. 15. <sup>3</sup> GROTIUS, lib. ii. p. 29. <sup>4</sup> Id. ibid. TEMPLE, c. 1.



fantry were cut in pieces, the cavalry were saved by the conduct of count *Schauwenberg*,<sup>a</sup> count *Lewis* escaped in a small fishing-boat, and the baggage and artillery were taken by the enemy, whose loss was very inconsiderable<sup>c</sup>.

ALL this while the prince of *Orange* was moving towards the frontiers of the *Netherlands* with an army of 28,000 men, which he had levied upon his credit. After passing the *Rhine* and *Moselle*, and raising contributions in *Aix-la-Chapelle*, he defeated a party of the *Spaniards* at *Noiteim*. From thence he sent a defiance to the duke of *Alva* at *Mastricht*; but the duke ordered the trumpeter to be hanged, and returned no answer. The prince's superiority obliged him to act defensively; the loss of a battle he was sensible would be attended with the loss of the *Netherlands*, and the scarcity of money he knew must soon disperse the prince's army. He contented himself with defending the passages of the *Meuse*;<sup>b</sup> but the prince found means to elude all his endeavours. Had he, upon crossing the river, suddenly attacked the duke, it is probable he might have succeeded; but the soldiers being wet and fatigued, he halted a night to refresh them, gave the enemy time to recollect themselves, and even so to fortify their camp, as rendered an attempt extremely hazardous. It was obvious that the prince intended to penetrate into *Brabant*. The reduction of any towns in this province would have greatly forwarded his affairs, and the duke of *Alva* took all due precautions to obstruct his progress. He fortified *Tillemont*, *Louvain*, and *Brussels*, and considerably augmented their garrisons, at the same time that he cut off all provisions, and extremely harassed the prince's army. He baffled the prince's design of seizing upon *Tongres*, but could not prevent his receiving succours and refreshment at *St. c* *Trois*, and gaining the frontiers of *Brabant*. Here several skirmishes, but nothing decisive, passed between the armies. While they lay encamped at no great distance, the prince, on receiving advice that the prince of *Conde* had sent him a body of 4000 auxiliary foot and 500 horse, advanced towards *Judoigne* to effect a junction. In crossing the *Geate*, his rear was attacked by *Alva*, and after an obstinate conflict totally defeated and dispersed. This check, and the death of count *Hoogstrate*, mortally wounded in the action, damped the ardour of his soldiers; they deserted in crowds, and he was prevented by this and a variety of other cross accidents, from establishing winter-quarters in the *Low-Countries*. In the end, he was forced to disband his army, and return into *France*, whence he afterwards returned to *Germany*<sup>d</sup>.

He disbands his army

A. D. 1569.

Now was the duke of *Alva* at full liberty to act at pleasure. After entering *Brussels*<sup>d</sup> in triumph, he caused diligent search to be made after all who had been assisting to the prince of *Orange*. He destroyed the prisoners taken in the last campaign by the sword, the halter, by fire, and by water; his success only increased his insolence and cruelty. He now projected nothing less than the whole extirpation of the reformed religion, by means the most barbarous and inhuman; of enslaving the provinces, by erecting citadels in all the towns and cities, and of rendering himself despotic and arbitrary. He began with building a strong citadel in *Amsterdam*. The city in vain represented its privileges, and the prejudice which commerce must sustain from a military government. But the duke was deaf to all except pecuniary arguments; a large sum of money was given him, and the project laid aside. The duke's insolent vanity irritated the people more than his cruelty or avarice.<sup>e</sup> He ordered his statue to be erected in the citadel, built at *Antwerp*, to enslave this populous, rich, and commercial city. Here he was figured treading upon the necks of two smaller statues that represented the two estates of the *Low Countries*. So public an insult created universal discontent, and roused a spirit of revenge in the people, which soon received additional fuel. The duke demanded larger supplies for the support and reward of his victorious troops than ever had been granted. Assembling the states at *Brussels*, he required the hundredth part of every man's estate should be immediately secured to the government, to answer the present occasions; and that for the future, a tenth of all the merchandize, and a twentieth part of all immoveables, should be annually levied as a standing revenue. Fear obliged the states, after a feint resistance, to grant the first. Whatever inconveniencies might attend the payment of so large a sum, as the hundredth part of the whole wealth of the *Netherlands*, yet it was but temporary; whereas the annual tax on trade and estates would be a perpetual intolerable burthen, to which they resolved never to assent. Upon the duke's persisting, they petitioned the king by deputies, but obtained no redress. The duke employed promises and threats to enforce his demands, but the states remained fixed and unalterable. Incensed at their resistance, he sent the regiment of *Lombardy*, and several companies of *Spanish* foot, to live at free quarters in the province of *Utrecht*. He altered the names of *tythes* and *twentieths*, for other terms less odious; but the people were not to be gulled out of their property by so thin a varnish. The year was drawn out in disputes, altercations, menaces, promises, and supplications; but nothing was concluded, the duke was inflexible, and the provinces were determined<sup>f</sup>.

New Commotions in the Low Countries.

<sup>a</sup> LE CLERC, lib. i. p. 17. p. 39.

<sup>d</sup> GROT. lib. ii. p. 37.

<sup>e</sup> Id. p. 43. LE CLERC, lib. i. TEMPLE,



<sup>a</sup> In this situation of affairs, admiral Coligni advised the prince of Orange to fit out a squadron of privateers to cruise on the *Spanish* and *Flemish* merchants, seize upon the supplies of money sent to the *Netherlands*, and thereby raise a fund for the support and maintenance of an army. The poverty of the reformists, who had but few resources from private contributions, was the greatest difficulty they had to encounter. In hopes of remedying this evil, the prince approved of the project, and a squadron was equipped under *Adrian de Bergues*, *Lancelot de Broderode*, *Albert d' Egmond*, and several more of the prince's adherents. In a short time they took an infinity of merchant-men, and even defeated some of the king's squadrons; but as no regular plan for saving the profits was concerted, they greatly annoyed the *Spanish* commerce, but contributed little to forward the designs formed by the prince of Orange. This shoal of privateers went by the name of *Gueux*, or *sea-beggars*; their number daily increased, and they became the terror of *Spain* and the *Netherlands*. However excusable the first design of the prince of Orange might have been, certain it is, that an improper use was made of the commissions he granted. The captains of ships paid no regard to flags; their sole aim was the acquisition of wealth, in which pursuit friends and enemies were plundered without distinction. Commerce was entirely ruined, and their depredations were no less pernicious to their country, than the despotism and cruelty of the duke of *Alva* <sup>(A)</sup>.

*Multitudes of privateers fitted out by the reformists. A. D. 1570.*

To the calamities consequent on the licentiousness of the *Gueux*, was added another; to which the maritime provinces of the *Netherlands* are perpetually exposed. Terrible floods broke in, overturned the dykes, and overflowed the lands, sweeping before them their houses and cattle. The catholics attributed the misfortune to the vengeance of the saints, for the indignity lately put on their images by heretics; and the protestants, with just as much reason, called it a judgment from heaven, on the oppression, the tyranny, and the barbarity of the court of *Spain*, and her infernal ministers.

<sup>c</sup> ALL the last year the prince of Orange was making preparations for levying an army, to oppose the violent measures of the duke of *Alva*, and rescue his country from impending destruction. His agents were employed in all the provinces to raise subscriptions of money. The same methods were still continued in *Holland*, *Zealand*, and *Utrecht*. The latter province was considerably over-awed by the strong citadel, and numerous forces; but an infinity of evils, to which the tyranny of the government exposed it, attached the inclinations of the inhabitants more strongly to the prince of Orange <sup>b</sup>.

<sup>d</sup> WHILE the country was impoverished and ruined by the late exorbitant tax of a hundredth penny, by the dreadful inundation, by the licentiousness of the privateers, and other misfortunes, the duke of *Alva*, impatient of farther delay, ordered the edict concerning the tythe on merchandize, and twentieth penny on immoveables, to be published at *Brussels*. The people refuse to pay, the soldiers levy by force, tradesmen shut up their shops, the peasants forbear the markets, and the utmost scarcity prevails in the cities. Terrified with these appearances, the states offer to pay a subsidy of two millions of florins; but nothing would satisfy the enraged duke but the tax, in the manner he proposed. In *Brussels* the drum beat to arms, and orders were issued immediately to hang up all who refused compliance. The officers and guards were preparing to execute the inhuman mandate, when advice arrived of the surrender of the *Briel*, in the island of *Voorn*, at the entrance of the *Meuse*, to the *Gueux*. *Lumey*, who commanded the *Orange* squadron, made a descent on the

*The edict for levying the taxes published.*

<sup>f</sup> GROT. lib. ii. p. 36, 37.

<sup>g</sup> LE CLERC, lib. ii. p. 25.

<sup>h</sup> Id. p. 26.

(A) As the reader may be curious to know the origin of the term *Gueux*, and farther particulars relating to the people called by that name, the following short account may prove entertaining. When *Broderode* delivered his petition against the inquisition to the duchess of *Parma*, his attendants, appearing mean in their clothes and apparel, were called in derision by the courtiers *Gueux*, or *beggars*. The name was soon after applied to the whole party, and comprehended all who differed from the doctrines of the church of *Rome*. The cruelty of *Alva* and the inquisition had forced them to retire, in multitudes, out of the provinces. Many of the poorer, and more desperate, had fled into the woods, lived by rapine and plunder, and upon the prince of Orange's first descent sallied from their holds and fastnings, doing incredible mischief to the *Spaniards* and the duke's forces. When the scheme was suggested by admiral *Coligni*, of raising money by cruizes upon the *Spaniards*, the *Gueux* embarked in the enterprize, composed the

body of the seamen, and were the most implacable enemies of the duke of *Alva* and the whole *Spanish* nation. First they were commanded by the count *St. Mark*, and maintained tolerable order. They sheltered, watered, and sold their prizes in creeks and small harbours of *England*, tho' prohibited by queen *Elizabeth*, then at peace with king *Philip*; sometimes in the rivers, creeks, and ports of *Friseland*. In time they confined themselves not to *Spanish* captures only, but seized upon the shipping of all nations, giving for a reason, that they were excluded as enemies from their ports. In their descent on the *Briel*, they carried the town by assault, openly professed the reformed religion, declared against the taxes and tyranny of the *Spanish* government, and laid the foundation of the revolt that immediately ensued in several towns of *Holland*, *Zealand*, and *West-Friseland*, where the *Spanish* garrisons were expelled, the oaths of fidelity to *Philip* revoked, and allegiance was sworn to the prince of Orange (1).

(1) Grot. lib. 2. p. 38. Le Clerc, 2. Temple, 6.



island with forty ships, destroyed the churches, broke the images, and executed the priests, <sup>a</sup> but offered no violence to the other inhabitants <sup>i</sup>.

A. D. 1572.  
The duke of  
Alva is opposed.

HOWEVER unimportant the conquest of so inconsiderable a place might appear, it alarmed the duke of *Alva*, and produced the most extravagant rejoicings in *Brussels*. The duke regarded it as the harbinger of further opposition, he dropped his taxes and executions for the present, and diligently applied himself to suppress the growing spirit of rebellion. He withdrew the garrison from *Brussels*, and detached it under the command of *Maximilian Hermin Bossu*, against the *Gueux*. This officer, endeavouring to force *Briel*, was defeated by the *Orange* faction, and forced to retire with loss to the island of *Beyerland*. Trifling as this victory might seem, it served to animate the depressed spirits of the enemies to the government. The prince of *Orange*, sensible of the advantage of possessing this island, <sup>b</sup> exhorted the nobility of his party to fortify and garrison it; his orders were obeyed, by which means he soon became master of *Delfshaven*, a town situated on the opposite banks of the *Meuse*. It appeared in *Bossu's* retreat, how unpopular the duke of *Alva* was in every part of the country. *Dordrecht* shut its gates against him. *Rotterdam* refused to admit his troops; but *Bossu* obtaining permission that they should pass through in separate small divisions, seized the gates, and began a general massacre of the inhabitants. Four hundred souls perished by the sword, the town was pillaged, the women ravished, and every possible act of barbarity and inhumanity committed. Retribution was soon made by the enemy. *Alva* had detached *Ossorio d'Angulo* with a body of forces to secure *Flushing*, a considerable port in *Zealand*, and to erect a citadel. The inhabitants denied *Ossorio* ad- <sup>c</sup>mittance, shut their gates, and seized *Pacaneo*, a famous engineer, who had come to measure the ground where the citadel was to be erected. Apprehending that attempts would be made to force them to submission, they petitioned *Lumey*, admiral of the *Gueux*, for assistance; and he furnished them with two hundred men, under the command of captain *Treflong*. On the arrival of this reinforcement, the *Spanish* engineer was hanged, and an unsuccessful attempt made to surprise *Middleburg*, the capital of the island of *Walcheren*. Not dispirited by this disappointment, the *Zealanders* assiduously prosecuted their cruizes upon the *Spaniards*, and obtained so much wealth as purchased large store of arms and ammunition at *Antwerp*. Joined by great numbers of *English* and *Scotch* adventurers, they ventured to attack the duke of *Medina Cali*, sent with a strong squadron to succeed the <sup>d</sup> duke of *Alva* in the government of the *Netherlands*. Such was the fury and impetuosity of their onset, that the duke was completely defeated, a great number of his ships were taken, and a booty, amounting to near a million of livres, was carried off by the *Zealanders*.

NorthHolland  
and Mons re-  
sented by the  
Orange fac-  
tion.

NEGLECTING the marine was not the least of the errors committed during the duke of *Alva's* administration. This he now endeavoured to repair, ordering a squadron of ships to be equipped at *Amsterdam*, to bridle the insolence of *Lumey* and the *Zealanders*, while he busied himself in raising an army to oppose the prince of *Orange* and *Lewis de Nassau*, who were making great preparations in *Germany* and *France*. To augment the army in the field, he had draughted most of the garrisons. By this means the prince's friends gained possession of *North Holland*; and *Lewis de Nassau* was projecting a scheme to surprise *Mons*, <sup>e</sup> with the inhabitants of which he held a secret correspondence. The design succeeded, which emboldened most of the cities and towns in *Holland* to declare against the government. The count *de Bergues* gained over several cities in *Overyssel*, *Guelderland*, and *Friseland*. In a word, the revolt became so general, that the duke of *Alva* soon found he could not long resist the torrent. He now, when too late, published an edict to appease the people, setting forth, that he would consent to remit the most oppressive taxes, if the states could suggest any other means of raising the necessary supplies. He convoked the states-general to meet at the *Hague*, but his orders were now disregarded; and the states, in contempt of his authority, assembled at *Dordrecht*, and invited deputies from the prince of *Orange*, the nobility, and the towns that had declared against the governor. Here money was raised <sup>f</sup> to enable the prince of *Orange* to begin his march. His forces amounted to fifteen thousand foot and seven thousand horse. He had promised to advance three months pay, and was enabled to perform his engagements, by the liberality and public spirit of the states-general and the cities. Several regulations respecting the future support and government of the army, were made on this occasion, and their proportions of the public expence assigned to the several provinces and cities. It was farther resolved, that nothing of importance should be transacted without the privity and consent of the prince of *Orange*; and that the prince on his part, should not negotiate a peace with the king or his lieutenants, contrary to the sentiments of the states. In a word, the prince shewed the address with which he could manage and direct the people. Without the name of sovereign of the pro- <sup>g</sup>vinces under his government, he possessed the authority. He presided at all military opera-

The states-general declare  
against the  
duke of Alva.

<sup>i</sup> GROT. Annal. p. 39.

<sup>k</sup> Id. p. 41. LE CLERC, lib. i. p. 28.



a tions by sea and land ; made and disposed of offices at pleasure ; assembled the states ; and published all ordonnances and regulations, relative to the present state of affairs, without controul. However, he conducted matters with the utmost delicacy, and used his power with great moderation, to avoid giving offence to the free spirit of the *Hollanders*. The popish religion was banished the churches, and persons of that persuasion were, with great caution, admitted into public employments. Not only the king's revenue and church-tythes were appropriated to the public service, but the estates of those who remained firm in their loyalty. In short, the most vigorous measures were taken for resisting the tyranny of *Spain*, and those persons who had refused the tythes to the government, voluntarily subscribed their all to support a party formed in defence of liberty <sup>1</sup>.

b WHILE the states-general were employed in ways and means to maintain an army, the prince of *Orange* advanced to *Ruremonde*, which he took by assault, on the refusal of the city to supply him with necessaries. From thence he marched to *Brabant*, and raised heavy contributions. He took *Mechlin*, *Oudenarde*, and *Dendermonde*, and could not restrain the excesses of the soldiers, who pillaged the churches, massacred the priests, and committed other shocking barbarities. Next he approached to *Mons*, besieged the duke of *Alva*, with design, if possible, to engage him to give battle. The duke baffled all his endeavours to force him, and carried *Mons* by capitulation ; but such was the popularity of the cause, and the prince of *Orange*, that the whole *Spanish* dominion, lately so insolent and exulting, was ready to expire in the *Netherlands*, had it not been revived by the massacre of the protestants in *Paris* <sup>m</sup>.

The prince of Orange's successes.

WHILE the fate of *Mons* was depending, the states of *Holland* met at *Haarlem*, to deliberate on the defence of the province and the prosecution of the war. *Amsterdam* was in the enemy's hands, which greatly obstructed all their measures. It was therefore determined to besiege it, and the enterprize was committed to *Lumey*, chief of the *Gueux*. After putting the states to considerable expence, the project miscarried through *Lumey*'s misconduct. Water was his element, but his vanity led him to display his abilities as a land-officer. He made regular approaches, and was foiled in every attempt <sup>n</sup>.

d THE reduction of *Mons*, and the depression of spirits consequent on the massacre at *Paris*, obliged the prince of *Orange* to retire to *Holland*, and encouraged *Alva* to invest *Dendermonde*, *Oudenarde*, and *Mechlin*. The latter, being in no condition to resist, opened its gates ; but the *Spanish* soldiers chose to scale the walls, to give an air of assault to the enterprize, and countenance to the horrid barbarities intended. Protestants and catholics were massacred without distinction, the priests were not sacred, virginity was deflowered, and infants violated before the eyes of their bleeding parents. The town was pillaged, and the booty estimated at four hundred thousand florins. All the other towns were evacuated by the garrisons, and loaded with heavy impositions by *Alva*. As to the prince, he had now removed the seat of war into the province of *Holland* ; only this province and *Zealand* remained firm to their engagements ; the rest, overwhelmed with consternation, capitulated on the best terms they could procure from the government. However, the country being strong by its nature and situation among the waters, and more so by a fierce, rough, and sturdy people, proud of their ancient fame, recorded in the *Roman* story of being the obstinate defenders of liberty, unemasculated by trade and luxury, and the most implacable enemies of *Spanish* tyranny, it was determined to make the most vigorous resistance. *Frederic de Toledo* was dispatched by *Alva* to begin the operations in *Holland*. He had already reduced *Zutphen* and *Guelderland*, and, flushed with success, appeared before *Waerden*, which he summoned to admit a garrison. The burghers replied, that they were intrusted by the king with the defence of the place, and could not receive a military force without violence to their privileges and engagements. They soon had reason to repent their firmness ; the town was taken by surprise, and all the burghers, assembled in the great church to take the oaths of fidelity to the king, wantonly butchered. Infants, old men, women, and the sick, were all put to the sword without pity or remorse ; and of all the barbarities hitherto committed, this was the most horrible. It was imagined that the terror inspired by such instances of severity, would reduce the people to obedience, and shake the obstinacy of the other towns. The contrary effects were produced ; rage and despair took possession of every breast, and all determined to suffer the last extremities, rather than submit to so cruel a tyranny.

A change in his affairs obliges him to retire to Holland.

Waerden taken.

f HAVING finished this tragedy, *Frederic* went to *Amsterdam*, to deliberate with the officers of the army about the siege of *Haarlem*. Here it was determined, before they proceeded to extremities, that the city of *Amsterdam* should write to the magistrates, exhorting them, in the most pathetic terms, to submit, rather than incur the punishment inflicted on *Waerden*. The council of *Haarlem* met to take this letter into consideration. Some were for soliciting an immediate reinforcement from the prince of *Orange* ; and others, who appre-

Haarlem invested.

<sup>1</sup> TEMPLE, *ibid.*

<sup>m</sup> LE CLERC, lib. ii. p. 34. UNIV. HIST. Vol. xxiv.

<sup>n</sup> *Id.* *ibid.*



hended the prince was too weak to afford the necessary relief, were for making the best terms possible with the king. Those of the latter opinion were the magistrates. Accordingly, without consulting the burghers, deputies were dispatched to *Frederic* to stipulate conditions. In their absence, *Ripperda*, a gentleman of *Friseland*, strongly attached to the prince of *Orange* and the cause of liberty, assembled the chief burghers, and so animated them against the *Spaniards*, that they resolved to stand a siege, and suffer all the horrors of war, rather than submit. They sent to the prince of *Orange* to acquaint him with their determination, and to implore assistance. Four companies of *Germans* were detached to reinforce the garrison of *Haarlem*; and the deputies, on their return, were seized as traitors to their country, sent to the prince of *Orange*, and by his order beheaded. *Frederic* was prepared to compel the burghers to submission. On the 9th of *December*, he invested the town, after carrying *Sparendam* fort by assault, with great loss and slaughter of his soldiers. A variety of errors were committed in the attack, in the defence, and manner of succouring *Haarlem*. The assailants and defendants had equally shewn themselves ignorant of the art of war, and implacable in their resentment. Obstinacy supplied the place of military knowledge; every difficulty was surmounted by dint of perseverance; and both sides sustained, with unparalleled constancy, the most extreme hardships. Hunger and fatigue harassed the besieged; cold and sickness pinched and destroyed the besiegers. Not the rigours of the severest winter could oblige them to relinquish the enterprize; *Alva* determined to punish the burghers of *Haarlem* at the expence of half his army. The prince of *Orange* used every expedient to relieve the town, but all his attempts were frustrated by untoward accidents, and the vigilance of the *Spaniards*. At last, quite spent with fatigue, despairing of relief, weakened with losses, and totally exhausted of provisions and ammunition, the burghers of *Haarlem* surrendered upon more favourable terms than they could well expect. A few only of the most obstinate were executed, the rest were pardoned on taking an oath of fidelity, and paying an acknowledgment of fifteen thousand florins (B).

and taken.

Several victories gained by the Zeeland fleet.

DURING the siege of *Haarlem*, the *Zealanders* were performing glorious achievements by sea, and gaining victories over the *Spanish* naval armaments. All the efforts of the governor of *Antwerp* could not prevent their carrying off a great number of ships out of the river; but to revenge the insult, and relieve *Middleburg* and *Rammekins*, blocked up by the *Zealanders*, he equipped a squadron, gave battle to *Wertz*, the *Zealand* admiral, and was defeated. After repairing and augmenting his fleet, he again set sail with sixty large vessels, encountered a squadron of *Zealanders* much inferior in strength, and met with his former fortune. Most of his ships were sunk or taken; but he found means to push into *Middleburg*, with the broken remains of his squadron, to the great joy of the garrison, now reduced by the scarcity of provisions to the last extremity. *D'Avila's* disgrace did not end here; for, on his return to *Antwerp*, he was a third time attacked and defeated, with considerable loss, by *Wertz*, who thus repaired the disappointment of an unsuccessful attempt made on *Tolen* <sup>p</sup>.

Soon after the reduction of *Haarlem*, *Alva*, perceiving that his severity answered no other purpose than irritating the people more against the *Spanish* government, published a proclamation, couched in terms so soothing as afforded room for suspecting their sincerity; inviting the *Hollanders* to accept of his majesty's gracious pardon, to lay down their arms, rely on the king's generosity, and submit to his mercy. He gave the strongest assurances, that the utmost lenity would be shewn to those who did not obstinately persist in their rebellion; but the people were not disposed to confide in promises so often violated, nor to throw themselves on the clemency of a prince and governor, who had shewn themselves inflexible, implacable, perfidious, and inhuman. They now were reduced to despair, they expected the worst that could happen, and bid defiance to fortune. The *Spaniards* were preparing to invest *Alcmar*, and the *Hollanders* put every means in practice to resist them. Eight months pay was due to the garrison, who began to mutiny; but contributions were raised, which silenced their clamours. *Frederic* of *Toledo*, with sixteen thousand men, sat down before a town fortified by no regular works, and defended only by three hundred burghers, and eight hundred soldiers, in extreme want of provisions, and without the prospect of relief. *Sancti*, the governor, despairing of being able to sustain a siege, wrote to the prince of *Orange*, that a place destitute of troops, provisions, ammunition, money, and every necessary, ought to be evacuated, and the few soldiers in garrison, and the burghers, saved from falling into

Alcmar besieged.

<sup>a</sup> GROF. ANN. p. 2. LE CLERC, p. 35.

<sup>p</sup> GROT. & LE CLERC, ubi supra.

(B) Sir *William Temple* affirms, that four hundred burghers were put to death in cold blood, in contempt of the capitulation (1); but it appears from other writers (2), that the articles were honourably enough observed, and fewer persons executed than might be expected from the resentment of an insolent and cruel conqueror.

(1) *Temple*, chap. 1. p. 4.

(2) *Grot. lib. 2. p. 33. Le Clerc, lib. 2. p. 35.*



a the hands of the enemy. But the prince of *Orange* so animated them by a letter, penned in his persuasive and irresistible manner, that, to a man, the townsmen, governor, and soldiers, determined to sacrifice their lives, and spill the last drop of their blood in the breach. Perseverance had made the *Zealanders* masters of *Rammekins*, contrary to all hope and probability; the same virtue, the prince observed, might save *Alcmar*, a town of the utmost consequence to the cause of liberty. What particularly inspired the defendants with courage, was the prince's good fortune in surprising *Gertrudenburg*. *Frederic* pushed the siege with great vigour. He ordered the inhabitants of *Haarlem* to work in the trenches, and sustain the first fire of their friends and countrymen. On the 18th of *September*, a battery of twenty pieces of heavy cannon began to play with unremitting fury, a breach was soon effected, the assault given, and repelled, with vigour, though sustained by the bulk of the *Spanish* army. From a *Spanish* officer taken, the garrison were informed, that *Alva* had given orders to retire, in case he failed in the third assault; but if he succeeded, to put all to the sword. Their courage was whetted by this account, and preparations were cheerfully made for withstanding the utmost efforts. *Frederic* was foiled in every attempt; the assailants were driven from the breach with prodigious slaughter; the *Spanish* soldiers refused to mount the walls; the rainy season came on, and rendered the roads impracticable; in a word, the siege was raised, and the town relieved, contrary to expectation, but to the exceeding joy of the prince of *Orange*, and great mortification of *Alva*.

*The siege of Alcmar raised.*

c THIS advantage was attended with another of less importance, but which equally served to inspirit the *Hollanders*. The duke of *Alva's* grand fleet, equipped with great labour and expence, was defeated by the *Zealanders*. Though the action did not prove decisive, it greatly chagrined the duke, as *Bossu*, one of his best officers, was taken prisoner, and his fleet afterwards afraid to look the enemy in the face. The year, and the government of *Alva*, concluded with a meeting of the states of those provinces subject to *Spain*. Here they deliberated on the means of continuing the war, read, and disregarded a remonstrance sent by the prince of *Orange*, complaining of the violence of the duke, demanding the free exercise of their religion for his party, restitution of the rights and privileges of the provinces, and that the foreign troops should be withdrawn. On the second of *December*, the duke of *Alva* quitted the *Low Countries*, with his son, *Frederic* of *Toledo*; and don *Lewis de Requesnes*, appointed to succeed him, began his government with pulling down the insulting statue of his predecessor, erected at *Antwerp*; a popular act that would have produced happy consequences, had not the court of *Spain* been infatuated with notions of despotism and blind superstition.

*The Spanish fleet defeated.*

*Alva resigns.*

#### S E C T. IV.

c Containing the government of *Requesnes*; the siege of *Leyden*; the other various operations of the war; the confederacy of the Provinces, and other particulars until the assassination of the prince of *Orange*, in 1684, under the government of the duke of *Parma*.

THE popularity of the new governor did not long continue. His instructions were to push the war with vigour; and the mutual animosity of the combatants could not but render it bloody and cruel. The first advantage appeared on the side of the prince of *Orange*. *Middleburg*, after a tedious siege and blockade, surrendered. An infinity of expedients were practised in vain for its relief. The obstinacy of the *Zealanders* was invincible; they became masters of this capital, and with it of the island of *Walcheren*.

A. D. 1574. *Requesnes succeeds to the government.*

f LEWIS of *Nassau* was now arrived with a considerable body of forces, to assist his brother the prince of *Orange*. To prevent their junction *Requesnes* opposed the flower of his army. He passed the *Meuse*, surprised *Lewis* near a village called *Noock*, defeated his army, and left the three princes, *Lewis*, *Henry*, and *Christopher*, dead on the field of battle, but deduced no other consequence from so signal a victory, than frustrating the proposed junction of the brothers. Writers differ widely in their relations of this transaction. Some attribute the calamity to the indolence and security of *Lewis*, while others impute it wholly to the mutinous spirit of his troops, who loudly demanded their arrears, at the very time they were attacked by the enemy. In this particular, the *Spanish* general was not much more fortunate. Scarce had the *Spaniards* obtained the victory, when the soldiers formed a mutiny on the most regular and well-concerted plan, deposing all their officers, appointing others, establishing a sort of community, and vesting one of their number with the chief

*Lewis of Nassau defeated and slain.*

*A mutiny in the Spanish army.*

<sup>a</sup> MEURS. lib. iv. p. 259. <sup>r</sup> GROT. Ann. lib. ii. p. 40. <sup>2</sup> METEREN. liv. v. p. 101. REIDAN. lib. i. p. 16. GROT. lib. ii. p. 43. BENTIVOG. lib. viii. p. 167.



authority. *D'Avila*, who then commanded the army, used every means to appease the soldiers, but they were inflexible; complaining that their officers had all the honour and emoluments of the war, while their portion was only the fatigue and danger. The mutineers passed the *Meuse*, proceeded to *Antwerp*, were received and joined by the *Spanish* garrison in the citadel, and at length pacified with a gratuity of four hundred thousand livres, raised by the city, to prevent being pillaged. The anxiety and dread occasioned from this tumult was augmented by another victory obtained by the *Zealanders* over a *Spanish* squadron of forty ships, under the conduct of *Adolphus Hemstede*, most of which were taken or destroyed.

Requesnes  
publishes a  
proclamation.

It was now found that the reduction of the provinces would be a work of time, expence, and hazard; *Philip* therefore at last condescended to less arbitrary measures: by his orders a proclamation was issued at *Brussels*, granting a free pardon to those who had assisted at the protestant religious assemblies, taken up arms, and otherwise violated the laws; but with an exemption of the prince of *Orange*, and proviso, that all admitted into the king's favour, and partaking of his clemency, should produce an attestation of their having solemnly renounced heresy. So limited an act of grace could produce no effect: it was unanimously rejected by the *Hollanders*, and preparations were made for obtaining better conditions, or wholly recovering their liberty.

Leyden be-  
sieged.

In vindication of their conduct they published a counter-proclamation, shewing the intention of the former to be insidious, and declaring their own views to be no other than to obtain the common rights of mankind, defend the liberties of the provinces, and abolish tyranny and cruel oppression. They sent remonstrances to all the powers in *Europe*, particularly bemoaning their situation, and craving that aid and assistance due by humanity; but their chief applications were made to *England*, *France*, and the protestant states of the empire. *Requesnes* perceiving that nothing could be expected from the king's proclamation, resolved upon the most memorable event of the year, the siege of *Leyden*. The prince of *Orange* had given repeated orders for providing the garrison with all the necessaries of a siege; imagining the governor would bend his chief efforts against the town; but they were by a strange fatality neglected, and the inhabitants forced to live under the pressure of a thousand wants and inconveniences, during the most obstinate, bloody, and cruel siege the *Netherlands* had yet beheld. *Valdes*, who commanded the *Spanish* army, offered the most advantageous conditions; but the burghers and little garrison were deaf to all terms, except those of freedom and independency: they relied on their courage, the justice of their cause, and their perseverance in the paths of liberty, for their defence; and indeed their efforts were prodigious, the result of necessity and despair. The whole surrounding country was laid under water by opening the sluices, and *Leyden* almost overwhelmed in the inundation necessary to its defence. Cut off from all succour, except what they received by boats forcing their way through the enemy, they combated every difficulty, and resisted famine, disease, and a powerful enemy, with incredible constancy. It would indeed be impossible to describe the miseries they sustained, reduced at last to live upon the dead carcases of their fellow-citizens: all their efforts would however have been vain, had not providence visibly interposed: a violent south-west wind drove the inundation with such fury against the works of the besiegers, that fearing his army would be swallowed up in the waves, *Valdes* relinquished the enterprize, drew off his army, and exposed himself to a furious sally of the besieged, by which five hundred of his men perished. Thus was *Leyden* most unexpectedly relieved, and the *Spaniards* foiled after undergoing extreme fatigue and hardships, losing the flower of their army, wasting their treasure, and those precious moments, which in so critical a juncture were irredeemable.

The siege is  
raised.

This disappointment drew on *Valdes* the contempt of his troops; they superseded him, and again proclaimed their old commander: a mutiny ensued, they were clamorous for their pay, anarchy and confusion reigned through the whole; they marched to *Utrecht*, declaring they would serve masters who would put the just value upon their merit; they demanded entrance into the city, but met with a different reception than they had done at *Maastricht*. *Barlaimont* commanded, declared them rebels and traitors to their king, gave free liberty to the people to massacre them wherever they were found, and took the most rigorous measures to conquer that mutinous spirit which broke out on every occasion. The rebels attempted to set fire to the gates, but they were repulsed, and their leader slain; upon which they capitulated, were received into favour, and sent to winter-quarters in *Brabant*.

cond mu-  
tiny of the  
Spanish sol-  
diers.

A.D. 1595.  
1 congress at  
Breda.

NEXT year commenced with some fruitless efforts made by the emperor to heal the breach and quiet the disturbances in the *Low Countries*. Negotiations were for several weeks carried on, but neither side would recede enough to come to any conclusion; and the emperor, tired out with vain hopes that his mediation might accommodate the differences, at last renounced the attempt in despair. Some persons indeed imagined, that the ambition of the prince of *Orange* was the chief obstruction to the success of the conferences at *Breda*. Certain it is, that both parties were too violently inflamed to listen to reasonable

<sup>c</sup> Id. *ibid*.

<sup>d</sup> LE CLERC, lib. iii. p. 42.



a terms: *Philip* demanded too much, and the prince yielded too little; both were in hopes that the issue of another campaign would be so favourable as to procure better terms, and both were disappointed; as the prospect of an accommodation was then rather more distant.

*Requesnes* commenced hostilities with the siege of *Baren*, which he took by assault, the garrison retiring to the citadel. *Hierques*, governor of *Holland*, gave the town up to be plundered by the *Spanish* soldiers. The citadel wanted no necessity of defence; but *Vogelsang* the chief officer accepted of conditions, marched out with the honours of war, and was arrested by order of the states of *Holland*, but shortly after dismissed. Next the *Spanish* general appeared before *Oudewater*, a place untenable from the circumstances of its situation.

Successes of the Spaniards.

b The garrison, however, made an obstinate defence, were at last stormed and put to the sword. The town was set on fire, and all except a few churches and convents laid in ashes. *Schoonhoven* was the next object of *Hierques*' military ambition. It was surrounded only by a slight wall, and defended by a few companies of *French* and *German* infantry, placed there rather to retard the enemy than withstand a siege. The *sieur de la Garde* was sent by the prince of *Orange* to the relief of the garrison; and he arrived, after breaking through their works, just as the place was on the point of capitulating. So slender a reinforcement could only retard the fate of *Schoonhoven*; a breach of three hundred yards wide was made in the walls, and the *Spanish* general preparing to give the assault, when *la Garde* seeing that further resistance would be fruitless, capitulated upon honourable conditions. Some other trivial successes attended the arms of the *Spanish* general; after which he invested *Woerde*; but finding the siege would be attended with difficulties, he converted it into a blockade, and was at last obliged to abandon the enterprize, after spending several months before the place, and losing a great part of his army by a vigorous sally on the 24th of *June* 1576. In the mean time *Madragon* reduced the island of *Finart*, standing east of *Zealand*, and performed several actions that raised the credit of the *Spanish* arms.

c STILL however the prince of *Orange* maintained his superiority at sea, by which he frequently reduced the enemy to great difficulties. *Philip* was sensible that the conquest of the provinces could not be effected while the *Zealanders* and *Hollanders* sailed from port to port with impunity, relieved the towns besieged by his army, and blocked up those held by the king's forces. To overthrow this last hope of the enemy, he gave orders that the whole force of *Requesnes* should be applied in reducing the principal sea-ports in *Zealand*, foreseeing that the enemy's naval strength must of consequence be ruined. *Hierques* was directed to keep no greater number of forces in *Holland* than was absolutely necessary, and a prodigious number of vessels were equipped to be assisting in the meditated conquest. The *Zealanders* saw the design, and, determined to frustrate it, attacked the *Spanish* squadron, the greater part of which they destroyed on the stocks and in the harbours. *Requesnes* laboured to repair this loss, and execute the royal mandate. A great number of light vessels were again got in readiness. Three thousand men were transported to *Tolen*, with a view of attacking the little island of *Schowen*, which would greatly facilitate the attempt on *Walcheren*, and the command of the fleet and five hundred land-forces was given to *d'Avila*. It was concerted to pass by a ford at low water: the *Zealanders* perceived them approaching, drew up their vessels in a line, and poured out volleys of great and small shot on the enemy, embarrassed at the same time with the depth of the water, the weight of their arms and wet cloaths. A firm footing on the dry land being at length established, the *Zealanders*, whose element was the water, every where gave way, leaving the *Spaniards* the possession of the open country, and liberty to pursue the conquests of the towns. *Ziriczee* was blockaded, the severity of the winter preventing its being besieged in form, and *Madragon* took every precaution that it should not be succoured; while the prince of *Orange* used every expedient to throw in a reinforcement and provisions. After sustaining great hardships and extreme want, the garrison at length surrendered, and by that means gave promising hopes to the *Spaniards* they might succeed in the reduction of *Holland*.

The Spaniards make an attempt on Zealand.

f It was the loss of *Ziriczee* that first suggested the design of conferring the provinces of *Zealand* and *Holland* upon some protestant prince who should be able to protect them against the tyranny of *Philip*. This affair was not talked of vaguely, but debated and approved in the states of *Holland*. The offer was certainly made to queen *Elizabeth* of *England*; but she for political reasons declined it. Necessity even obliged the states to negotiate with the *French* court, and listen to terms offered by the duke of *Anjou*. The treaty came to nothing, but the prince of *Orange* gained by it the advantage of establishing a mart at *Calais* for the disposal of the prizes made by the *Gueux*.

A. D. 1576. Despair of Holland and Zealand.

g On the other hand, *Philip*, though greatly superior in power, was intolerably distressed for money; above 40,000,000 of crowns were due to the *Spanish* and *Genoese* merchants, and

Situation of Philip.

<sup>c</sup> BENTIVOG. p. 1. lib. ix. au commencement. DEN, p. 284. R.F. fol. 114.

<sup>f</sup> LE CLERC, lib. iii. p. 47.

<sup>g</sup> Id. p. 48.

<sup>h</sup> CAMB-



The mutiny  
among his  
troops, the re-  
volt of the pro-  
vinces.

The destruc-  
tion of Ant-  
werp,

and the paci-  
fication of  
Ghent.

the interest still unpaid now amounted to as much as the capital. The war had besides cost a greater sum sent in specie from *Spain* and the *Indies*, which, with the immense losses occasioned by the stagnation of trade in the *Netherlands*, had quite exhausted the treasury. Large arrears were due to the troops, they were every day mutinying, and some broke out into actual rebellion, doing incredible mischief in the open country, and laying the weaker towns under contribution. To remedy these evils, *Requesnes* demanded a supply of the provinces, and they answered him, by requiring restitution of their privileges, and dismissal of the *Spanish* troops. *Flanders* in particular paid the desired subsidy, by ballancing it against half the damages the province sustained from the misconduct of the governors, and the wars wantonly and unnecessarily excited. While this affair was in agitation, *Requesnes* died of an ardent fever; the council of state took upon them the administration, and the prince of *Orange* seized the opportunity of the confusion that ensued to lay the first foundation of the *Pacification of Ghent*, by which his affairs were considerably retrieved, and the greatest blow given to the court of *Spain* she had yet sustained. All now was anarchy in the *Low Countries*. The garrison of *Ziriczee* mutinied for want of pay, and to appease them the council of state sent a hundred thousand livres, upon which the *Walloon* regiments under *Madragon* seized, after expelling the *Spanish* soldiers, wounding and murdering their officers. This did not unite the *Spanish* mutineers among themselves; they turned out the few remaining officers, made new appointments, and being joined by the garrison of *Lillo*, marched to the number of 2000 men towards the capital, committed horrible outrages, overwhelmed the inhabitants of *Brussels* with consternation; and on the 26th of *July* seized upon *Albost*, confined the principal burghers, and hanged up a king's officer. The most favourable conditions were offered by the council of state, in order to appease the tumult, and provisions were sent to the mutineers. This created suspicion in the inhabitants of *Brussels*, that the meeting was excited by the connivance of the council, with a view of ruining the provinces without incurring the resentment and odium consequent on any appearance of legal oppression. They arrested the council, declared the *Spaniards* rebels, and took measures in concert with the other cities and provinces for expelling foreigners out of the *Netherlands*. A confederacy to this purpose was formed between the provinces of *Hainault*, *Artois*, and *Flanders*, to which all the rest except *Luxembourg* acceded; and don *John of Austria*, who had entered the *Low Countries* in quality of governor and successor to *Requesnes*, was obliged to keep aloof, and live in obscurity in *Luxembourg*, until the storm should subside<sup>1</sup>.

THE prince of *Orange* was all this while profiting by these commotions. He had long laboured to have the states-general convoked, and he now saw them not only assembled, but preparing to make head against the *Spaniards*, by a strange vicissitude of fortune, arising from accidents which all his penetration and sagacity could not foresee. United in councils against the common enemy, every measure was taken for reducing the citadels of *Ghent*, *Antwerp*, and *Maestricht*, the chief places in the hands of the *Spaniards*, and what must chiefly contribute to their expulsion. *Ghent* citadel was taken on the 27th of *November*, by the assistance of a strong reinforcement of troops and artillery sent by the prince of *Orange*. At *Antwerp* the states of *Brabant* were less successful. The citadel was vigorously attacked; but the mutineers at *Albost*, entering the citadel to assist their countrymen, a sally was made, the besiegers were driven from their trenches, great part of the town was consumed by fire, and the rest pillaged for three days with every kind of insolence and brutality, at a time when *Antwerp* was the most flourishing and populous city in the *Netherlands*, and indeed among the most wealthy in *Europe*<sup>k</sup>. It is affirmed that the treasure carried off amounted to four millions, besides an infinity of rich merchandise. This terrible calamity united papists and protestants without distinction in a confederacy, and co-operated with the measures of the prince of *Orange* to form the pacification of *Ghent*, which was a confederacy of all the provinces to expel foreign soldiers, to restore the ancient form of government, to refer matters of religion to the several states of the provinces, for ever to unite the other fifteen provinces in the same common interest with *Holland*, *Zealand*, and the prince of *Orange*, to renew the commerce and amity between them, to assemble the states in the manner practised under the house of *Burgundy* and *Charles V.* to suspend all the rigorous edicts of the duke of *Alva* on the subject of religion, until the states-general should take the matter into consideration, to release mutually all the natives made prisoners without ransom, and to restore all things upon the same footing as before the war, and the tyrannical government of the duke of *Alva*<sup>l</sup>.

THE states-general began with soliciting aid from the queen of *England*. Their ambassador had a gracious reception, and *Elizabeth* advanced them 20,000*l.* sterling, on condition the *French* should not be invited into the *Netherlands*, that they would accept

<sup>1</sup> LE CLERC, p. 52, 53, 44. METEREN, p. 125. <sup>k</sup> Vide Pref. <sup>l</sup> LE CLERC, p. 55.



a of reasonable terms of accommodation if offered, and that the loan should be repaid the ensuing year. *Bentivoglio* <sup>a</sup> alledges, that the queen stipulated, that they should make no innovations in religion without the consent of *Philip*, and several other articles not very consistent with her future conduct, and the character of a protestant sovereign of a protestant kingdom. Next a A.D. 1557. cessation of hostilities was agreed upon with don *John*, upon his assurances that every reasonable request of the provinces should be granted. On the 27th of *December*, deputies were sent with proposals to don *John* to disband the foreign troops; but he desired to know what security the states would give for their allegiance after the departure of the *Spanish* forces, and remonstrated against the unreasonableness of disarming the king, while his rebellious subjects were in arms, and ready to seize the first opportunity of deserting their obedience. He likewise demanded security with respect to religion; and insisted so warmly on this head, that it was obvious he had no inclination to part with the *Spanish* army before the provinces of *Zealand* and *Holland* embraced the catholic religion. After much altercation, necessity at length obliged don *John* to grant all that was required, to confirm the pacification of *Ghent*, and dismiss the *Spanish* army. He had the king's authority for his proceedings, the treaty was proclaimed at *Brussels* and *Antwerp* on the 17th of *February*, and don *John* immediately acknowledged governor and the king's lieutenant of the *Netherlands*. Peace and concord were restored, industry renewed, and religious disputes silenced; in a word, the *Low Countries* would again have become the most flourishing and important of the *Spanish* dominions, had not the ambition of don *John*, the false policy and despotism of *Philip*, or some such cause, a third time lighted up the torch of discord, and excited a civil war, never to be appeased but by the total extinction of the *Spanish* sovereignty over the seven provinces of *Holland*, *Zealand*, *Utrecht*, *Groningen*, *Guelderland*, *Friesland*, and *Overijssel* <sup>o</sup>.

*The perpetual edict.*

AFTER the departure of the foreign troops, when liberty began to draw breath, while commerce was again lifting its head, and the arts of peace distributing their blessings, don *John* gave umbrage by the great number of *Spaniards* retained in his court, the confidence he reposed in his *Spanish* servants, the intimacy he chiefly contracted with those persons who appeared dissatisfied with all the measures concerted since the death of *Requesnes*; by demanding the same honours paid to princes of the blood vested with his authority; and the same guard and respect by assuming a power over the officers of the army, and claiming the title and power of captain-general; by interfering in the civil promotions dependent on the states; and by insisting, that if the provinces of *Holland* and *Zealand*, did not immediately agree to every particular of the late treaty, called the *perpetual edict*, all communication with them should be broken off, and they forced into reason by dint of arms. It must be observed, that when the edict was communicated to the states of *Holland* and *Zealand*, they made the following objections by the advice of the prince of *Orange*. That the states general had not established the right of assembling this sovereign tribunal in the persons originally invested with that power by the constitution; that they had authorized an infraction of their privileges, by not procuring the release of count *Bare*, who had done nothing contrary to the laws of his country; that the pacification of *Ghent* was confirmed only under such limitations as subjected it to what constructions and interpretations the king thought proper; that the *Spanish* troops were suffered to carry off the immense wealth they acquired by the ruin and destruction of the *Netherlands*, and the city of *Antwerp* in particular; that no stipulation was made in favour of those dispossessed of their estates; that no mention was made of demolishing the forts, and that they had shewn but little complaisance to the queen of *England*, and the court of *France*, notwithstanding they had in many instances testified their regard for the *Netherlands*. They added, that it were to be wished they had seen all these articles performed before don *John* was admitted into his government, and that every man had previously been put in possession of his estate and effects, as well in the *Low Countries*, as in the duchy of *Burgundy*; an article that in particular respected the prince of *Orange*, dispossessed since the first disturbances of large possessions in *Burgundy* and *Erabant*. For these reasons the states and the prince refused to sign the edict, though they consented to all the articles that did not contradict those specified. Don *John* was strenuous in urging that violent measures might be used to force them to submission. He wrote to the king in cypher, pressing him to this method as the only expedient. The letter fell into the hands of *Henry IV.* who transmitted it to the prince of *Orange*. His secretary *Escovedo* was next sent to *Spain*, under pretence of soliciting money for the payment of the *German* forces; but in reality to represent the necessity of violent measures, and communicate the plan projected by don *John*. Impatient for the return of *Escovedo*, he meditated quitting the country, and actually consulted his friends *Barlaimont* and *Manfvelt* upon the subject. At last, under pretence of compli-

*Don John admitted to the government.*

*He gives umbrage to the States.*

<sup>a</sup> P. 1. lib. x. p. 2. 1.

<sup>o</sup> BENTIV. lib. x. ibid.



and seizes Namur.

menting *Margaret* queen of *Navarre* on her journey to the *Spaw*, he left *Brussels*, and seized upon the citadel of *Namur*; a conduct which he endeavoured to justify by the necessity he was under of retiring to a place of security, while he saw all around him in commotion, and the flames of war and rebellion ready to break out. He sent his apology to the states, desiring they would disarm the governor and burghers of *Brussels*, closely attached to the prince of *Orange*. The states invited him to return, promising they would punish with the utmost severity all convicted of any designs against his person; but he not only refused, but endeavoured to corrupt the *German* forces, and by their means to gain possession of *Antwerp*. In a word, from intercepted letters, from the seizing of *Namur*, the attempts on *Antwerp*, the tampering with the *German* soldiers, the subsequent altercation with the states general, and the march of the *Spanish* army towards the *Netherlands*, it incontestibly appears that don *John* was the aggressor; that he was encouraged by *Philip*; and that though the states of *Holland* and *Zealand* refused to sign the perpetual edict, yet they and the prince of *Orange* were desirous of preserving the public tranquillity even upon the terms of the edict<sup>p</sup>.

The prince of Orange in high estimation

WHEN it was known that the *Spanish* forces were assembling in *Namur* and *Luxembourg*, the states invited the prince of *Orange* to *Breda*, where he was joyfully received, and accompanied to *Antwerp* and *Brussels* by strong guards, who voluntarily offered themselves for his protection. Here he was chosen governor of *Brabant*, which had no particular governor of the province, being under the immediate direction of don *John*, in quality of the king's lieutenant. At the same time a council of state was formed, which should have the general government of the provinces, and to this the prince was appointed president. He was indeed esteemed not only the principal personage in the confederacy, but the defender of liberty, and the parent of the *Netherlands*. His high reputation incurred the jealousy of the other nobility, particularly of the duke d' *Archot*, the head of an ancient family, the governor of *Flanders*, and a nobleman of great property and influence. He became the leader of a faction opposed to the prince of *Orange*, agreed however with him in the detestation of tyranny and defence of freedom, but differed not only in point of religion and sentiments with respect to the court of *Spain*, but of personal interest. In short, he was the prince's rival, and finding his weight inferior, he was determined to invite the archduke *Matthias*, brother to the emperor, to the government of the *Low Countries*. A message was privately sent to that prince, who, dissatisfied with the little consequence he had at the imperial court, accepted the proposal, quitted *Prague* in the night, and suddenly arrived in the neighbourhood of *Antwerp*, to the great astonishment of the states. Contrary to expectation, the prince of *Orange* espoused the archduke's interest in opposition to the duke of *Anjou*, and persuaded several cities to bestow upon him the government, but on condition that he himself should be appointed his lieutenant. *Bentivoglio*, with the true casuistry of an *Italian* prelate, assigns a variety of subtle causes for the prince's conduct, which probably never had existence but in that writer's own imagination. It must, however, be acknowledged, that they are specious and refined, perfectly consistent with the character of the prince; but perhaps too speculative for practice, and too far-fetched for so pressing a conjuncture<sup>q</sup>.

Factions formed against him.

The duke d' *Archot* now changed his battery; he laboured to dissuade the provinces from coming into the measures of the prince of *Orange*; affirming, that ambition, and not the love of liberty, made him oppose the *Spanish* government; he made his public entry into *Ghent*, escorted by a great number of horse and foot; he gained great numbers of the nobility, obtained from the council of state very extensive powers, with respect to the government of *Flanders*; and after taking upon him the authority of governor, gained the affections of the people, by declaring that he was come to restore their privileges, and demolish the citadel of *Ghent*, which had long given umbrage. However, in the midst of all this popularity, he was arrested in *Ghent* by one *Ribove*, who raised a sedition among the populace, but released six days after at the intercession of the prince of *Orange*: a conduct that refuted all the calumnies propagated against the prince, and proved that the public good was the guiding star which directed him to so many great and glorious actions, amidst the utmost perils to his present reputation<sup>r</sup>. *Archot* was prevailed on by the states of *Flanders* to publish a declaration, promising he would entirely forget and forgive the injury his honour sustained by his imprisonment. To this declaration, his pride made him give the air of a pardon. His expression gave offence, and that air of authority he assumed was a proof of his ambition. All his influence however could not procure the release of the other prisoners made in *Ghent*, particularly of *Champigni*, who was accused of having drawn up an incendiary paper, tending to disturb the tranquillity of the provinces, and levelled in particular at the prince of *Orange*, whom they wanted to supersede, by substituting *Archot* in his employments. It would be impossible to recite the

<sup>p</sup> GROT. lib. ii. p. 50.

<sup>q</sup> LE CLERC, lib. iii. p. 63.

<sup>r</sup> GROT. & LE CLERC, ibid.



a views, designs, and opinions of parties and individuals, who contributed to the public confusion; they were infinitely contradictory, and frequently absurd. Sufficient it is, that the prince of *Orange* and duke *d'Archot* were rivals, who should raise the archduke *Matthias* to the dignity of governor-general, in order to hold the power in their own hands: both were enemies to tyranny, but the latter better disposed to the *Spanish* government, and strenuous supporter of the popish religion.

It was judged necessary by the states and the prince of *Orange*, that the archduke should be maintained agreeable to his quality, until he could be installed in his authority; accordingly the prince, attended by the burghers in arms, went to meet him at *Antwerp*. Immediately after the states general published a proclamation, declaring don *John* an enemy to the country he was bound to protect; and all his adherents were ordered to quit him, under pain of being declared rebels. A closer union was formed between the catholic and protestant provinces, by which the pacification of *Ghent* was confirmed, and the parties engaged mutually to support their privileges. Next an ambassy was sent to queen *Elizabeth*, to solicit the assistance of the *English* nation, and engage the queen in an alliance. On the 13th of *December* the states resolved to install the archduke in the dignity of governor-general of the provinces, and a deputation was sent to him with the articles that were to regulate his authority and administration. As the governor was a stranger, supposed uninformed of the laws and privileges of the country, the prince of *Orange* was appointed his lieutenant, whose integrity and ability were acknowledged.

Don John deposed.

c THOUGH the archduke was fettered and confined by tighter bonds than any preceding governor, he accepted the charge, and signed the conditions, set out for *Brussels* on the 18th of *January*, and was every where received in the quality he assumed. Don *John* sent bitter reproaches to the states, but his letters were neglected, and laid aside without a reply; they wrote however to the king, apologizing for their conduct, and attributing it to the necessity of the times, and the maladministration of don *John*: the same excuses were made to the emperor, without whose permission the archduke had accepted the government, but in vain; for neither of the princes could be persuaded that the states ought to confer on the duke to accept without leave or direct appointment of *Philip* and the emperor. In *Spain* councils were daily held upon the affairs of the *Low Countries*; it

A. D. 1578.

Preparations for war.

d was at length determined to act vigorously, as the only means of saving those provinces either from claiming their independency, or throwing themselves into the arms of some foreign prince. The troops were ordered to be assembled in *Naples* and *Milan*, levies were made in *Burgundy* and *Luxembourg*, and a resolution was taken of supporting don *John* with the whole power of the *Spanish* monarchy. To oppose the vast preparations, the states concluded a treaty with the queen of *England*, whereby that princess stipulated to advance them 100,000*l.* sterling, to assist the provinces with 5000 foot, and 1000 horse; on condition that the loan was repaid with interest in eight months, that certain towns were ceded to her in security, that the states should defray the expence of transporting the troops, and take them into their pay while they acted in their service. It is said, that the ambassadors would have preferred an equivalent in money to the *English* troops; that they hinted the matter to the queen, and found she was offended. The treaty however was afterwards broke by the queen, under pretence that the *French* would harbour suspicions of her having designs upon the *Netherlands*, and would for that reason unite their forces with *Spain* to oppose her attempts. Instead of the *English* troops, the queen proposed sending *John Casimir* count palatine with 3000 foot and 3000 horse, refusing to pay the money stipulated until the states consented. This scheme had before been suggested in the states general, but opposed, as it would render the reformists too powerful; which indeed was the great objection to the *English* forces.

Treaty with queen Elizabeth.

f BEFORE this treaty was concluded, don *John* was joined by the expected army under the conduct of *Alexander Farnese*, duke of *Parma*, the most intrepid, vigorous, expert, and renowned officer in the service of *Philip*. The troops consisted of 16000 foot, and 2000 horse, all chosen veterans; many of whom had often triumphed under the duke of *Alva*. Don *John* declared war on the 25th of *January*; and though the winter was severe, determined to commence hostilities, and push the advantages he obtained from a greatly superior army. The states were irresolute, and slow in their preparations; *William* of *Orange* had made the most spirited remonstrances, and insisted on the necessity of an offensive war; but so tedious were the deliberations of so unwieldy a body, clogged with numberless constitutional embarrassments, that nothing was executed. A body indeed of 10,000 foot and 5000 horse was cantoned in the neighbourhood of *Namur*; but all the chief officers were at *Brussels*, and only the sieur de *Coigny* marechal de Camp, and colonel *Balfour*, a *Scotchman*, with the troops. These don *John* proposed attacking; *Coigny* and

Success of Don John.



*Balfour* suspected his design, and prepared for a retreat; the cavalry were placed in the rear to cover the infantry in their march, and don *John* hearing they were in motion, hastened to occupy certain advantageous posts. He fell upon the army of the states, broke their disposition, and forced them to seek shelter in a tumultuous manner under the cannon of *Gemblours*: the town was summoned, and it submitted at discretion; while the fugitive army was dispersed in parties round the country. *Louvain* surrendered to *Gonzaga*, and *Bovines* was reduced by *Hierques*. *Sichem* made an obstinate resistance, but was at length stormed and taken by the prince of *Parma*, all the garrison being put to the sword, except the governor, who valiantly defended himself in an untenable citadel; for which, on his submission, he was unjustly and cruelly hanged. *Diest*, *Archot*, *Tillemont*, and *Leuwe*, surrendered without exchanging a shot; but *Nivelle* gloriously stood a long siege, and at last obtained honourable conditions". Don *John* would have invested *Brussels*, where the archduke and prince of *Orange* resided; but dreading the difficulty of the enterprise, he contented himself with securing the passes to *Italy* and the empire, by the reduction of *Limburg* and *Philipville*.

Amsterdam  
declares for  
the states.

WHILE don *John* was pursuing his conquests with rapidity, the states made an acquisition; that more than compensated all their losses; it was the city of *Amsterdam*, which, blocked up for several months by sea and land, at last concluded a treaty with the friends of the house of *Orange*, whereby it was stipulated that the protestants should hold their religious meetings without the walls, and be permitted a cemetery or burying-ground within; that the garrison should be disbanded, and 600 men, commanded by the burghers, levied for the defence of the city; that all persons banished on the score of religion should be recalled; that *Amsterdam* should enjoy all its ancient privileges; and that all vacancies in public employments should be filled without distinction by those who either did or did not incur the penalty of banishment on account of party connexions. This capitulation was soon broken, the catholic magistrates were driven out of the city, attended by the priests and popish clergy of every denomination; the images and idols of superstition were pulled down, and only the reformed clergy suffered to preach publicly".

Proposals  
made by king  
Philip.

THESE transactions were succeeded by the arrival of baron *de Selle*, with letters and instructions from king *Philip*. His first proposal was to reinstate don *John*; but finding the spirits of the people too violently enflamed to admit of such conditions, the baron artfully changed his battery, desired that the duke of *Parma* might be accepted in quality of governor, without troops, or any other security than the promises of the states, and the person of the prince of *Orange*, who was required as a hostage; but this proposition was entirely rejected. Don *John* or the prince of *Parma* would not be received upon any conditions; and the states positively insisted as a preliminary to any treaty, that the government should be left in the hands of the archduke, assisted by the prince of *Orange*. The emperor sent ambassadors with instructions to the same purpose; but he met with no better success<sup>x</sup>.

Revolutions in  
Guelderland  
and Gronin-  
gen.

NEGOTIATIONS proving abortive, both sides prepared to enforce their pretensions by the sword. The states, sensible that the misfortunes and losses in the winter arose from the irresolution and tedious deliberations of the provincial states, vested the archduke, the council of state, and the prince of *Orange*, with a power of levying what number of troops they should think necessary, and disposing them in the manner most advantageous to the public, without referring to the states in every particular: they only recommended that they would proportion the expences to the revenue, which at that time amounted only to 600,000 livres. About this time a revolution, greatly beneficial to the common cause, was effected in *Guelderland*; *John* of *Nassau*, brother to the prince of *Orange*, was appointed governor of that province; upon entering on the administration, count *John* perceived that the whole conduct of affairs was in the hands of persons strongly affected to king *Philip* and the catholic religion. Most of the cities professed popery; and the count, who had sworn to the pacification of *Ghent*, was restrained from attempting any change in religion. The face of affairs however took a sudden turn; *John* acquired great popularity, and soon discovered that foreigners were the leading persons. His artifice and policy stimulated the people against them; they were deprived of their seats in the provincial states, and turned out of their offices in the government of the cities. Thus *Nassau* obtained the chief direction, and was able to co-operate with the measures planned by his brother. Another revolution happened in *Groningen*, of which *Jasper de Rollis* *seur de Billy* was governor. *Billy* was by birth a *Portuguese*, by religion a catholic, and consequently a dependent on the court of *Spain*: he refused to accede to the union of the provinces, and the states general found it necessary to send to him *Francis Martin Stella*, with proposals for signing the pacification<sup>g</sup>.

<sup>u</sup> CAMDEN, A. D. 1577. RHYM. Fæd. tom. xv. p. 784. REIDAN, lib. ii. p. 26. <sup>w</sup> GROT. lib. iii. p. 54. BENT. lib. x. p. 242. <sup>x</sup> LE CLERC, lib. iii.



a of *Ghent*. *Billy* suspecting that the deputy's real design was to excite a revolt in the province, put him to the torture to extort confession; after having first wounded him with his own hand. The deputy bid defiance to pain; he bore the most excruciating tortures with firmness, and having a surgeon to dress his wound to enable him to undergo a second trial, he communicated something in the *Greek* language, which the surgeon soon made public: in consequence the mob assembled, rescued *Stella*, declared for the pacification of *Ghent*, and obliged *Billy* to quit his government. The change of councils in these two provinces was of the utmost service to the confederacy, and would have enabled the protestants to have encountered the whole power of *Spain*, had not dissension broke their strength, divided their councils, and distracted their affairs.

b THE great number of protestants invited into the *Netherlands*, in consequence of the advice of the queen of *England*, gave umbrage to the catholics: this was a circumstance on which they had not bestowed sufficient reflection; but the prince of *Orange* foresaw the effects, and opposed the resolution so warmly, that *Elizabeth* took offence. He even became suspected by several zealous protestants, who did not avert that the desire of preserving unanimity among the provinces was the sole principle of *William's* conduct. The *Walloon* provinces, violently attached to the church of *Rome*, had in fact entertained suspicions, that a project was concerted between the queen of *England*, the prince of *Orange*, and prince *Casimir*, for establishing the protestant religion while the inhabitants of *Ghent*, and the protestant provinces taxed *William* with discovering a bias for popery.

*Jealousies among the provinces.*

c Thus his conduct was censured by both parties, and that moderation which breathed nothing but true patriotism, became obnoxious to those who had equally at heart the good of their country. *France* had long made overtures from the duke of *Anjou*, which the *Walloons* now insisted should be taken into consideration. The state, upon the assurances of *Henry III.* that nothing contrary to the privileges of the province was intended, gratified the request of the *Walloons*, after consulting whether it would be agreeable. In truth, the appearance of the duke of *Anjou*, who was sent to the *Netherlands* merely to be removed from the court, was no way formidable; on the contray, his army consisted of starved undisciplined wretches, intent only upon plunder and rapine: the duke approached *Mons*, and on the 13th of *August* a treaty was concluded

d between him and the states-general, stipulating, that he should advance with 10,000 foot and 2000 horse, to be maintained for three months at the expence of the states; that if the war should not within that time be finished, he should continue 5000 foot and 500 horse in his own pay, in consideration of which he should be declared defender of the liberties of the *Netherlands*; that he should enter into an alliance with the queen of *England*, duke *Casimir*, and the other friends and supporters of the provinces; that his forces should be joined to those of the states, and himself declared commander in chief, or in his absence the lieutenant of the states; that *Inspruc*, *Bauvais*, and *Landreci*, should be given him as cautionary towns; and that his troops should have liberty to make conquests in *Burgundy* and *Luxemburgh*, provided they did not thereby neglect or retard the common cause. Upon the whole, by this treaty the duke got nothing but the empty title of defender of the liberties of the *Netherlands*; all that was solid depended on the success of the war, and the pleasure of the states.<sup>2</sup>

*The duke of Anjou comes into the Netherlands.*

WHILE the confederates were forming alliances, healing their divisions, and making preparations, don *John* of *Austria* resolved to attack their camp, entrenched at *Rimenant*, a village between *Mecklin* and *Archot*. This *Dutch* army consisted of 8000 foot, 2000 horse, and some companies of *English* and *Scotch* auxiliaries. The duke of *Parma*, lieutenant-general of the *Spaniards*, proposed drawing this body out of the intrenchments by skirmishes, and then attacking them in the open plain. Baffled in this design, he attacked a post defended by the *British* auxiliaries, but was warmly received, and obliged to retreat with the loss of 800 men. Count *Bossu*, general of the *Flemings*, fled off towards *Namur*, determined to act on the defensive until he should be joined by prince *Casimir* or the duke of *Anjou*. A solemn ambassy was sent to the latter, requesting he would with all expedition march to the assistance of the *Flemings*. *Anjou* began his rout; but instead of pursuing it, he halted to secure a retreat, invested *Bincb*, took it by assault, and used the garrison with so much humanity as induced *Maubege* to surrender without exchanging blows. *Quesnoi* and *Landreci* however refusing to receive the *French* troops, proposed the duke should have *Mecklin* and some other towns, as an equivalent. *Anjou* was preparing to join the *Flemish* army, when he received advice, that *Casimir*, instead of proceeding to attack don *John*, had turned off to *Ghent*, there to receive the pay due to his army. Upon this he halted, and sent to know of the council of state, whether *Casimir* acted by their instructions. His army murmured, deserted, and complained grievously of the inhospitality of the *Flemings*; disputes in short rose so high, that it was plain the duke of *Anjou* was

*Don John attacks the states army.*

<sup>1</sup> LE CLERC, lib. iii.

<sup>2</sup> REIDAN. lib. ii. p. 30. METELEN. lib. x.



rather the rival of *Casimir* than the protector of the *Low Countries*. The states laboured to reconcile the princes, and persuade them to act with unanimity for the common cause. In the mean time don *John* died, some imagine of chagrin, others affirm of poison, and the whole power came into the hands of a more able soldier and statesman, the duke of *Parma*<sup>a</sup>.

Prince Casimir enters the Netherlands.

No advantage was deduced from the death of the *Spanish* governor; the vigour, the prudence, the uncommon diligence of *Parma* kept all quiet in his army; while the confederates, greatly superior in strength, including the forces of *Casimir*, the duke of *Anjou*, and the *Flemings*, were prevented from action, by disputes, contentions, and rivalry. *Casimir* entered the provinces with 7000 horse and 8000 foot, a force greatly superior to what had been stipulated. Suspicion seized the minds of the zealous catholics, and even the prince of *Orange* and the states remonstrated against this proceeding. The one was sensible it would destroy the necessary harmony, and the others thought it indicated ambition and design. *Casimir* made his excuses, and was proceeding to *Ghent*, the burghers of which had promised to pay his army if he would assist them against the *Walloons*, their declared enemies. The council of state and *William* of *Orange* had already denied them all aid, as having openly violated the pacification of *Ghent*; but *Casimir*, in great want of money, was ballancing whether he should not accept the proposal. From this he was prevented by the necessity of going to the court of *London*, to concert matters with *Elizabeth*. In his absence all was mutiny and disorder in his army; they disbanded in parties round the country, the cavalry were surrounded by the duke of *Parma*, and would have been all cut in pieces or made prisoners, had they not consented to return home, on his granting passports. *Anjou's* army was much in the same condition, and equally useless to the confederates. *William* of *Orange* perceiving that little confidence was to be placed in mercenary allies, and less in the unanimity of provinces rent by faction, different in religion, and divided by ambition, political maxims, and private interest, formed the scheme of more closely uniting the provinces of which he was governor, and cementing them with those more contiguous, in which the protestant interest prevailed. Such an alliance was subject to infinitely fewer difficulties than attended the more general one of uniting all the provinces; it was in fact the only measure that could be proposed with safety, and it was prosecuted with that alacrity and address for which *William* was deservedly celebrated.<sup>d</sup>

A. D. 1579.

The union of Utrecht.

ON the 23d of *January* deputies from the provinces of *Holland*, *Zealand*, *Utrecht*, *Friesland*, *Groningen*, *Overijssel*, and *Guelderland*, met at *Utrecht*, and signed the alliance ever since known by the name of the *Union of Utrecht*, the basis of that commonwealth so renowned by the appellation of the *United Provinces*. This treaty of alliance was founded upon the infraction of the pacification of *Ghent*, solemnly acceded to by *Philip*, and the late invasion of certain towns in *Guelderland*. It was not hereby intended to divide the seven provinces from the other ten, or to renounce the pacification of *Ghent*; its object was to preserve the liberty stipulated in that pacification, by more rigorous operations, and united councils. The chief articles of this union are the following.

THE seven provinces shall unite themselves in interest as one province, never to be separated or divided by testament, donation, exchange, sale, or agreement; reserving to each particular province and city all its privileges, rights, customs, and statutes. In all disputes arising between either of the provinces, the rest shall interpose only as mediators. They shall assist each other with life and fortune against every foreign attempt upon any particular province, whether to establish sovereignty, the catholic religion, arbitrary measures, or whatever else may appear inconsistent with the liberties of the provinces, and the intention of the alliance. All frontier towns belonging to the *United Provinces* shall, if old, be fortified at the expence of the provinces; if new, at the joint expence of the union. The public imposts and duties shall be farmed for three months to the highest bidder, and employed with the king's taxes in the public service. No province, city, or member of the union shall contract an alliance with any foreign prince or power, without the concurrence of all the other members. Foreign powers shall be admitted into the alliance, only by consent of all the contracting parties. As to religion, the provinces of *Holland* and *Zealand* shall act in that particular as they think adviseable; the rest shall adhere to the purport of the edict published by the archduke *Matthias*, which prescribed that no man should be oppressed on the account of conscience. All the inhabitants, from the age of eighteen to sixty, shall be trained and disciplined to war. Peace and war shall be declared by the unanimous voice of all the provinces; other matters that concern the internal policy shall be regulated by a majority. The states shall be held in the usual constitutional manner, and coinage shall be deferred to future determination. Finally, the parties agree, that the interpretation of these articles shall remain in the states general; but in case of their failing to decide, in the stadtholder.<sup>b</sup>

<sup>a</sup> REIDAN. lib. ii. p. 30. METEREN. lib. x.

<sup>b</sup> Idem. ibid.

<sup>c</sup> TEMP. chap. i.



<sup>a</sup> In this grand alliance, sketched out by the prince of *Orange*, may easily be discerned the judicious steady hand of the master and true patriot. It was so universally approved, that in a short time the cities of *Ghent*, *Nimeguen*, *Arnheim*, *Leewarden*, *Venlo*, *Tyres*, *Antwerp*, *Breda*, *Bruges*, with several other towns, noblemen, and persons of distinction, embraced and signed the union. Thus the foundation of a commonwealth was laid, but in fluctuating and uncertain state of affairs, when men were actuated by different passions, views, and interests; intimidated by the great strength of the *Spanish* monarchy, and supported chiefly by a zealous adherence to liberty, and firm resolution to perish in defence of freedom. The first coin struck after this alliance is expressive of the situation of the infant republic (A).

<sup>b</sup> It was expected, that the important object of this alliance would have attracted the attention of the *Walcons*, and indeed of all the catholic inhabitants of the *Netherlands*: it in fact did so, but in a different manner from what was imagined. The *Walcons* not only refused to accede to the union, but they made the strongest remonstrances to the states-general upon the danger, impropriety, and illegality of such a confederacy. It appears from *Strada* and *Bentivoglio*, that the duke of *Parma* was at the bottom of their intrigues. He stimulated and prompted their measures, inspiring them with a jealousy of the protestant designs on the catholic religion. In the end, he contracted an alliance with them, and thereby confirmed by his own example the legality and necessity of the union of *Utrecht*. Immediately they began levying an army, but still kept up appearances with the confederated provinces, though it was obvious that hostilities must soon commence. To prevent the effusion of blood, the emperor, as mediator, set on foot another negotiation; but *Philip*, would allow no reasonable terms of accommodation, and give no security for liberty and religion. Instead of granting equitable conditions, he laboured to detach the prince of *Orange* from the union, made him extraordinary proposals, offered to restore him to all his estates, indemnify his losses, raise him to the height of power, and give him the first place in his esteem and favour. But *William* was too wise to rely on the promises of a king, who had shewn himself perfidious; too firm to be moved by danger; and too public-spirited to relinquish the interests of his country for his own private emolument. He determined to share the fate of the *United Provinces*, to fulfil his engagements, and the hope conceived of his conduct.

*The Walloons form a treaty with the duke of Parma.*

<sup>c</sup> In the mean time great disorders arose in *Ghent*. The inhabitants, finding that the *Walcons* refused all proposals of agreement, began afresh their violences against the catholics. Their example was followed at *Oudenarde* and *Dendermonde*, and to such excess did they push their zeal, that the presence of the prince of *Orange* was necessary to restore the tranquillity of *Ghent* in particular. On the prince's arrival he found every thing in confusion, the convents and churches pillaged by the soldiers, the houses and effects of the catholic priests sold at public markets; and *Imbise*, who arrogated to himself a kind of despotism, laying an undue restraint on the election of magistrates, imprisoning all those who opposed his usurpation. The prince soon put a stop to those arbitrary and iniquitous proceedings; *Imbise* was forced to abscond, the magistrates were chosen according to the laws, and the catholics restored to the full possession of their estates; an instance of justice which, however, could not procure *William* the confidence of the catholic faction, who esteemed the man, while they detested the heretic. An attempt was made by the *Walcons* to surprise the city; but it was frustrated by the prince's vigilance and prudence.

*Disturbances in Ghent and other towns.*

<sup>e</sup> While the prince of *Orange* was busied in conciliating factions, forming alliances, and strengthening the union, the duke of *Parma* was taking measures to disconcert his projects, and reduce the provinces to the king's obedience. He dispatched *Gonzaga* and *Mondragon* with eight thousand men to lay siege to *Marssen*. The town was taken by assault, the governor hanged, and forty-five of the chief inhabitants were tortured to death, for having valiantly defended themselves, and faithfully discharged their duty. It is said the duke of *Parma* disavowed this bloody proceeding, so inconsistent indeed with the character of a hero. After some farther inconsiderable advantages obtained in the neighbourhood of *Ruremonde*, the king's army insulted *Antwerp*, where the archduke and the prince of *Orange* then resided. The states infantry was intrenched near *Borgerbont*, a post attacked without success by the duke of *Parma*, after a brisk skirmishing of two hours between the armies. *La Noue*, however, the general of the states army, not chusing to expose himself to continual alarms from the enemy's cavalry, retired under the cannon of *Antwerp*.

*Several towns taken by the duke of Parma.*

<sup>f</sup> On *La Noue's* retreat, the duke of *Parma* invested *Maastricht*. The siege began on the 8th of *March*, and continued, without remission, to the 29th of *June*. This defence was deemed very extraordinary, as the fortifications were in bad order, the garrison slender,

<sup>a</sup> METEREN. lib. x. fol. 190. LE CLERC, p. 86. <sup>c</sup> Id. ibid. <sup>f</sup> STRADA, lib. iii.

(A) Here was represented a ship labouring amidst the waves, unassisted by sails or oars, with this motto, *Incertum quæ fata ferant*. Vide *Le Clerc*, tom. ii. *Sir William Temple*, chap. i. p. 54.

and



The situation  
of both par-  
ties.

and the place but poorly provided with the necessaries of a siege. To one *Sebastian Tappin* the whole glory was due. He was a native of *Lorrain*, an engineer by profession, a protestant, a brave and alert soldier, whose indefatigable vigilance raised continual obstructions to the duke's approaches. The garrison had sustained frequent assaults, and made divers bloody sallies, by which they were so much weakened, fatigued, and exhausted, that during a parley the town was surprised, and a great many soldiers put to the sword; but *Tappin* was saved by favour of the duke of *Parma*, who gave strict orders that he should have quarter. For three days *Maastricht* was a scene of the utmost desolation and horror, the *Spanish* soldiers committing every excess and enormity, in despite of all the endeavours of the general to restrain their licentiousness, and maintain discipline: tired with pillage and slaughter, they sat down loaded with booty, but not satiated with blood. With such diligence did the duke apply himself to this siege, that, unable to support the fatigue, he was seized with a fever, which had near proved fatal. His situation inspired the enemy with fresh courage. They ventured to appear in the field; they reduced *Alost*, and some other places of little consequence, but could not prevent the loss of *Menin*, taken by assault: though it was soon after retaken by the prince of *Orange*. In *Brabant* the states likewise obtained some advantages, though of two unimportant a nature to merit attention. The truth is, all the *United Provinces* were in a deplorable situation, and their trifling succours were owing entirely to accident, or the duke of *Parma's* illness. Several provinces contributed nothing to the common cause; others furnished but a small proportion of the taxes agreed upon at the union. The army had large arrears due, and lived at discretion in a manner more oppressive to the people than taxes to the amount of their regular pay. The people clamoured against the states, they threw the blame of the officers for relaxing in point of discipline; and the officers recriminated, alledging, that the fault was in the states, who failed in performing their engagements to the army. All was in confusion; but as no person would acknowledge his error, there appeared little hopes of amendment. In a word, nothing besides the same distress in the *Spanish* army could have prevented the duke of *Parma* from reducing the revolted provinces to accept any terms he should think fit to prescribe. He was equally in want of money, and his late treaty with the *Walloons* required that he should dismiss all his foreign troops in the space of six weeks after the publication of the treaty. His situation indeed was so deplorable, that he requested leave to resign his command, and retire with the foreign soldiers to *Italy*; but the court of *Spain* had too much confidence in his ability to entrust so important a charge to another. In this state of affairs the animosity of the parties remained, without the power of shewing their resentment. The states were resolute, but unable to defend their liberties. *Philip* was determined, but too weak, to be despotic. They mutually published bitter remonstrances, but their strength would seem to have evaporated in revilings<sup>a</sup>.

At last the prince of *Orange* renewed the treaty with the duke of *Anjou*. It was hoped that a brother of the king of *France* would introduce an alteration in their circumstances, more favourable than could be expected from the government of the archduke, unsupported by the emperor and the empire. The queen of *England* was again offered the sovereignty, but she declined it for political reasons. The duke of *Anjou* was, however, opposed by a great number of the reformed, who could never reconcile themselves to the son of *Catherine de Medicis*; an ambitious, intriguing woman, doomed to indelible infamy, by the share she bore in the horrid massacre of the protestants at *Paris*. All arguments to remove their prejudices were vain. *Anjou* was a *Roman catholic*, and that alone was sufficient to render him detestable. The prince of *Orange* urged the necessity of receiving the prince. Theologians and civilians allowed that it was lawful to have recourse in extremity to a papist, but the people continued obstinate. This determined the prince of *Orange* to have recourse to the states-general, to whom he sent a long remonstrance, pointing out the causes why the confederacy did not produce the intended effect, and exhorting them to reconsider the affair respecting the duke of *Anjou*. He laid before them a scheme for the operations of the future campaign, the forces requisite to push their projects with success, and the means of supporting the troops. He proposed that the oath administered to the troops should be changed, alledging, as the cause of their licentiousness, that having only sworn fidelity to the king, they thought themselves at liberty to oppress his subjects in open war against *Philip*. In consequence, the states-general referred the prince's remonstrances to the provincial states and cities; and, after long deliberations, and warm debates, it was at length determined to call in the duke of *Anjou*, as the only resource in so great a calamity. The influence of the prince of *Orange*, the confidence the people reposed in his ability and integrity, and the weight of his arguments, contributed chiefly to this resolution. Accordingly the year began with a solemn treaty, whereby the *United Pro-*

A. D. 1580.  
The duke of  
Anjou elected  
sovereign of  
the Nether-  
lands.

<sup>a</sup> BENTIVOG. p. 2. lib. i. p. 19. GROT. lib. iii.



- a *vinces* renounced their allegiance to *Philip*, and acknowledged *Francis Hercules de Valois*, duke of *Alençon* and *Anjou*, for their sovereign. The treaty consisted of twenty-seven articles, of which this we have mentioned was the chief. Deputies were sent to the duke of *Anjou*, to explain the articles, and congratulate him on his accession. As to the archduke *Matthias*, finding himself unsupported by the emperor, the empire, and the numerous friends whom he expected would have joined him on his elevation, he expressed no resentment at the conduct of the provinces, which with great moderation he attributed to necessity. He only demanded to know their intention with respect to his own person; and the states made their apology, by representing the situation of their affairs, assuring him of their esteem, permitting him to reside in the *Netherlands* as long as he thought convenient, and b highly applauding the prudence and equity of his conduct during his administration (B).

WHEN the king of *Spain* was informed of this open defection of the provinces, he attributed the whole to the prince of *Orange*, and proceeded directly to proscribe him; he confiscated his estate, upbraided him with ingratitude, and stained his character with ignominy. He even promised a reward of 25,000 crowns to whoever should bring him the prince of *Orange* dead or alive, the same to his heirs in case the attempter perished in the enterprize; and he declared all those proscribed, their estates confiscated, their honours and dignities abolished, who adhered to *William* a month after the publication of this edict.<sup>a</sup>

The prince of Orange proscribed.

- c THE prince of *Orange* did not silently pass over this proscription; he employed one *Villiers a Frenchman*, to refute the edict: his answer was well received, and is recorded by historians as a proof of the spirit, the equity, the prudence, and the moderation of the prince. However, when it was proposed to the states for their opinion, with a request they would publish it in their own name, they declined it, assigning for a reason, that it contained some facts too little known to be credited, and perhaps too much acrimony and resentment against a prince whose power they still dreaded. With these recriminations ended the transactions of the year.

- d THE following year was ushered in with great commotions at *Brussels*, excited by one *Ruyskenvelt* a monk, who was strongly attached to king *Philip*. This man by preaching, declaiming, and haranguing, endeavoured to enflame the minds of the people against the late measures, and to stir them up to revolt against the new administration. Mobs assembled in the streets with a view of admitting the *Spanish* troops, but they were dispersed by the governor and garrison. Finding that the monks in general were concerned in a conspiracy against the magistrates, the governor ordered their churches to be shut up, their most valuable images and religious ornaments to be sold, and themselves banished the city. Soon after these commotions were settled, the duke of *Parma* projected an enterprize against *Flushing*. Certain *Zealanders* were corrupted to betray their country; but they took the duke's money, and apprized the prince of *Orange* of the design, by which means it was defeated. In *Brabant* the states contented themselves with maintaining their ground, without aspiring at new acquisitions. The garrisons of *Bergen-op-Zoom*, *Villevorde*, and e *Willebrocke*, mutinied for their arrears, but they were appeased by the payment of a part of their demands. As to the duke of *Parma*, though he was in great want of money, and therefore unable to undertake any considerable enterprize, yet he had this advantage over the states, that he could suffer the soldiers of the garrison to live at free quarters upon the burghers; a liberty on which the others did not presume, from an apprehension of irritating those spirits to be gained only by soothing, cajoling and moderation. Count *Mansvelt* was detached by the duke with a body of forces to attack *Nivelle*, an enterprize in which he succeeded with little difficulty; while *Conde* was recovered with equal facility by the duke of *Parma* in person. On the other stand, *Harspenne* surprised the citadel of *Breda*, defended only by a very slender garrison, and soon reduced the city. This officer's next attempt f was on *Gertruydenberg*, but it failed<sup>b</sup>.

Designs of the duke of Parma defeated.

DURING these petty hostilities, the states, after long deliberations at the *Hague*, published an edict, excluding king *Philip* from any sovereignty, right, or authority over the *Netherlands*. This writing appeared on the 26th of *July*, under the title of "The abdication of *Philip* king of *Spain*." It was extremely well drawn up, stated in the strongest

The states renounce their allegiance to Philip.

<sup>a</sup> METELEN, lib. x.

<sup>b</sup> LE CLERC, 3. GROTIUS, lib. 4.

(B) As to the provinces of *Holland* and *Zealand*, they were left wholly in the hands of the prince of *Orange*, whose power as stadtholder was in no respect limited by the duke's sovereignty. After all, *Grotius* affirms, that the duke's authority was merely nominal, that the real power devolved on the prince of *Orange*, whose

name, however, was used in all public acts only in a subaltern capacity. It was apparent indeed to the *French*, that *William* concealed ambitious views under the cloak of patriotism, but it was not convenient to discover their sentiments (1).

(1) *Grotius Annal.* lib. iv. p. 74.



The duke of  
Anjou relieves  
Cambray.

He sets sail for  
England.

Tournay  
taken.

A. D. 1582.  
The duke of  
Anjou is in-  
vested in the  
government of  
the provinces.

manner the mutual privileges of the king and people, proved that the allegiance of the latter was void by the breach of contract on the side of the former, enumerated the oppressive and tyrannical acts of his government, set aside his authority for the most cogent reasons, forbid money to be coined in his name, and took every other step towards independency. It was in vain for *Philip* to remonstrate, he knew the states were to be convinced only by the sword; to this therefore he appealed. The duke of *Parma* blocked up *Cambray* so closely, that the garrison was reduced to the extremity of living upon horses, dogs, and cats, though they still refused to capitulate, in hopes of being succoured. At length the duke of *Anjou* assembled a body of 10,000 foot, and 4000 horse, and approached *Cambray*. The viscount *de Turenne* and count *Voulondois* undertook to force themselves, with a body of men, but they were surrounded and taken prisoners by the *Spaniards*. This disappointment did not discourage the duke of *Anjou*: he still pressed forward with intention to attack the *Spanish* lines; but the duke of *Parma*, not caring to hazard a battle, deserted his works, and retired to *Bouchain*. As soon as the duke of *Anjou* entered the city, he took an oath to govern it agreeable to its ancient laws, and to preserve the citizens in the full possession of all their liberties. He was now pressed by the states and the prince of *Orange* to march directly into *Flanders*; he endeavoured to comply, but his army composed chiefly of volunteers, was so weakened by desertion, that the design was laid aside <sup>1</sup>.

It was about this time that the duke of *Anjou* resumed the notion of addressing *Elizabeth* queen of *England*, and proposing marriage to a princess too fond of independency to be shackled with the authority of a husband. The prince, not deterred by the ill success of his former negotiation, determined upon a voyage to *England*; an excursion which proved equally unsuccessful to himself and unfortunate to the *United Provinces*. He was magnificently entertained, led into a persuasion that all would succeed according to his wish, and at length tired out with tedious expectation. In his absence, *St. Guilan* was reduced by the prince of *Espinoi*. This general directed his march towards *Dunkirk*, with intention to join the *French* forces. The duke of *Parma*, who had notice of his motion, repaired to seize the opportunity of investing *Tournay*. He began his approaches, and was vigorously received by that garrison, inspired by the courage of the princess *Maria d'Espinoi*, niece of count *Horn*, so cruelly beheaded by the duke *d'Alva*. The town was stormed in breach by the duke of *Parma*, who supported the assailants in person, received a wound, and had the mortification to see his *Spaniards* thrown headlong from the walls. The duke of *Anjou* repeatedly promised succours, but either forgot or could not perform his engagements; the latter indeed is the most probable, as he was certainly a dupe to the superior policy of *Elizabeth*, who had not yet declared openly in favour of the states. In the end, despairing of relief, harassed with perpetual watching, and weakened by losses, the garrison capitulated on the 29th of *November*. The conditions were honourable, and the princess *d'Espinoi* in particular was received with particular marks of distinction by the duke of *Parma*, who highly esteemed the heroic qualities of this amazon. This advantage was succeeded by another obtained by the *Spanish* general *Verdugo*, over the confederate army in *Friseland*, commanded by general *Norris*, and *William-Lewis* of *Nassau*, a young prince of great expectation. It appears from the *Spanish* account, that *Norris* was attacked in a defile, where he could not draw out his troops in battalia, that he was put in confusion, and defeated with great loss. On the other hand, the *Dutch* writers alledge, that he attacked the enemy, but being inferior in cavalry, retreated in good order, with scarce any loss <sup>m</sup>.

THE next year began with a spectacle very unusual in the *Netherlands*, the public entry of a sovereign elected by the people. The duke of *Anjou* setting sail from *England* on the 8th day of *February*, arrived on the 10th at *Flushing*, where he was received by the princes of *Orange* and *d'Espinoi*. Next day they set out for *Antwerp* with a magnificent retinue, and went up the *Scheld* attended by fifty barges. His reception at *Antwerp* was splendid, beyond any thing ever seen in the provinces; they even exceeded the preparations made for *Philip* himself on his being appointed to the government in the *Netherlands* by *Charles V.* his father. A theatre was erected before the walls of the citadel, in which was placed a chair of state, covered with cloth of gold. There the duke was seated, and the conditions read to him, upon which he was received as duke of *Brabant*. When he had sworn to observe the articles, he was clothed with the ducal robe, and his head adorned with the ducal coronet by the prince of *Orange*, who said, "I will pin it in such a manner that it will not be easily shaken;" an expression which at that time was taken for a happy omen, though it soon proved fallacious <sup>n</sup>.

WHILE the states of *Brabant* were employed in festivity and mirth, an action that would have proved fatal to the provinces was on the point of execution at *Antwerp*. A *Biscayan* merchant named *Gasper Anafra* had contrived a project to redeem his shattered fortune by

<sup>1</sup> REIDAN, lib. ii. c. 38.

<sup>m</sup> CAMDEN in hoc An. LE CLERC, ibid.

<sup>n</sup> LE CLERC, lib. iii. p. 96.



- a the death of the prince of *Orange*. He corrupted one of his domestics by the promise of half the reward, to strike the blow. The assassin entered the citadel, and as the prince was passing after dinner into another room, discharged a pistol, and dangerously wounded him behind the ear. The prince was stunned with the force of the ball, and before he recovered the assassin was killed by his attendants, which prevented for a time the absolute discovery of the plot, though it afterwards appeared from circumstances. It was traced that he had confessed the secret to a *Dominican* named *Antonio Tunmermon*, receiving from the wicked priest absolution, and a promise of eternal reward. *Tunmermon* was hanged, drawn, and quartered, his limbs being fixed up on the walls of the citadel at *Antwerp*. Nothing could more fully prove the importance of *William's* life, than the rejoicings of the *Spaniards*, in  
b a false report of his death, and of the confederates as soon as it was fully confirmed that his life was in no danger. It was, perhaps, not very prudent in the prince of *Parma* to write circulatory letters to the cities on the presumption that the prince of *Orange* was no more; since it afforded suspicion that he was not ignorant of the conspiracy. Finding the report groundless of the prince's death, *Parma* determined to begin hostilities. *Oudenarde* was invested and closely besieged from the 8th of *April* to the 23d of *July*. The brave defence made by the garrison, gave the duke of *Anjou* sufficient time to come to the relief of the town, had his army been sufficiently strong for the enterprize; but he had not yet received the expected reinforcement from *France*, and was under the necessity of contenting himself with the surprisal of *Alost*, by way of retaliation. His infantry was encamped, and under  
c the command of count *de Rochefort*, before the walls of *Ghent*. Here the count was attacked by the duke of *Parma*, who after an obstinate conflict was forced to retire, without being able to bring on a general engagement.

An attempt made on the life of the prince of *Orange*.

*Oudenarde* taken by the duke of *Parma*.

- On the first of *July* a conspiracy against the duke of *Anjou*, the prince of *Orange*, and *d'Espinoi*, was happily discovered at *Bruges*. The accomplices of the plot were seized and tortured, upon which they declared that they were expressly employed by the duke of *Parma*. It is probable that the duke must have received positive orders to this effect from the court of *Spain*; for so base and little a revenge was totally inconsistent with the generous and heroic qualities of that warrior. For the remainder of the campaign, the chief operations consisted in the surprising of inconsiderable places: both sides were unable to take  
d the field with dignity or advantage for want of troops and money. The duke of *Parma* had a great number of forces in the *Netherlands*; but they were necessarily employed in garrisoning those towns the inhabitants of which were suspected; and the states were prevented from augmenting their army, because no settled provision was made for their maintenance. The king's chief army in the field did not exceed 4000 men, and yet it was superior to the confederate forces. It was now the great aim of the duke of *Parma* to obtain the consent of the *Walloons*, that the *Spanish* forces might return into the *Netherlands*; he gained so much upon the affections of the people that they readily came into his sentiments; but the nobility still opposed him, from the apprehension that their own services would then be of less consequence. The nobility, however, were forced to yield to the clamours of the  
e people and the king's command, who gave orders that 5000 *Spaniards* and 4000 *Italians* should immediately begin their march for *Flanders*. Such an accession to the enemy's strength required the utmost vigilance and activity on the side of the confederates, who immediately engaged in their service 4000 *Swiss* infantry, and a body of *French* cavalry, under the conduct of prince *Dausin*, and *Arnaud de Biron*. But as the auxiliaries of neither party arrived before it was late in the season, they were put into winter-quarters, in order to commence operations with vigour in the spring.

A conspiracy against the duke of *Anjou*, &c.

*Spanish troops* again admitted into the *Netherlands*.

- The taking of *Endove* by surprise, and some other spirited actions, prepossessed the people strongly in favour of the duke of *Anjou*, and inspired them with hopes, that, with his brother's assistance, he would soon oblige the *Spaniards* to evacuate the *Netherlands*. But these expectations were frustrated by the apparent coldness with which *Henry III.* promoted the duke's interest. Both princes were indeed of too indolent and easy a disposition to employ much attention on public affairs, which they left intirely to the management of their favourites and minions. It was owing equally to jealousy and inactivity, that *Henry* feebly assisted his brother; if the duke succeeded in his enterprize, the king foresaw he would become independent; if he failed, he must fall back an incumbrance on the crown. This determined *Henry* to steer a middle course, to feed him with hopes, and supply him with succours just sufficient to prevent his sinking, but very inadequate to what was necessary to insure success. It would indeed be an unpopular measure entirely to abandon the duke of *Anjou*, who would probably gain a strong party in the kingdom from the cruelty of the usage, and the pusillanimity of *Henry*. On the other hand, the duke, who had figured to himself on his arrival in the *Netherlands*, all the power and pomp of despotism, finding that he was now destitute of money, forces, and councils, abandoned himself to

A. D. 1583. Situation and design of the duke of *Anjou*.



the direction and admonitions of the young people about him, whose views in coming to *Flanders* was to enrich themselves at the expence of the *Flemings*. They were perpetually throwing out complaints of the ingratitude of the states, which served only to irritate the people and alienate their affections from the new government. In a short time, he entirely lost the confidence of the people, by means of his pernicious counsellors, who advised him to seize with the *French* forces on *Newport*, *Dixmuyde*, *Ostend*, *Bruges*, *Dendermond*, *Alost*, *Vilvorde*, *Antwerp*, and the several towns and cities round which the *French* and *Flemish* troops were quartered. By gaining the entire possession of these places, it was weakly imagined, he might render himself arbitrary, and fix the states in dependence upon the *French* interest. The project was executed with success at *Dunkirk*, *St. Vinoc*, *Dixmuyde*, and *Vilvorde*, but it failed at *Antwerp* and other places. The duke took it upon himself to gain possession of *Antwerp*; but the vigilance of the prince of *Orange*, and the courage of the burghers, defeated the attempt, and obliged the *French* to retire, with the loss of 1500 men killed and taken prisoners<sup>a</sup>. He afterwards endeavoured to apologize for his conduct, which he attributed to accident; and the states not daring to exasperate a prince in possession of so many of their towns, seemed to give credit to his excuses, while they determined narrowly to watch his conduct.

Prince of  
Orange's re-  
monstrance to  
the States.

As soon as these transactions were known in *France* and *England*, *Henry* and *Elizabeth* offered their mediation to appease the difference, and reconcile the duke to the states. *Elizabeth* advised him to dismiss the counsellors of this measure, as well as the officers employed in the execution, as the only step that could possibly regain the affections and confidence of the people. The states would do nothing without consulting their great leader the prince of *Orange*, whose sentiments upon this subject they demanded. *William's* answer was such as might increase the high opinion of his foresight, prudence, and penetration, tho' some have supposed that it was dictated by ambition. In the present circumstances of affairs, only one of these methods can be chosen; either to make peace with the king of *Spain*, to reconcile themselves with the duke of *Anjou*, or to defend their liberties with the native forces, without having recourse to foreign powers. As to the first, it was impracticable without renouncing all the advantages proposed by the war, and receiving worse conditions than had been proposed by the duke d'*Alva*. It was, he said, no difficult matter to heal the breach between the states and the duke of *Anjou*; but in doing this, they were again exposed to the same danger from which they lately had been so providentially delivered. With respect to the remaining alternative, that of defending their liberties by national troops, it would, he said, be much the most desirable, were it possible; but he feared, that neither the chiefs were unanimous, the provinces rich, and the people numerous enough to rely upon their endeavours. Upon the whole, however, he recommended this last course, provided any degree of harmony of counsels could be established, and that all the provinces would resolve to act up to their engagements. But he submitted his sentiments to the judgment of the states, declaring, that he would be wholly governed by their opinion. Many persons imagined that he sought to increase the public distraction in the strong manner in which he stated the difficulties consequent on every possible measure. It is not improbable, that the states were likewise of this opinion, from the resolution they formed of being reconciled to the duke of *Anjou*<sup>c</sup>.

The States are  
reconciled to  
the duke of  
Anjou.

AFTER the prince's answer was fully examined, and the remonstrances of *Bellievre* the *French* ambassador, in favour of the duke of *Anjou*, heard, the states nominated deputies to confer with the duke. They had no expectation of assistance from *Germany*, the queen of *England* was sparing of her promises, money, and forces; but *Henry III.* not only engaged to assist them liberally if they would accommodate matters with his brother, but threatened in case of refusal to throw himself in the opposite scale. These menaces, and the desire that the duke would attempt the relief of *Endove*, now besieged near three months, hastened the negotiation. It was agreed that the *French* prisoners at *Antwerp* should be released, that the effects of the *Flemish* merchants seized in *France*, and the towns of *Vilvorde*, *Dendermond*, and *Vinoc*, should be restored; that the duke's army should take the field, and every thing be placed on the same footing as before the attempt on the liberty of the provinces; *Endove* in the mean time surrendered for want of provisions; and the marshal *Biron*, at the head of the *French* army, retaliated upon the *Spaniards*, by surprising the castles of *Viersel* and *Woud*, the latter of which was defended by a strong garrison. *Viersel* however was soon after retaken by the count *Manfvelde*. To stop the progress of *Biron*, the duke of *Parma* marched against him with all his forces, attacked him near *Bergen-op-zoom*, and defeated him, with the loss of 500 men. In this action *Biron* was wounded; but historians differ widely in particulars. After this advantage the *Spanish* general laid siege to *Hirentals*, but relinquished it on advice that the duke of *Anjou*, disgusted at the late defeat,

The French  
army defeated.

<sup>a</sup> THUA. l. 77. p. 612.

<sup>c</sup> LE CLERC, lib. iii. p. 102.



a and the tedious deliberations of the states, had retired into *France*, leaving the *sieur de Chamois* with a slender garrison in *Dunkirk*. As this town was an object of more importance than *Hirentals*, he resolved to invest it with all his forces: his operations were so vigorously pushed, that *Chamois*, after several brisk sallies, was obliged to surrender. He was no sooner in the possession of this port, than he equipped a great number of armed vessels to cruize upon the *Zealanders*, restrain their enormities, and make reprisals. To the reduction of *Dunkirk* succeeded the submission of *Furnes* and *Newport*; then of *St. Vinox*, *Dixmuyde*, and *Menin* \*. Dunkirk taken.

THE rapidity of the prince of *Parma*'s conquests rendered more apparent the effects of the dissensions in the states, the want of unanimity, and of a head to direct their councils. The duke of Anjou returns to France.  
b Of all men the prince of *Orange*, who was perfectly acquainted with the humour of the people, and the state of affairs, was the fittest to preside, but jealousy obstructed his promotion. That prince had now by a fourth marriage formed a strong interest with the protestants of *France*, having espoused *Louisa de Coligni*, daughter to the famous admiral *Coligni*. His life was every day in danger, upon account of the services he had done the provinces; he was firmly attached to liberty; but his ambition, which, however he restrained, and artfully concealed, was dreaded to such a degree, that though all acknowledged his superior capacity, few ever thought of raising him to the supreme government †.

c THE duke of *Anjou*'s retreat was of the utmost service to the duke of *Parma*, who artfully fomented the division in the provinces, and every day strengthened his army by desertions from the enemy, not of individuals but of whole cities and garrisons. On the 5th of *March* he received deputies from *Ghent*. The seditious and tumultuous spirit of the inhabitants had forced the prince of *Orange* to quit the city, and abandon that rebellious people to their fate; upon which they desired to be restored to the favour of king *Philip*, promising him the utmost loyalty and fidelity, provided their privileges were secured. These however were only the sentiments of a party: the greater part of the citizens remained attached to the states, and being seasonably supported by a body of troops from *Brussels* and *Antwerp*, suppressed the *Spanish* faction, just as it was upon the point of delivering up the city to the duke of *Parma*. A. D. 1584. Commotions in Ghent.

d AMIDST these confusions the duke d'Anjou died in *France*, and soon after the prince of *Orange* was assassinated at *Delph*, by one *Balthazar Gerrard* or *Guion*, a person who had before served his highness with fidelity and zeal. He was at that very time employed by the prince to carry letters into *France*, and had received money to bear his expences, with which he purchased pistols to murder his benefactor. At the criminal's examination, it appeared that he had long meditated this bloody action, and was confirmed in his resolution by the jesuits and catholic priests; he even affirmed on the rack that the duke of *Parma* was privy to the design, who promised he should have the reward: upon the whole, *Gerrard* seems to have been an enthusiast, and his crime the result rather of insanity, than any concerted scheme, malicious or interested intention. His punishment however regarded only the action; it was cruel beyond measure, shocking to humanity, and a striking instance of the vehement party-spirit of the times; not of the justice of the judges, or the attachment of the people to the prince of *Orange* †. The prince of Orange assassinated at Delph.

### S E C T. III.

Containing an account of the state of Affairs consequent of the death of the Prince of *Orange*, the stadtholdership of Prince *Maurice*, and the government of the Earl of *Leicester*, with other particulars.

f THE *United Provinces* were now deprived of their chief hope; *William* was the soul of the union, though he found it frequently impossible to govern the passions of the multitude; his vigilance, address, penetration, eloquence, liberality, and prudence, had hitherto preserved their liberty; but his ambition, boldness, cunning, and intrigue, had involved them in a maze of politicks, out of which it required his superior capacity to extricate the *Netherlands*. A general gloom and despondency appeared in every face; confusion and anarchy now reigned in the councils of the confederates. The provinces of *Zealand* and *Holland* alone endeavoured to repair the loss, and shew their gratitude to *William*, by electing his son *Maurice* their stadtholder and captain general by sea and land. *Maurice* was at that time eighteen years of age; but such rays of genius shone forth in his character, as approved him worthy of the honours conferred. Such was the Prince Maurice elected stadtholder of Holland.

\* METEREN. lib. xi. p. 230.

† Id. ibid.

‡ GROT. An. lib. iv. p. 85, 86. METEREN. lib. xii.



A renewal of  
the treaty of  
Utrecht.

The duke of  
Parma's suc-  
cesses.]

youth opposed to the duke of *Parma*, the most renowned general of the age. It was imagined in *Spain*, that the death of *William* would deprive the confederates, not only of counsel, but of courage, longer to resist the power of *Philip*; but as soon as the first emotions of terror and grief were subsided, it produced very contrary effects. Revenge took place of despair, and the horror of the assassination, universally attributed to the intrigues of *Philip*, so irritated the people, that they determined to prosecute the war with such vigour and constancy, as required the exertion of all the duke of *Parma's* abilities. For a time indeed their efforts were feeble, because they were ill directed; but *Zealand* and *Holland* having led the way, *Utrecht*, *Guelderland*, and *Overijssel* followed the example; choosing governors strongly attached to the cause of liberty, and to the memory of the prince of *Orange*. Now they united themselves more closely; they came to a resolution, that if any article of the treaty of *Utrecht* had been broken or neglected, henceforward strictly to observe it, to remove difficulties, duly to furnish the several quotas, to permit only the public exercise of the evangelical religion, and to exert their utmost efforts to resist the tyranny of *Philip*, and revenge the assassination of their great deliverer the prince of *Orange*.

WHILE the provinces were taking the most vigorous measures for their mutual defence, the *Spanish* general was preparing to push the advantage he expected from the disorder consequent on the death of *William* of *Orange*. *Antwerp*, notwithstanding its losses in the beginning of the troubles, was still the most wealthy city of the *Netherlands*; this city had long been the object of the duke of *Parma's* designs, but the enterprize was attended with such difficulties as obliged him until now to defer it. He once proposed laying siege to *Antwerp*, immediately after the reduction of *Maestricht*, and he now resumed the project, in hopes that the confusion in the provinces would prevent their sending the required succours; to succeed, it was necessary to cut off the communication of the city with *Holland*, with *Ghent*, and all the places above and below *Antwerp* on the river *Scheld*. With this view he laid siege to *Lifkenshouk* and *Tillo*, places of the utmost consequence to the commerce and security of the city: both were obstinately defended, and the siege of the latter raised after it had been carried on for three months with incredible fatigue, industry, and expence; however, the duke of *Parma* gained possession of several other posts on the river, where he built forts, and greatly annoyed the shipping and trade of *Antwerp*. He next laid siege to *Dendermonde*, in order to cut off the communication between *Ghent* and *Antwerp*; in which he succeeded by the reduction of the town. His next attempt was on *Vilvorde*; this place he took by assault, and thereby put a stop to the intercourse between *Antwerp* and *Brussels*. Finding this method of hemming in the city tedious and ineffectual, while an opening to the mouth of the river remained, he proposed in council, that a fortified bridge should be built across the *Scheld*, and defended by strong forts and outworks at both extremities. At first this proposition was received as whimsical and idle by the members of the council, but on the duke's explaining his design, with applause: while he was procuring the proper materials for his design, the inhabitants of *Ghent*, terrified with the preparations, and assured that his next attempt would be directed against their city, resolved to deprecate his wrath by their submission. Deputies were accordingly sent to the duke of *Parma*; and it was agreed on the 17th of *September*, that *Ghent* should receive a *Spanish* garrison, on condition the city should be preserved in all its privileges.

Ghent submits  
to king Philip.

Siege of Ant-  
werp.

AFTER this acquisition the duke returned to his main object, the reduction of *Antwerp*; he began with collecting great quantities of wood at *Callo* and fort *St. Philip*, where he intended the bridge should be erected; but his project was for a time retarded by the *Antwerpers*, who broke down the dykes, overflowed the whole country, and swept off with the inundation all the duke's magazines. Not discouraged by this accident, he applied himself diligently to repair the loss, and, by way of carrying off the waters, cut a canal from *Steken* to *Callo*, a work of prodigious labour and expence. It was pursued with the utmost diligence, and executed with expedition scarce credible. Next he set to work upon the bridge, and finished, without interruption from the *Zealanders* or *Antwerpers*, in seven months, that stupendous monument of his genius, which was to determine the fate of *Antwerp*. Private interest, even when all was at stake, prevented the *Antwerpers* from executing a scheme which would have infallibly baffled all the duke's endeavours, and effectually have destroyed the fruits of his labour. *Aldegonde* the governor proposed building a fort on *Couvensteyn* dyke, to secure that important post, and breaking down the dyke, after the duke of *Parma's* bridge should be near finished; but his sentiments were violently opposed by certain citizens, who apprehended their lands and villas would be destroyed by the inundation: this unseasonable opposition, with the inexcusable

<sup>a</sup> Idem ibid.

<sup>b</sup> LE CLERC, lib. iv. p. 112.



a' fable negligence of the magistrates, who, depending upon a free intercourse by means of the river, deferred laying in corn, because the markets happened to be high, occasioned the loss of the city, and was a flagrant proof that *William of Orange* no longer directed their councils. However, in despite of all the duke of *Parma's* precautions, the *Zealanders* found means to throw in a convoy of corn; but the citizens knowing they would not run the hazard of carrying it back, so cheapened the price that those bold traders refused ever again bringing their goods to so bad a market. Thus, through avarice, indolence, and insensibility, did the *Antwerpers* see their ruin daily approaching, without seeming to observe it. They did not apprehend the consequence of quietly permitting the duke to finish the bridge, until it was too late to repair the error, and they began to suffer by famine; then they pressed the *Zealanders* to attempt their relief by attacking the bridge; but the reception those mariners had last met with, was no inducement to run fresh hazards: however, by order of the states, *Treslong* the admiral of *Zealand* was preparing to make the attempt. A squadron was appointed; but he deferred the enterprize under so many pretences, that he was superseded, and the command given to *Hohenlo* and *Justin Nassau*, who immediately attacked *Liffkenshouk*, with so much spirit and resolution, that it surrendered on the first summons. They next fell upon *St. Antonio* fort, which, together with several other posts, they took; but they neglected building a fort on a post they seized near *Callo*. The duke of *Parma* perceived their oversight; he forced the post, and then had it fortified.

c But as all the endeavours of the *Zealand* fleet could procure no relief to *Antwerp*, the governor and magistrates began to deliberate by what means they could now destroy the bridge, which they might have prevented the duke from ever completing. Seasonably *Ginebelli*, a *Mantuan* engineer, offered his services, undertaking at a certain expence to blow the whole work into the air: the expence was the main objection entertained by those penurious merchants, but this obstacle was at last surmounted by necessity; *Ginebelli* was provided with two large vessels, a number of small boats, the powder, combustibles, and all the other materials he required; he formed the two large vessels into fire-ships, set them adrift with the stream, and deceived the enemy by means of false fires lighted up in the fleet of small boats. The train of one of the fireships was consumed d before the time expected, and she blew up with a terrible explosion, but little damage to the bridge; the other was more successful, carrying off all the outworks, setting fire to the whole bridge, and burying above 500 soldiers in the ruins it made, among whom were the marquis *de Roblais*, the sieur *Billy*, and several *Spanish* officers of distinction: however, the terror which this dreadful stratagem of war occasioned, exceeded the damage; the fire was soon extinguished, and the bridge again repaired by the diligence of the duke: avarice deterred the *Antwerpers* from repeating the experiment; they continued nevertheless in conjunction with the *Zealanders* to attack and harass the enemy; but finding themselves baffled in every attempt, and reduced to the greatest extremities, they seriously thought of making their peace with *Spain*.<sup>c</sup> Deputies were accordingly sent to the duke e of *Parma*, a treaty was concluded, and king *Philip's* sovereignty again acknowledged in *Antwerp*. It is affirmed that the city of *Amsterdam* had obstructed every measure proposed for the relief of this commercial city, hoping to profit by the fate of her flourishing rival. It was not doubted but the protestants would forsake it as soon as it fell into the hands of an arbitrary catholic prince. The conjecture was fulfilled, whole families retiring with their effects to *Amsterdam*.

*Antwerp submits to king Philip.*

A. D. 1585.

While *Antwerp* was besieged, it was universally believed, that the fate of the provinces depended on the fortune of that city; yet such was the confusion among the confederates, that only feeble attempts were made for its relief. Now the terror inspired by the duke's conquests determined the states general to send a solemn deputation to the queen f of *England*, offering her the sovereignty of the provinces upon certain conditions. This *Elizabeth* refused; but she concluded a treaty with the states, whereby she engaged powerfully to assist them with men and money, upon having the towns of *Brill*, *Flushing*, and *Ramekins*, put into her hands in security of future payment. All this time *Elizabeth* and king *Philip* preserved little more than the appearance of peace; the latter was fomenting the insurrection in *Ireland*, while the former lent a hand to the foundation of a new commonwealth forming in the *Netherlands*. The addition of the kingdom of *Portugal* to his vast monarchy, rendered *Philip* more haughty and uncontrollable, without much enlarging his power; he now thought himself a match for all *Europe*, though he had not yet subdued his rebellious subjects in the *Low Countries*; and accordingly he embroiled himself with the g crowns of *France* and *England*, by protecting the league, and receiving the investiture of *Ireland* from the apostolic see. *Elizabeth* engaged by treaty to succour the provinces with

*A treaty with the queen of England.*

<sup>c</sup> METERN. lib. xii. p. 247. BENTIVOG. p. 2. lib. iii. p. 74. LE CLERC, lib. iv. p. 120.



5000 foot and 1300 horse, under the command of an *English* general; to pay those troops during the war, on condition of being reimbursed when peace should be re-established; and to accept of the three towns mentioned in security of payment. The treaty farther imported, that the *English* governors of the cautionary towns should have no authority over the inhabitants; that the towns should be restored to the states on the repayment of the money; that the *English* general and two other persons nominated by the queen of *England* should have seats in the states general; that neither peace nor war should be made without the mutual consent of the contracting parties; that in case of her equipping a fleet for the services of the provinces, the states should back it with an equal force, the whole to be commanded by the *English* admiral; finally, that the ports and harbours of both countries should be open to the subjects of each nation. The treaty was no sooner signed, than the *Brille* was delivered into the hands of Sir *Thomas Cecil*; Sir *Philip Sidney* took possession of *Flushing* and *Ramekins*, in quality of governor; and the earl of *Leicester* was appointed general of the *English* auxiliaries. Immediately succeeded a manifesto in vindication of the queen's conduct, shewing her reasons for assisting the oppressed inhabitants of the *Low Countries*; here she alledged, that the alliance between *England* and the *Netherlands* related to the mutual welfare of both countries, rather than to any personal animosity between the sovereigns; her majesty therefore thought herself at liberty to succour the injured subjects, without declaring war against the king. She complained of the conduct of the *Spanish* minister *Mendoza*, who had endeavoured to excite factions, and stir up rebellion among her popish subjects: she enumerated the many proffers she had made of mediating a peace between the king and her good allies in the *Netherlands*; she taxed *Philip* with a design of invading *England*, with having sent powerful supplies of money to the rebels in *Ireland*; and lastly, to anticipate the king's vengeance, she equipped a squadron of twenty ships, detached under the conduct of Sir *Francis Drake*, to infest the *Spanish* settlements in the *West Indies* <sup>a</sup>.

A.D. 1586.  
Leicester made  
governor-general.

ON the earl of *Leicester*'s arrival in *Holland*, he was received with the utmost respect and veneration; the confederates had conceived great hopes of his abilities, they constituted him governor-general of the provinces, and before he had exhibited any proof of his valour or conduct, vested him with a power almost dictatorial, which he soon abused by an administration equally weak, wanton, cruel, and oppressive. His authority was in a manner unlimited, not only in respect to the conduct of the war, but in civil affairs and the finances. The confederates lavished honours upon the favourite chiefly to engage *Elizabeth* in their interest; and the queen penetrating their design, was by no means pleased with their extraordinary indulgence to her minion. Some attribute her resentment to jealousy, others with more probability to policy, which required that she should not too deeply involve herself in the quarrel between *Philip* and his subjects. It was soon perceived, that the confidence of the states was misplaced. *Leicester* not only shewed his incapacity to direct military operations; by permitting the duke of *Parma* to proceed in a rapid course of conquests; but he assumed the air of a sovereign prince, swayed arbitrarily in the *Netherlands*, and expressed a contempt of the queen of *England*'s authority; a princess whose ill-judged favour had raised him to the height of ambition. They had suffered him to nominate a counsellor of state for each province, to change the great seal, and quarter his own arms with those of the states; but all this was insufficient to gratify the earl's ambition. Actuated by a kind of fatality, and intoxicated with his elevation, he refused the instructions of the states, filled up all vacant places, coined base *nobles* to pass for double their intrinsic value, erected a new court of exchequer, filled the colleges of the admiralty with his unqualified favourites, opposed the levying *German* auxiliaries, excited the people to rise against the magistrates, introduced disorder into the finances, and filled the provinces with confusion.

BEFORE *Leicester* had betrayed his incapacity, *Elizabeth* remonstrated to the states on his extraordinary elevation, without her knowledge or consent, notwithstanding she had publicly declared her intention was only to assist her oppressed neighbours, not to seize upon the sovereignty of the provinces: she now required that they would revoke those honours conferred so wantonly, not that she meant to desert their interest, but to maintain her own honour. The states submissively apologized for their conduct, and declared it was the farthest from their intention to offend her majesty; but finding that a governor-general was necessary to preserve unanimity, they had preferred a subject of *England* to any other. They had put the word *absolute* in the act only to distinguish him from some temporary governors, and to give weight to his dignity. They concluded with requesting her majesty, that she would not insist upon a revocation, which they apprehended would be attended with confusion, and the most fatal consequences. This letter was accompa-

<sup>a</sup> CAMDEN. Vit. Eliz. Ann. 1586. METEREN. lib. xiii. p. 256.



a nished with another from the earl, filled with the most humble submissions and feigned contrition, with which however *Elizabeth* rested satisfied <sup>c</sup>.

*LEICESTER* began his government with restoring military discipline, for regulating which he published some good ordinances. Had he kept to this plan, his administration would have been happy, and his person beloved; but he immediately proceeded to pass certain decrees relative to commerce, that were justly deemed very arbitrary, oppressive, and injurious to the country. He prohibited all kinds of warlike stores, provisions, or other merchandize, to be sold not only to the enemies of the state and their allies, but to neutral powers; by which means trade sustained considerable damage: he even prohibited all intercourse either by exchange or otherwise with *Spain*, *France*, and the northern powers, b under penalty of the confiscation of their ships and goods. The adviser of this measure was *James Reginault*, a person before odious to the people; and to enforce it, *Reginault*, in contempt of the council of state, procured an extraordinary commission to proceed with rigour against those who should be guilty of a trespass upon the decree: by this commission he was empowered to examine the books and papers of merchants, contrary to the ancient rights and privileges of the commercial inhabitants of the *Netherlands*. *Leicester* likewise demanded, that all foreign traders should have passports from him, by which he pretended he could greatly augment the revenue: certain it is, that he levied great sums by those oppressive measures; but no part was applied to the public service <sup>c</sup>.

WHILE the earl was busied in rendering his government odious, and destructive to the c people who had just promoted him to the pinnacle of human grandeur, the duke of *Parma* was pushing the operations of the campaign. Count *Manfveldt* was ordered to block up the town of *Grave* on the *Maese*, and to throw a bridge cross the river, to prevent the entrance of supplies. He built four forts upon the river, which he strongly garrisoned, and completed the bridge in the manner directed; though the garrison of *Grave* used every expedient to obstruct his operations. *Leicester* sent orders to *Hohenlo* and *Norris*, the general of the *English* infantry, to attempt the relief of the town; they immediately seized on the fort and town of *Bottemburgh*, but were driven from that post by *Manfveldt*, while they were preparing to entrench themselves; being afterwards reinforced, they attacked the Spaniards with such vigour as obliged them to retreat; however, the duke of *Parma's* ar- rival prevented their succouring *Grave*: he now turned the blockade into a siege, and carried on his approaches so rapidly, that the governor surrendered before a breach was made, or the garrison in the least stinted for provisions. Pursuing his successes, the duke of *Parma* led his army against *Venlo*, higher up the *Maese*, invested the town, and obliged the garrison in two days to capitulate, at the intreaty of the bishop of *Cologne*; he attacked *Wuys*, the garrison of which place had pillaged the country, and obstructed all convoys of provision; and by the impetuosity of the assault, forced the governor to submission. Next he reduced *Meurs*, *Alphen*, and the castle of *Crulno*; after which he invested *Birk*, but was forced to relinquish the enterprize; *Morgan* an *English* officer having thrown himself with 1000 men into the place <sup>c</sup>.

To stop the duke of *Parma's* progress, *Leicester* detached prince *Maurice* and Sir *Philip Sidney* with 2000 men into *Flanders*; they surprised the little town of *Axel* on the 17th of July; but failed in an enterprize formed against *Graveline*: at last, *Leicester* determined to take the field in person; he ordered the army to move to *Guelderland*, and, accompanied by the princes of the house of *Nassau*, and all the general officers, *English*, *German*, and *Flemish*, he arrived at *Arnheim* on the 6th of *September*; finding his strength inferior to the enemy's, he contented himself with reducing *Doesburgh* upon the *Rbine*, and blocking up *Zutphen*, into which the duke of *Parma* threw supplies at pleasure. It was in attacking one of these convoys that the brave, generous, gallant, and amiable Sir *Philip Sidney* lost his life. After taking all the outworks, and building little forts round the town f to restrain the excursions of the garrison, who levied heavy contributions on the neighbouring country, *Leicester* cantoned his army in winter-quarters, without effecting any thing worthy of the public expectation <sup>h</sup>.

DURING this recess from hostilities, the earl of *Leicester* would seem to have made it his whole study to render himself odious. He put into all vacant offices persons the most obnoxious to the people; and, among others, one *York* an *Englishman*, who had deserted from the confederates to the duke of *Parma*, served for two years in the *Spanish* army, and now deserted it to obtain preferment from the *English* general. The states remonstrated against the promotion of a person, who had so often betrayed his trust; but *Leicester*, without regarding them, poured down his favours upon a man whose sole talent consisted in a servile adulation and compliance with the humour of his patron. The

<sup>c</sup> METEREN. lib. xiii. <sup>f</sup> LE CLERC, lib. iv. <sup>g</sup> REIDAN. Ann. lib. vi. GROT. lib. iv. <sup>h</sup> Id. ibid.



government of *Deventer* became another cause of altercation between the governor and the states. That trust was conferred upon another *Englishman*, whose character was equally liable to censure. Besides, the right of appointing belonged to the earl of *Meurs*, as governor of *Guelderland*, *Utrecht*, and *Overyssel*; but *Leicester*, without attending to his prerogative, or to the murmurs of the people, vindicated his own conduct, and refused to relinquish the interest of his dependent. Happily for the provinces, he was called to attend the *English* parliament. On his departure, the states exhorted him to use his influence with the queen to accept of the sovereignty of the *Netherlands*; he promised to exert his utmost endeavours, but at the same time was too much enamoured of power to have any intention to perform his engagements. While he resided at *Flushing*, waiting for a fair wind, he seduced the garrison of *Vere*, a place belonging to prince *Maurice*, persuading the soldiers that they owed no allegiance but to the queen of *England* and her governor. The same attempt was made on several other garrisons, in all which it is impossible to conceive *Leicester* could have any other object in view, than to render himself detestable to the very people whose affections he ought by every means to conciliate<sup>1</sup>. On his arrival in *England*, he wrote to the states, demanding payment of 480,000 livres, due in arrears to the army. Their answer was, that the supplies raised, if managed with oeconomy, were more than sufficient to answer every purpose of the government. Some altercation arose, which was followed by a long catalogue of grievances, transmitted from the states to queen *Elizabeth*. This produced mutual recriminations, which enflamed both sides to a degree of animosity.

He sets sail for England.

A. D. 1587.

*Sluys* besieged.

*Leicester* returns to Holland.

Now was the season for the duke of *Parma* to reap the advantage of these contentions. He made several motions, in order to perplex the confederates, and cover his designs. At last it appeared that he meditated the conquest of *Flanders*, by first reducing *Ostend* and *Sluys*. The former was saved by a seasonable reinforcement of seven hundred *English*; but *Sluys* was invested in despite of the utmost endeavours of prince *Maurice* and *Hohenlo*, who tried every expedient to divert the duke from this enterprize. As the place was badly provided, the governor sent repeatedly to *Flushing* for supplies; but the *Spaniards* had so closely blocked up all the avenues that it was impossible to throw in a convoy. The garrison, however, determined to make a vigorous defence. They withstood several assaults, and always displayed the most obstinate courage. *Sluys* had been now six weeks besieged; when the earl of *Leicester*, by the queen's mediation, returned to his government. On his arrival at *Flushing*, it was determined in a council of war to succour the place by sea. A detachment of five thousand foot and six hundred horse were ordered to make a diversion in favour of the fleet; but the project was frustrated by the narrowness of the channel, which would not admit the shipping. *Leicester* was blamed for not attacking the duke of *Parma's* trenches, and to his want of courage the public voice ascribed the loss of *Sluys*; which, after sustaining numberless hardships during a brave defence of two months, at last surrendered, when the garrison had expended all their provision and ammunition. The duke of *Parma* entertained so high an opinion of the conduct of the governor, *Arnaudd de Groenveldt*, and of the courage of the garrison, that he voluntarily granted them all military honours, their baggage, and lighted matches. His conquest indeed was dearly purchased; he lost in the siege seven general officers, and near four thousand soldiers<sup>2</sup>.

Disputes between Leicester and Hohenlo.

THE reduction of *Sluys* renewed the clamour against the earl of *Leicester's* administration. Out of compliment to the queen, he was again received by the provinces, but the reconciliation was not cordial. Had he however acted with proper spirit and prudence, he might have regained the esteem and affections of the people. He determined otherwise, and proceeded upon his old plan, of introducing discord, confusion and anarchy. He renewed his complaints against the states, prince *Maurice*, and *Hohenlo*. They answered; he replied in terms full of passion and resentment, in which he lost all regard to decorum. *Hohenlo* was, in particular, the object of his detestation, merely because he strenuously vindicated the privileges of his country, and discharged the duty of an able, bold, and faithful officer. He had this year performed considerable services in *Brabant*; but he was accused by *Leicester* of disobedience, because he had not joined the main army with his detachment, at a time when it was not possible, without sacrificing the public interest. *Hohenlo* published a very spirited and sensible answer, in which he fully vindicated his own conduct, and obliquely hinted at the weakness and absurdity of *Leicester's* measures. A long paper-altercation passed likewise between the states of *Holland* and the governor-general. Nothing can be more masterly than all the remonstrances published on this occasion by the states; they fully explain the privileges of the provinces, and the prerogative of the governor-general; vindicate their own conduct, without throwing blame on the queen of

<sup>1</sup> LE CLERC, lib. iv. GROT. ibid.

<sup>2</sup> METEREN. lib. xiv.



<sup>a</sup> *England*; and artfully distinguish between the misconduct of the queen's lieutenant, and her majesty's own intentions. In a word, though *Leicester* was foiled at every weapon, such was the unsteadiness of the people, and address of his faction, that even the provincial states were divided in opinion; some blaming, while others highly applauded his conduct. The magistrates of *Utrecht*, and the clergy of *Holland* and *Zealand* strongly espoused his interests, and bitterly reflected on the states of *Holland*, whose opposition arose, they said, from a jealous, capricious, and turbulent humour. Even the magistrates of several towns in *Holland*, blamed the states, especially those of *Dordrecht*, who appeared to have solely enlisted themselves in the earl's faction. In the midst of these contentions *Leicester* imprudently gave colour to the accusations of his enemies, by forming a project to seize upon *Leyden*. The plan was concerted with one *Cosmo de Pascarengis*, an *Italian* banker; it was discovered by accident, and fully detected by the confession of the banker and his accomplices, on the rack. *Killegrew*, who was of the council of state for *Elizabeth*, interceded for the criminals, and boldly affirmed, in their vindication, that they had acted by orders from the governor-general<sup>1</sup>. This alone was sufficient testimony against *Leicester*; but the states not chusing to irritate and inflame the public dissensions, wisely suppressed their sentiments.

<sup>b</sup> WHEN the winter approached, lord *Leicester* was recalled, either for the defence of *England*, threatened with a *Spanish* invasion, or to prevent his falling into further errors in the *Netherlands*. The *Dutch* writers alledge, that the queen was so well satisfied of his misconduct, pride, and ambition, that she dreaded the consequences to her favourite, of suffering him longer to hold the reins of government, which he had hitherto directed with so little prudence and ability. Before he quitted the *Low Countries*, he sent an apology to the states of *Holland*, for not bidding them a personal farewell; he exaggerated the services he had done the provinces; gently reproached the states for having traversed all his measures, to which he attributed the failure of every enterprize; admonished them to a different behaviour; and promised upon these conditions to use his utmost influence with the queen in their behalf. On his arrival in *England*, though he was well received by *Elizabeth*, and appointed to the command of an army encamped at *Tilbury*, yet he was divested of his government. *Leicester* apprehending he should be arraigned before the council, had the address by his submission to procure the queen's pardon, and a stop to all proceedings touching his conduct in the *Low Countries*. However, his enemies were so powerful, and the remonstrances sent over by the states so evincive and undeniable, that nothing but the vast preparations in *Spain* to invade *England*, which turned the whole attention of the ministry to the security of the nation, could screen him from a public trial. Among other articles of accusation transmitted by the states, it appeared that the earl had formed a design to apprehend, and put to death *John Olden Barneveldt*, and thirteen other strenuous opposers of his arbitrary measures; to seize *Dort*, *Enckhuysen*, *Leyden*, and other places; in a word, to render himself despotic, and establish a kind of military government in the *United Provinces*<sup>m</sup>.

<sup>c</sup> By orders from the court of *Spain*, the duke of *Parma*, since the reduction of *Sluys*, was forced to drop all thoughts of pursuing his advantages in the *Netherlands*, in order to assist with his whole power the enterprize concerted against *England*. Here was a fair opportunity for the confederates to redeem their losses, had they not been divided by factions, and poorly supplied with money, ammunition, and provision, from *England*. The penurious disposition of *Elizabeth* would seem in this instance to have suppressed the dictates of prudence and sound policy. *Spain* had great confidence in the duke of *Parma*'s assistance in carrying on the grand expedition. That general had assembled thirty thousand men to be transported into *England*, in four hundred flat-bottomed boats, under the convoy of a squadron of twenty ships of war; yet did *Elizabeth* use no expedient to divert his intention, by enabling the confederated provinces to engage him at home. All hostilities ceased on both sides until the miscarriage of the most formidable scheme ever planned for the conquest of *England*. It is not within our province to relate the circumstances which contributed to the defeat of the *Spanish* armada; sufficient it is, that providence seemed to co-operate with the intrepidity of lord *Effingham*, the *English* admiral, to baffle the designs, and mortify the pride of *Philip*. His fleet was first dispersed in a hard gale, afterwards roughly handled by the *English*, and at last shattered, destroyed, and wholly ruined, in a terrible storm, off the coast of *Scotland*. Seventeen ships, having five thousand land-forces on board, were cast away on the *Hebrides* and coast of *Ireland*; some were wrecked on the rocks of *Norway*, and many perished by fire, or were swallowed up by the ocean. In a word, of one hundred and thirty great ships, which set sail from the ports of *Spain*, manned with twenty thousand soldiers and nine thousand seamen,

*Leicester recalled.*

A. D. 1588.  
*England invaded by Philip.*

<sup>1</sup> METEREN. lib. xiv.

<sup>m</sup> LE CLERC, lib. iv.



and mounting two thousand three hundred and sixty pieces of fine cannon, only fifty-three ever returned, and these in a miserable, shattered condition".

Negotiations  
in the Nether-  
lands.

WHILE *Philip* and *Elizabeth* were making the utmost preparations, the one for attacking, the other for defending *England*, they both endeavoured to gain time, by amusing each other with a negotiation. It was the business of *Philip* to procrastinate matters until he should be able to strike, and of *Elizabeth*, until her affairs should be in a posture to ward off the blow. The king sent the duke of *Parma* a commission to treat with the *English* envoys; he accordingly repaired to *Ostend*, and the conferences were opened at *Bourbourg*, notwithstanding the estates of the *Netherlands* had refused to consent to the treaty. It was proposed by the *English*, that liberty of conscience should be granted for two years to the reformed; but neither the duke of *Parma*, nor the estates, would hearken to this proposition. A truce was in the next place demanded by the commissaries, and rejected by the duke. Then they required that the ancient alliance between *England* and the house of *Burgundy* should be renewed; that all foreign troops should be withdrawn from the *Low Countries*; that the people should be secured in their liberties; and that the money lent the estates by queen *Elizabeth* should be repaid by the king of *Spain*. A variety of debates arose upon these articles, and it was obvious that the whole design of the conference was to retard measures until the armada should enter the channel. It no sooner appeared than the negotiations were broke off, and the *English* commissioners dismissed with a safe-conduct to *Calais*.

The duke of  
*Parma* takes  
the field.

As soon as the defeat of the grand expedition was known in the *Netherlands*, the duke of *Parma* turned his attention to the affairs of his government. He now determined to repair the loss sustained from his late inactivity, by prosecuting the most vigorous measures. The marquis de *Renthes* and *Charles Mansveldt*, were sent with a strong detachment to reduce the Isle of *Tolen*, separated by a canal from *Brabant*. By this he meant to facilitate his approaches against *Bergen-op-Zoom*. The bravery of colonel count *Solmes* frustrated the attempt on the island. He repulsed the *Spaniards* in two vigorous attacks, but could not prevent the duke from forming the siege. *Bergen-op-Zoom* was invested on the 24th of *September*. It was defended by lord *Willoughby*, general of the *English* forces, and an *English* garrison, with so much spirit and intrepidity, that after divers efforts and stratagems of war, the duke was forced to relinquish the enterprize. Chagrin and disappointment having impaired the duke of *Parma's* health, and the season becoming rigorous, he put his army into winter-quarters.

ON the 14th of *September* died the earl of *Leicester*, to the great joy of the states of *Holland*, who now at length conceived hopes that they might be able to crush his faction, and introduce harmony among those provinces so long torn by civil dissensions, while they were maintaining a war against the most powerful potentate of *Europe*. Immediately the towns which, in consequence of his protection, had withdrawn their allegiance from the states, returned to their duty. The garrison of *Gertruydenberg* alone stood out; they first mutinied, then revolted against the states, and at last threw themselves into the arms of the duke of *Parma*, after committing shocking outrages, under pretence that they had sworn only to obey the queen and *Leicester*. *Willoughby* and the *English* are blamed by *Dutch* historians for their conduct in this transaction. The year concluded with the siege of *Wachtendock*, an enterprize formed by count *Peter Ernest Mansveldt*, contrary to the opinion of *Verdugo*, and the most experienced generals in the *Spanish* army, and indeed of the duke of *Parma* himself. The place was strong and well provided; the season was rigorous, and the *Spanish* soldiers reluctant, and averse to the undertaking; but *Mansveldt's* success was a full vindication of his conduct. The garrison surrendered on the 20th of *December*, after the town had almost been laid wholly in ashes by a ruinous bombardment. Some writers alledge that *Mansveldt* used only ignited bullets, with which he set fire to the place, and terrified the garrison into submission.

State of the  
*Spanish* af-  
fairs in the  
*Netherlands*.

In the beginning of the year this general passed into the isle of *Bommel*, where he reduced several forts, but failed in his principal aim, that of seizing the capital by surprise. While he was thus employed, prince *Maurice*, count *Solmes*, and *Hohenlo*, uniting their forces, attacked and retook *Heusden* in sight of the *Spanish* army. From this time we may date the decline of *Philip's* affairs. His best officer the duke of *Parma* was in a bad state of health, his soldiers became mutinous for their pay, and his finances were exhausted by the immense expences of the armada, and the destruction of his commerce and rich plate fleet. Jealousies likewise arose between the duke of *Parma* and the *Spaniards*, who even had the presumption to tax that great general with the miscarriage of the grand expedition, and of the siege of *Bergen-op-Zoom*. One *John Mora*, a *Spaniard*, wrote letters of com-

<sup>a</sup> CAMDEN, p. 555.

<sup>\*</sup> Id. sub Ann.

<sup>p</sup> REDAN. p. 171. GROT. lib. v.

<sup>q</sup> STRADA, sub Ann. p. 601.



a plaint to the king, in which he bitterly inveighed against the duke; these letters were intercepted by prince *Maurice*, decyphered, and sent to the duke of *Parma*. In consequence *Ricardot* was dispatched to *Madrid*, to vindicate the duke, and *Mora* being invited to dinner was poisoned: an action, that leaves an indelible stain on the character of the duke of *Parma*.

WHILE the duke was drinking the waters of the *Spaw*, the marquis of *Waremben*, the Spanish governor in *Guelderland*, projected a scheme for reducing the whole province, and began the execution with surprizing the castle of *Bleimbeck*. He then resolved to lay siege to *Rhimberg*, but was anticipated by a strong reinforcement thrown in by general *Schenk*. Besides reinforcing *Rhimberg*, this active officer cut off a regiment of *Spaniards* in *Frise-*  
b land, but unfortunately perished in an unsuccessful attempt on *Nimeguen*. *Waremben*, after *Schenk*'s death, renewed his design on *Rhimberg*, but constant supplies were thrown in by lord *Falkenstein* and Sir *Francis Vere*, who commanded a body of 2000 *English* infantry. The marquis resolved to attack the *English*. He sent a strong detachment to that purpose; but the *Spaniards* met with so warm a reception, that they retired in disorder, with the loss of 300 men and ten standards. Notwithstanding this advantage, the states suffered *Rhimberg* to fall into the hands of the enemy, because they found it expensive and hazardous to cover with an army a place so distant from their frontiers. The loss of *Rhimberg* however was balanced by divers successes in *Groningen*, where prince *Maurice* foiled the Spanish general *Verdugo* in every attempt. Notwithstanding he had not an army sufficient to perform  
c any signal exploit, or considerable enterprize, the *Batavian* prince exhibited sufficient proofs of his superior military talents and towering genius. One very important blow was given to the power of *Spain* in the *Netherlands* by the reduction of *Breda*. This city and *Gertruydenberg* were the keys of *Brabant*; and the loss of the latter had wholly excluded the confederates from that province. A project was laid for surprizing *Breda*, and it succeeded. The master of a trading vessel, who was permitted to supply the Spanish general with necessaries, took on board about sixty *Dutch* foldiers, and concealed them so artfully under planks and boards, that his vessel was visited in the usual manner by the officers on guard, without discovery. In the night, the concealed party seized upon the city-gates, and being opposed by *Hobenlo*, who lay with a body of troops at a little distance from the  
d town, gained possession without hardly striking a blow. By order of the duke of *Parma*, the commanding Spanish officer was put to death for neglect of duty, cowardice, and remissness. He afterwards took every possible method to recover *Breda*. *Mansveldt* was detached with a select body of troops to attack *Nortdam*, a fort on the canal, by which the city was supplied with necessaries; but he was so warmly received by *Matthias Hall*, a *Fleming*, who commanded, that he retired precipitately, leaving 600 dead before the fort. A. D. 1590.  
e All he could effect was to build a fort opposite to *Nortdam*, to restrain the garrison; after which he invested *Breda*. Prince *Maurice* immediately took the field to protect a town of such consequence. He marched straight to *Nimeguen*, and by his operations persuaded the duke of *Parma* that he intended besieging the town; upon which *Mansveldt* was ordered to relinquish *Breda*, and succour *Nimeguen*, a town of still infinitely greater moment. In despite of *Mansveldt*'s endeavours, prince *Maurice* erected the fortress of *Knotzembourg*, to cut off the trade of *Nimeguen*, and facilitate any future attempts to reduce the city.

THOUGH the naval power of the states was greatly augmented, and their commerce carried to a high degree, they could not restrain the pernicious prizes of the *Dunkirk* privateers, which swarmed in all the neighbouring seas, to the immediate damage of traffic. The *Zealanders* equipped several squadrons of small vessels; but these being found insufficient to restrain the pirates, grown bold by success, it necessarily became a national concern. The different colleges of the admiralty stationed a number of ships in such a  
f manner as to block up the port of *Dunkirk*, by which means numbers of privateers loaded with booty fell into their hands before they could enter the harbour, and others were prevented from putting to sea. We have, in a former volume, largely expatiated on the origin and progress of the *Dutch* commerce, which took its rise from their profitable voyages to the *East-Indies*, and the ruin of *Antwerp*; it will therefore be unnecessary to dwell upon it in this place. Sufficient it is, that the provinces were now enabled to furnish their contingencies towards the public expence, to act offensively, and maintain greater armies, than they had ever before sent into the field. They even sent supplies of men and money, to support *Henry IV.* against the league and the king of *Spain*, whence they deduced the advantage of making a powerful diversion from the *Netherlands*.

\* METEREN, lib. xv. GROT. Hist. lib. i. p. 318.    \* Id. ibid.    \* LE CLERC.



The duke of  
Parma is sent  
with an army  
to assist the  
league in  
France.

A. D. 1591.

Successes of  
prince Maurice.

ABOUT this time, the duke of *Parma* received orders to hasten to the assistance of the duke of *Mayence*, defeated by *Henry IV.* with the greater part of the *Spanish* army in the *Low Countries*. The duke immediately perceived that the loss of the *Netherlands* would be the consequence; but his orders being absolute, he directed his march with 12000 foot, and 3000 horse, to the frontiers of *France*, leaving count *Mansveldt* to conduct the war against the *United Provinces*. This general was too weak to keep the field, or to prevent prince *Maurice* from razing and destroying all the *Spanish* forts on the frontiers of the provinces. The confederates resolving to make the most of the opportunity, attacked and reduced the fort of *Blamemberg*. This enterprise was conducted by *Norris*, governor of *Ostend*, for the queen of *England*. The garrison retreating to another fort in the *Dunes*, he vigorously assaulted this fortress, took it, and put the garrison to the sword. b  
On the 2d of *April* the garrison of *Breda* surprised the castle of *Turnbont*, one of the largest villages of *Brabant*; and on the 9th of *May* they gained possession of *Westerloo*, a place extremely convenient for keeping the province under contribution. As soon as the season was sufficiently advanced to afford forage for the cavalry, the states sent an army of 10,000 foot, and 1000 horse, into the field, under the conduct of prince *Maurice*, lately made governor of *Guelderland*, and by thus directing the affairs of three of the most considerable provinces of the union, raised to great influence and authority. By this time the duke of *Parma* was returned, after having acquired laurels in a defensive war against *Henry IV.* by relieving *Paris*. *Maurice* made some movements which raised apprehensions in the duke for *Gertruydenberg*, imagining his design was upon that city; but the prince c  
turned suddenly towards the territory of *Velaw*, and presented himself before *Zutphen*; after having the good fortune to seize by a stratagem upon some of the outworks, he then regularly invested the place, and pursued his operations with so much rapidity, that the garrison capitulated on condition that they should have a safe-conduct to *Deventer*. The *Spanish* garrison no sooner entered this last place, than *Maurice* was close at their heels, laid siege to *Deventer*, and took it after a short resistance. It was defended by *Herman de Horam*, being the prince's own cousin-german, who had served *Philip* with great fidelity, and would now have considerably retarded the progress of the confederate army, had he not received a wound in the face, by which he was confined. From *Deventer* the prince directed his rout to *Groningen*, with design to invest that city; but on receiving advice that d  
the garrison was strongly reinforced and well supplied, he filed off towards *Delfziel*, which together with some neighbouring forts he reduced, and thereby extremely incommoded the city of *Groningen* <sup>a</sup>.

As the duke of *Parma's* army did not exceed 5000 foot, and 2000 horse, he dreaded the extension of *Maurice's* conquests, and that *Nimeguen* would be the next object of his operations. To prevent this he determined to attack *Knotsemberg*, and thereby to throw unfurmoutable obstructions in the way of the confederates. After seizing some posts in the higher *Guelderland*, he made a feint as if he intended to fall upon fort *Schenk*, and then suddenly passing the *Vaal*, invested *Knotsemberg* on the 13th of *July*. The artillery of this fort totally destroyed the works on the opposite side of *Nimeguen*, and the garrison had more e  
the command of the river than the city itself. It was of great importance to *Maurice* to maintain this advantage; he was therefore watchful of the motions of the *Spanish* army, and suspected the duke's design which he had so artfully concealed. Before the duke of *Parma* approached, he had directed count *Solmes* powerfully to reinforce the garrison, and supply the fort with every necessary. He then followed with his army nearly equal to that of the enemy, and encamped at a short distance from the duke of *Parma's* trenches. The *Spaniards* carried on the siege with vigour, but every inch of ground they gained lost a multitude of lives. Frequent skirmishes passed between the two armies, in one of which *Nicelli*, captain of the horse-guards, and 400 troopers, were made prisoners. Very seasonably for the duke of *Parma's* reputation, he received an order to repair with all expedition f  
to *France*, leaving only troops sufficient for a defensive war in the *Netherlands*. He immediately complied with the royal mandate, and accordingly raised the siege, and covered his retreat with so much address, that he crossed the *Vaal* without furnishing the enemy with an opportunity of falling upon his rear. This was his last campaign in the *Netherlands*, where his long services had deservedly acquired him the reputation of an able, vigilant, and faithful general, though numberless attempts were made by envious *Spaniards* to blast his character. Before he quitted the *Low Countries*, he endeavoured to persuade the inhabitants of *Nimeguen* to admit a reinforcement of *Spanish* soldiers; but the magistrates not chusing to be saddled with foreign pensioners, took upon themselves the defence of the city <sup>x</sup>.

<sup>a</sup> GROT. p. 146.

<sup>x</sup> LE CLERC, lib. iv. METELEN, lib. 17.



a PRINCE *Maurice*, satisfied with seeing *Knotsemberg* relieved, and the *Spanish* army weakened by the detachments sent off to *France*, passed to *Guelderland*, without, however, relinquishing his designs on *Nimeguen*. In the middle of *September*, he marched with 4000 foot, and 600 horse, into the territory of *Was*, and laid siege to *Hulst*. On the 19th the place was invested; the batteries began to play on the 23d, and by the 25th the garrison capitulated. The same terms were granted as to the other conquered places; that is, the inhabitants were permitted their own religion, but the magistrates were protestants. Count *Solmes* was appointed governor of the town and adjacent territory. As soon as transports could be provided, *Maurice* embarked a strong body of horse and foot, alarmed the whole coast of *Flanders*, spread a report that he proposed besieging *Dunkirk* or *Newport*, b then debarked his troops, and appeared unexpectedly before *Nimeguen*. He began with forming a bridge of boats across the river, to prevent the town's being supplied, then erected batteries, and all at once battered the walls with sixty-five pieces of heavy cannon. First, however, he summoned the magistrates; but they answered, "that as the prince c " was a young man, he ought to consider *Nimeguen* as a coy virgin, whose favours were " only to be gained by gallantry and assiduity." They soon, however, changed their tone, beat a parley, and desired to capitulate. The effects of the red hot balls poured into the city, terrified them into submission. All the conditions imposed by *Maurice* were accepted, only they refused to embrace the reformed religion, but consented to a liberty of conscience; and that the magistrates should be appointed by the prince, a right which he preserved during the course of the war. Six companies of foot and two troops of horse were left in garrison, after which *Maurice* put his army into winter-quarters in *Overyssel* and *Friseland*.

So glorious and successful a campaign highly elated the spirits of the people, and raised the young prince to the height of popularity and fame. Since his father's death, the *United Provinces* had experienced nothing but disappointment and misfortune. They were every where defeated, divided among themselves, impoverished, dispirited, and on the point of despair. The alliance of *England* contributed only to augment their misery, it rendered them dependent on the queen, and her insolent, capricious, and arbitrary lieutenant, whose sole aim was to establish despotic sway, by fomenting the civil discord of the provinces, and d forming a powerful faction. It is true, the *English* forces performed considerable services in the three last campaigns; but these were more than weighed down by the inconveniences consequent on *Leicester's* mal-administration. Now the *Dutch* saw their frontiers extended by prince *Maurice*, and the whole country secured by rivers, and covered by fortified towns, with the greatest probability of driving the *Spaniards* in another campaign out of *Friseland*.

State of the  
United Pro-  
vinces.

#### S E C T. IV.

Containing the transactions in the Low Countries, during the administration of the Spanish governors *Manfeldt*, *Ernest*, and *Fuentes*, to the arrival of the arch-duke *Albert*.

THE year 1592 was ushered in by some abortive efforts of the emperor *Rodolph* to establish peace. The minds of both parties were still too much heated to admit of equitable propositions; and the point of religion, upon which so many conferences split, was now an unsurmountable obstruction. In a word, *Philip*, harassed as he was with the war maintained in *France*, required too much, and the *United Provinces*, insolent with their late success, would grant too little. Hostilities accordingly commenced, f and prince *Maurice* taking the field in the month of *May*, sat down before *Steinwyck*, a strong town on the frontiers of *Overyssel*. It was the 13th of *June* before the batteries were opened, when they began to play with unremitting fury. The garrison made a brave defence, and prince *Maurice* received a wound from a musket-ball, which, however, did not retard the progress of the siege. Observing that his heavy cannon produced no effect, he sprung a mine on the third of *July*, which made a practicable breach. He then prepared to storm the town; but the general not caring to hazard the consequences of an assault, capitulated upon honourable conditions. In this siege the prince lost about 700 soldiers, and the garrison more than half that number. Several deserters were excepted in the articles, surrendered, and immediately hanged. From *Steinwyck*, *Maurice* proceeded to *Oknarsch* in the territory of *Twente*, which he reduced before the close of the month. Then g he invested *Corvoerden*, a strongly fortified town in the district of *Drente*. Before any progress was made in the siege, the *Spanish* general *Verdugo*, having been strongly reinforced

A. D. 1592.  
Fruitless nego-  
tiations.

Steinwyck  
taken.



by the duke of *Parma*, marched to *Oldenzeel*, with intention to relieve *Corvaerden*, defended by the same *Haremborg* lately mentioned. The prince with 300 men went to reconnoitre the enemy, and had the good fortune to intercept a letter from *Verdugo* to the governor, acquainting him, that he proposed raising the siege, by attacking *Hobenlo's* quarters early next morning, and desiring him to second his attack by a vigorous sally. *Maurice* took his measures, he was attacked in the manner expected, but received the enemy with such vigour, that they retreated in great confusion, leaving behind 400 dead, and an equal number of prisoners. Despairing of relief, the governor capitulated, and surrendered himself a second time to his cousin upon honourable conditions. After repairing the fortifications, the prince led his army into *Guelderland*, where, dividing his troops, he cantoned them in winter-quarters. This season the duke of *Parma* attended the *Spaw*, but his bad state of health prevented his taking any share in the government; and indeed the unjust clamours of the *Spaniards* against his conduct, obliged him to write pressing to the king to permit him to retire; but *Philip* had resolved to use his services another campaign in *France*.<sup>a</sup>

A. D. 1547.

New regulations in the Spanish provinces.

COUNT *Mansveldt* had for these two campaigns the direction of affairs in the *Netherlands*; as deputy to the duke of *Parma*, but circumstances obliged him to leave the execution to the count *de Fuentes*, don *Estavan de Ibarra*, and *Verdugo*. To gain the entire confidence of the *Flemish* nobility, *Philip* promoted him to the government of the *Ten Provinces* that continued in their allegiance. The duke *d'Archot* was made particular governor of *Flanders*, the prince *de Chimai* of *Hainault*, and the count *d'Haremborg* of *Artois*. The council of war, however, which enjoyed extensive privileges, rendered the provinces dependent on the general of the army and governor. It was wholly composed of *Spaniards*, and the chief authority of the council was vested in *Fuentes* and *Ibarra*. They were strictly enjoined by the king to be extremely frugal of the public money, and to reform the abuses of the revenue complained of under the administration of the duke of *Parma*. However, to give credit to the new government, the army was paid the arrears due, without which it was impossible to suppress those mutinies and tumults which had been the greatest prejudice to the affairs of *Spain* in the *Netherlands*. The count *de Fuentes* immediately proposed several alterations, which produced divisions in the council of war. They were absolutely necessary, but contrary to the interest of several of the members. Others indeed appeared rigid, though they passed into an act without opposition. On the fifth of *January*, *Mansveldt* published an edict, prohibiting contributions to be paid to the enemy, or safe-conducts accepted, under the penalty of death, and military execution. The nobility and clergy seeing their lands pillaged without the possibility of redress, loudly demanded a revocation of this cruel edict. To counteract the effects of *Mansveldt's* ordonnance, the states of the *United Provinces* published a declaration on the 17th of *February*, taxing the *Spaniards* with cruelty, exhorting the inhabitants of the *Netherlands* without distinction to join with them against their cruel oppressors, and granting them to the first of *April* to change their sentiments and conduct; after which time they would give no quarters to prisoners, or those who refused to pay the stipulated contributions. To enforce their declaration, count *Philip* of *Nassau* was sent with a strong detachment to levy contributions in the province of *Luxemburg*. His soldiers committed shocking ravages, and the count *Barlaimont* retaliated upon the frontiers of the *Seven Provinces*. The situation of the people was deplorable, death presenting itself, and all the horrors of war, which ever way they turned, whatsoever resolution they formed. If they complied with the edict of the states, they were subject to legal punishment; if they refused, to military execution. At the same time, the soldiers of the *Spanish* army mutinied against a decree, which intitled them to no quarter after they had discharged their duty in the field and garrison, notwithstanding their defeat might be the consequence of the ignorance of their commander.<sup>a</sup>

Gertruydenberg besieged.

WHILE matters were in this state of confusion, prince *Maurice* invested *Gertruydenberg*, from which he had cut off all convoys of provisions and ammunition during the preceding season. His approaches were considerably retarded by the marshy situation of the place, and by the vigour of the garrison, which consisted of a thousand veterans well inured to action, hardships, and fatigue. To prevent the enemy's throwing in succours before his works were compleated, the prince drew lines of circumvallation, such as for strength had never before appeared in the *Netherlands*, mounted at proper distances with more than an hundred pieces of cannon. In a word, the expence, labour, and genius, bestowed on these lines were wonderful, the camp being plentifully supplied with provisions by the canal, guarded with intrenchments equal to the fortifications of a city, and the industrious peasant pursuing his rural occupations in the midst of war, with the same security as in the most profound peace. From this it appears, that the lines took in a considerable compass of ground, which *Grotius* estimates, by calling the walls three hours walking round. Soon

<sup>a</sup> GROT. Hist. lib. iii.<sup>a</sup> Id. ibid. LE CLERC, lib. iv. METELEN, lib. xvii.



- a after this prodigious work was finished, a messenger, sent from the governor to solicit succours from count *Manfveldt*, was taken. The prince ordered him to be carried round the lines, and then dismissed with the governor's letter, to report what he had seen to the count. This would have effectually deterred *Manfveldt* from attempting the relief of *Gertruydenberg* at so imminent a risque; but the council of war imagined it would be shameful to suffer a barrier so important to be lost without making extraordinary efforts. They were determined to stop the draughts ordered for *France*, in order to reinforce the army so powerfully, as to put the success of a battle beyond doubt. Accordingly the army, amounting to 12,000 foot and 3000 horse, was assembled at *Tournhout*. With this force, *Manfveldt* approached the lines, which he found were strong and regular beyond expectation.
- b He erected batteries against prince *Maurice's* quarter, as if he had been carrying on a regular siege; but finding provisions failing, he removed to the opposite quarter commanded by *Hobenlo*. Here he employed himself in filling up the ditches and canals, in battering the lines, and making regular approaches; while *Maurice*, with a handful of men, was repelling his efforts, advancing his works towards the town, battering in breach, and at the same time forming lines of contravallation to secure him against the sallies of the garrison. The art of war, as then known, was exhausted between the fruitful genius of the prince, and the long experience of *Manfveldt*, grown hoary in military service; when at length the garrison capitulated, after having lost their best officers. Before a parley was beat, *Manfveldt*, by a letter, acquainted the garrison, that he intended to decamp, and desired they
- c would not be disheartened, for he would attempt their relief by another method. The messenger was taken, but prince *Maurice* suffered him to enter the town. *Manfveldt's* resolution determined the commanding officer to demand terms; he obtained honourable conditions, and the articles were signed on the 25th of *June*, after a siege of three months<sup>b</sup>.

- Thus ended the siege of *Gertruydenberg*, the most remarkable in the war; in which the besiegers were themselves besieged by a greatly superior army, commanded by one of the best officers in the *Spanish* service. The surrender of the town was announced to *Manfveldt* by a general discharge of the artillery on the lines and ramparts, upon which he immediately broke up his camp, and retired, greatly chagrined, towards the *Isle of Bonneval*, with design to attack *Crevecoeur*. In this he was frustrated by the diligence of the garrison, and activity of *Maurice*; the one laid the country under water, and the other marched with such expedition, that he was entrenched on the only accessible eminence near the town, before the arrival of the *Spanish* army. *Manfveldt*, after expressing his astonishment at the rapidity of the prince's manœuvres, retired, highly disgusted at having been thus foiled by a body sending strong detachments to *Verdugo* in *Friseland*<sup>c</sup>.
- d

*Manfveldt again foiled by the prince.*

- THE prince's next exploit was to break off the communication between *Germany* and *Groningen*, by erecting a fort at the passage *Bourtange*. This he effected, in defiance of the utmost efforts of *Verdugo*; and leaving five companies of foot for its defence, he retired. *Verdugo*, being powerfully reinforced by *Manfveldt*, attacked *Fort Bourtange*, but was forced by the vigour of the garrison, and scarcity of provisions, to relinquish the enterprise for one which, if successful, would be more decisive. This was to surprise *Maurice* in his camp. He was greatly superior in strength, and marched with such silence and diligence, that he did not doubt of finding the prince unprepared; but on his arrival he perceived the confederate army under arms, an intrenchment began the night before almost finished, and every other measure taken to baffle his project. Upon this he began to skirmish with the out-parties, in hopes of drawing *Maurice* out of his intrenchments; but on finding him too cautious, retired under cover of the night, and sent his troops into winter-quarters. The operations of the year ended with an abortive attempt made by *Maurice* to surprise *Bruges*, and another of *Manfveldt's* equally unsuccessful, to penetrate into *Zealand*<sup>d</sup>.
- e

*End of the campaign.*

- PHILIP had now conferred the government of the *Netherlands* upon the archduke *Ernest*, in hopes that a *German* would be more acceptable to the *Flemings*, than their *Spanish* or *Italian* governors. On the 30th of *January*, *Ernest* made his public entry into *Brussels*, attended by a numerous retinue of the nobility, and was welcomed with loud acclamations, and great demonstrations of joy. The *United Provinces* were terrified that the war would now be renewed with redoubled vigour. It was reported that the new governor had made powerful levies in *Germany*, and was fully determined to subdue the whole *Netherlands*, and terminate a war tedious, expensive, and vexatious to *Philip*. These fears, however, were soon quieted by certain advice, that the levies could not even pass in review for want of pay, and that most of them were already defeated. It was likewise a favourable circumstance to the confederates, that *Ernest* being a foreigner, unacquainted with the laws and customs of the country, must devolve the conduct of affairs upon others; which would pro-
- f

A. D. 1595.  
The archduke Ernest made governor of the Netherlands.

<sup>b</sup> GROT. Hist. lib. iii. p. 176. METEREN. lib. vii. BENTIVOGLIO. p. 3. lib. i. p. 16. <sup>c</sup> Id. ibid. <sup>d</sup> LE CLERC, lib. v.



bably breed diffension, and excite jealousy among the enemy. Their conjecture was well founded. The very first measure entered upon by the archduke incurred the displeasure of the *Spaniards*. He found means to convey a letter to the states-general, in which, after pathetically enumerating the calamities of war, and the distresses of the provinces, he earnestly exhorted them to think of peace, and propose such terms of accommodation, as he might reasonably offer, and press upon the king. In this particular he acted with honour and integrity; but it was imprudent in the first step of his administration to give umbrage to the *Spaniards*, whose interest it was to continue the war. They held all the lucrative places, had the whole management of the revenue, and acquired immense fortunes by a war that exhausted the treasures of *Spain*, and brought the *Netherlands* on the verge of destruction. The letter was well received, but answered in a manner that shewed the states were determined to hazard all rather than submit to any terms to the tyrant who had so long endeavoured to subvert their liberties. This negotiation was scarce finished, when a conspiracy against the life of prince *Maurice* was detected. One *Michael de Renichen*, a monk, was seduced by the count *Barlaimont*, and other noblemen, to make the attempt, and instructed in the manner. He was seized, and executed at the *Hague*. Soon after, a second conspiracy of the same nature was discovered, and the criminal hanged, drawn, and quartered. It was publicly averred, and confirmed by the testimony of the expiring criminal, that the archduke was privy to this attempt, that it was planned by *Ibarra*, and debated in the duke's own cabinet-council. This rendered him extremely odious to the confederates, and wiped out all remembrance of the kindness formerly intended by his letter. It indeed persuaded the protestants that he was a hypocrite, who concealed the darkest designs under the cloak of friendship. Both parties soon came to despise him, on discovering that he was a weak, dissolute prince, directed by minions, and governed by women.

Groningen  
besieged and  
taken by prince  
Maurice.

WHILE the public were forming various conjectures on the character of the new governor, *Verdugo*, in the depth of winter, assembled part of his army, and closely blocked up *Coevoerden*. But the obstinacy of the garrison exhausted his patience, and obliged him to withdraw the blockade. The garrison of *Groningen* was likewise defeated in an attempt to surprise fort *Delfziel*. Nor was prince *Maurice* more fortunate in the enterprises formed against *Bolduc* and *Maastricht*; one of which miscarried by accident, the other through the misconduct of his officers. But the great object was the reduction of *Groningen*, to effect which the states made numerous levies in *Germany*. Count *Solmes* happily conducted these new troops to the prince's camp, amidst all the schemes and ambuscades laid in their way by *Verdugo*. *Maurice* immediately put his army in motion, and on the 20th of *March* invested *Groningen* with ten thousand foot, and two thousand horse. The garrison was summoned, and they returned a resolute answer; upon which the prince opened his batteries, mounted with sixty pieces of battering cannon. The attack and defence were equally vigorous. The besiegers set the town on fire with red-hot bullets, but this produced no effect on the garrison. As the former advanced their works, the latter multiplied their sallies, and fought with desperate fury. *Maurice* at last sprung a mine, by which he gained the ravelin. This gave the first shock to the constancy of the besieged, particularly of the burghers, who dreaded an assault. The soldiers however would have stood the consequence, but the clamours of the townsmen prevailed, a parly was demanded, and articles of capitulation were signed the 24th of *July*. *William* of *Nassau* was appointed governor, with five companies of foot, to support his authority, and maintain the right he assumed of chusing the magistrates. Six companies more were quartered in the suburbs, the great extent of the city rendering an extraordinary garrison necessary.

Mutiny of the  
Spanish army.

WHILE *Maurice* was pursuing his conquests, the utmost confusion appeared in the *Spanish* army under *Verdugo*, whole regiments refusing to act, to acknowledge military discipline, and even menacing the life of their general, unless their pay was advanced. The wretched inhabitants were the chief sufferers in all those tumults; they were pillaged without remorse, and their effects seized as legal plunder. Two *Spanish* regiments of foot revolted in *Picardy*, where they committed the most terrible disorders. Two thousand foot, and one thousand *Italian* and *Spanish* horse, seized on *Sichem* in *Brabant*, demanded their pay, and acted as if it had been due to them from the inhabitants of the town and neighbourhood. No sooner was one mutiny appeased, than another appeared; the archduke's authority was despised, and the mutineers at length became so formidable, that they threatened the city of *Brussels*, and the subversion of the *Spanish* government in the *Netherlands*. Apprehending that force might be used to reduce them to obedience, they tampered with prince *Maurice*, and demanded to know if he would afford them a retreat and protection. Indolent as the archduke was, he dreaded the consequences of this last overture, assembled a considerable body of troops appeased by the advance of their pay, and ordered don *Lewis*

<sup>c</sup> LE CLERC, lib. v.

<sup>f</sup> METELEN. lib. xvii. p. 357.



a *de Velasco* to march against the rebels. They had built some forts, which *Velasco* attacked with such imperiousness as obliged the besieged to withdraw, unite themselves in a body, and take shelter in the territory of *Langestraat*, in the neighbourhood of *Gertruydenberg*, where they were protected by the confederate army and garrisons. Though the mutineers would not consent to enter into the service of the states, the prince found it his interest to keep up the division, by which the *Spanish* army was weakened. The rebels were no expence to the *United Provinces*, for they supported themselves by excursions into the *Spanish Netherlands*, in which they were assisted by a body of confederate cavalry. Notwithstanding this desertion, the diligence of the council of war assembled an army of eleven thousand men, with which the archduke blocked up *Cambray*, held by *Balagney*, who had hitherto preserved a strict neutrality. This measure produced no other effect than obliging *Balagney* to declare for the confederates. The governor of *Cambray* made incursions into the *Spanish* territories, carrying terror and desolation to the gates of *Arras* and *Valenciennes*. In return, the archduke laid waste not only the district round *Cambray*, but the frontiers of *France*, which produced a letter from *Henry IV.* to the cities of *Hainault* and *Artois*, complaining of the usage, and threatening retribution, unless the *Spanish* troops were immediately withdrawn. The letter was sent to the archduke, who referred the contents to the assembly.

WHEN the assembly met at *Brussels*, the *French* monarch's letter made but a small part of their business. Disputes and contentions arose between the *Flemings* and *Spaniards*. The duke *d'Archot* refused appearing at the first meeting, because the count *de Fuentes*, a *Spaniard*, was to have a superior seat at the board. The archduke opened the congress with a long speech, in *Spanish*, recommending pacific measures; or if that was found impracticable, exhorting the assembly to use their utmost efforts in terminating the war by the sword. Next day the same topics were repeated in *French*, and approved by the clergy, and a great number of moderate persons. On the contrary, *Archot*, though he had firmly adhered to the king, highly resented the influence of foreigners. He said that his majesty's loyal *Flemish* subjects were a sufficient defence of his authority; that the provinces had been ruined by the avarice of foreigners, who found their interest in fomenting a civil war; and diligently supplied with fuel the fire of discord, lighted by their misconduct. He asked what the *Spaniards* would have done, had *Philip* been hedged round at *Madrid* with *Flemish* counsellors, who should exclude natives from the royal person, from all places of trust, influence, and profit? The *Netherlands*, he said, were subject to *Philip*, not to *Spain*. *Charles V.* had thought them worthy of the imperial residence; he did not convert them into pastures to fatten starved and emaciated *Spaniards*. He then ran into invectives against the conduct of *Fuentes*; and concluded with affirming, that peace could never be restored to the provinces until foreigners were withdrawn, and the privileges of the people committed to those who were excited to preserve the country, by nature, duty, and interest. *Archot's* speech highly offended the *Spaniards*, but it was well received by the rest of the assembly. The archduke then proposed three questions: Whether peace was so absolutely necessary as to be obtained on conditions contrary to the king's inclination? Whether terms which had before been refused to the rebels should be now granted? and, Whether the same ends could not be attained by other means? To this all the *Flemings* unanimously answered, that peace was necessary, honourable, and very possible; in a word, that it was the best and most practicable measure. *Ernest* then broke up the assembly, with an assurance that he would lay their sentiments before the king, and enforce them so strongly, that he had no doubts about the success: however, it appeared by his intercepted letter to *Philip*, that he was endeavouring to demonstrate to that prince the impossibility of restoring the tranquillity of the provinces, except by the sword: sentiments, probably, dictated by the *Spanish* council.

The assembly convoked.

A. D. 1595.

The Flemings jealous of the Spaniards.

ALL this time not the smallest regard was paid to the king of *France's* letter; it was not even mentioned to the assembly. *Henry IV.* therefore published a declaration of war against *Philip*; and the archduke then wrote to the frontier provinces, to prepare for their own defence. There could not be a more glaring instance of the absurdity of the *Spanish* councils, than involving the kingdom so unnecessarily in a war with a powerful and spirited monarch, forced now by private interest into an alliance with the *United Provinces*. Mutual preparations were making; the king of *Spain* published a counter-declaration at *Brussels*; the forces of the states joined the duke of *Bouillon* at *Luxembourg*, and in the mean time the archduke *Ernest* yielded up his last breath, appointing the count *de Fuentes* to the government of the *Netherlands*. *Fuentes* was approved by the king, and vested with the same authority as count *Mansveldt* enjoyed. Still, however, the government apparently continued in the hands of the council of state, though the count, by commanding the army and finances, possessed great authority. His promotion was highly displeasing to the natives,

France declares war against Philip.

The archduke dies.

\* LE CLERC, lib. v. REIDAN, lib. xi. p. 441.

<sup>b</sup> GROT. lib. iv. LE CLERC, lib. v. p. 156.



natives, and the first act of his government heightened their aversion. Under pre-<sup>a</sup> tence of quelling a tumult of *German* soldiers in *Brussels*, he saddled the city with a numerous *Spanish* garrison; the burghers complained; the operations in the field suffered; but *Fuentes* was headstrong and immovable. The late mutinies were not yet appeased, and the great scarcity of corn excited other tumults. All degrees of men in the *Spanish Netherlands* now more ardently than ever wished for peace, but the prospect was at a great distance. Conferences were set on foot with prince *Maurice*, and rendered fruitless by the intrigues of *Fuentes* and the *Spaniards*. Indeed such terms were demanded by the states, as *Philip* was not yet sufficiently humbled to grant.

conduct.

As soon as the negotiations of peace were broken off, prince *Maurice*, though extremely weakened by the strong reinforcements sent to the duke of *Bouillon*, took the field, as<sup>b</sup> if he intended to fall upon *Bolduc*; and *Fuentes* opposed *Madragon* to him, then about eighty years of age. After various feints, *Maurice* appeared before *Grol*, in the territory of *Zutphen*, in hopes of reducing the place in a few days, on intelligence that the garrison was ill provided. He was carrying on his approaches, when *Madragon* appeared with 11,000 foot and 1000 horse, and obliged him to relinquish the enterprize: some consequent manœuvres produced a skirmish between the cavalry of both armies, in which *Philip* of *Nassau* was wounded, and the confederates worsted. *Maurice* next made a fruitless attempt to surprize *Meurs*, after which both armies retired into quarters<sup>1</sup>.

Elizabeth represents the alliance of the states with Henry IV.

AFTER the affair of *Brussels*, *Fuentes* determined so to regulate his conduct, that the *Flemings* should be forced to esteem, if they could not be induced to love his person. He<sup>c</sup> now unexpectedly renewed the negotiations with prince *Maurice*, possibly to amuse both the *Flemings* and the states, but was new-modelling the army, as if he doubted the success of the conference. Though he failed in the design of a general peace, he managed matters with such address, that the *Italian* and *Spanish* mutineers, protected by the prince, returned to their duty: he had numerous forces in the field. *Vilasco*, constable of *Castile*, was at the head of an army in *Burgundy*; *Waramben* commanded another army in *Artois* and *Picardy*, a third was opposed under *Madragon* to prince *Maurice*, and a fourth acted in *Luxemburg* under the direction of *Verdugo*. It was not the diligence of *Fuentes* alone the states had to combat; greater difficulties arose on the side of their allies. Queen *Elizabeth* loudly complained of the strict union entered into with *Henry IV.* yet had this mo-<sup>d</sup> narch compelled them into the alliance by threatening to make peace with *Spain*, and suffer *Philip* to employ his whole strength in the *Netherlands*. The policy of the queen directed that the states should not fall under the dominion of *Philip*, and yet she could not bear to see them independent. The vast commercial schemes planned about this time in *Holland*, and the successful expeditions of certain merchants to the *East Indies*, excited her jealousy; the bold and enterprising genius of the *French* monarch likewise gave her umbrage; she had refused that prince four regiments, though the city of *Nevers* engaged to pay the subsidy; but she willingly consented that her troops should garrison *Dieppe*, *Boulogne*, and *Calais*; an offer of friendship which *Henry* was too penetrating to accept<sup>e</sup>. She sent her ambassador *Thomas Bodley*, to complain to the states of their sending succours to<sup>e</sup> *France*, while they were themselves supported by the *English* forces. The states pleaded the necessity of making a diversion to keep the whole weight of *Spain* from falling upon the provinces. Not satisfied with this answer, the ambassador demanded repayment of the money lent by the queen to the provinces in their distress, though the treaty imported that the money should not be reimbursed before the conclusion of the war. *Bodley*, to enforce his demands, added menaces, and hinted that her majesty would take such measures as would prove very disagreeable to the states, in case of refusal. It was not the business of the *United Provinces* to come to a rupture with *England*: they therefore endeavoured to appease her majesty; they besought her to reflect on the conjuncture of affairs; they pleaded inability, exaggerated their losses at sea, the inundation of their<sup>f</sup> country, and the great expence incurred in equipping a fleet to join her navy against the *Spaniards*. In fact, however, the *Dutch* were grown rich by the war; the queen therefore could not admit their excuses, alledging, that if they could supply the king of *France* with money, they could not surely be at a loss for the means to pay their just debts: she taxed them with ingratitude, and again reminded them of their deplorable situation when she generously took them under her protection. The *Dutch* might justly have retorted, that the assistance granted proceeded more from a sense of her own interest, than from motives of generosity and compassion; but they chose to temporise, to deprecate the queen's wrath by submission, and obtain a respite, by furnishing her with a fleet of twenty-four men of war, appointed to join the *English* squadron destined upon an enterprize against the<sup>g</sup> *Spaniards*.

<sup>1</sup> Id. ibid.<sup>e</sup> GROT. hist. lib. iv. p. 288.



a In the midst of these altercations, king *Philip* appointed the cardinal archduke *Albert* to the government of the *Low Countries*: the design was well laid, and more deeply founded than was at first imagined. Born to vast possessions, and still vaster designs, *Philip*, after a long dream of ambition and universal monarchy, was now depressed with disappointment, broken with age and infirmity, and distempered in mind by continual care and solitude. Hitherto had he sacrificed his health, his ease, and all the pleasures of life, to vain glory and empty projects; but now his thoughts were turned towards obtaining that rest and quiet which he never suffered the world or himself to experience. His designs on *France* and *England* had terminated in events the most contrary to those he proposed; and instead of subduing the spirit of his rebellious subjects in the *Netherlands*, he saw himself b dispossessed of seven provinces, obliged to hold the rest upon the uncertain tenure of a destructive war; by his obstinate ambition he had given birth to a powerful republic, whose grandeur should be reared on the ruins of his dominions. His pride, however, disdained the thoughts of proposing peace to his revolted subjects in his own name; yet he wished for the means of accomplishing that end, without prejudice to his honour: he resolved therefore to commit this important business to cardinal *Albert*, intending, that if he could subdue the provinces, he should govern them as *Spanish* dominions; if that was in vain attempted, he should, by a marriage with the infanta *Clara Isabella Eugenia*, receive the *Netherlands* in dowry, become their prince, and with this provision only, that they should revert to the *Spanish* monarchy in case the infanta died without issue. The c king had reason to believe, that the birth and manners of *Albert*, a *German* born, the affable sweet disposition of *Isabella*, and the presence of a native prince might contribute more to subdue his stubborn people, than the force and rigour of his former measures; at the worst, the cardinal could make peace, without affecting the grandeur, or derogating from the dignity of the *Spanish* monarchy, should he find arms ineffectual. In pursuit of this resolution, *Philip* made the utmost preparations for war, though his intentions were altogether pacific; every thing was reasonably expected d from the administration of *Albert*, who had passed twenty-six years in *pain* highly esteemed, and governed *Portugal* in quality of viceroy, with great approbation. Before he quitted *Spain*, he procured the liberty of *Philip William de Nassau*, prince of *Orange*, and eldest son of the late prince *William* of *Orange*, after he had lived twenty-eight years in a kind of captivity: not was this sufficient, he prevailed on the king to restore him to his titles, estates, and honours; persuaded that this act would prove grateful to the *United Provinces*, and useful to the royal cause, as the prince had been from his infancy bred in the rigid principles of popery. *Philip* of *Orange* accompanied *Albert* in his voyage to *Italy*, and was by him sent to the court of *Rome*; where he was received with the utmost respect. As soon as the states general of the *United Provinces* had certain advice of what was transacted, they sent an embassy to the prince, congratulating him on his deliverance, professing the utmost esteem for his father's memory, and affection for his family; but at the same time lamenting his change of principles, from which the *Spaniards* boasted they should derive e great advantages. They persuaded themselves, that a prince of the family of *Nassau*, the son and representative of *William* of *Orange*, that strenuous assertor of freedom, would never swerve from the cause of liberty, and those maxims which rendered the memory of his heroic parent immortal. They admonished his highness to defer his intention of returning to his native country, to a more favourable opportunity, and until such passports as were necessary to his safety could be obtained. This message the prince answered by a letter couched in the most obliging terms, professing his sincere regard for the provinces, and offering the strongest assurances that his whole endeavours should be directed to obtain for them a just and honourable peace. Such was the situation of affairs at the time cardinal *Albert* was appointed to the government <sup>m</sup> (A).

King Philip's designs and projects.

#### CARDINAL

<sup>m</sup> BENTIVOG. p. 3. lib. iv. p. 95. METEREN. l. xviii. GROTIUS. lib. iv.

(A) Though we have in a former volume given an explicit detail of the rise, origin, and progress of the *Dutch East India* company, which gave birth to the wealth and grandeur of the republic, we cannot avoid mentioning their present naval strength, in the midst of a bloody ruinous war, in which they were so long and deeply engaged. *Grotius* affirms, that the provinces of *Holland* and *Zealand* alone sent yearly 70,000 sailors to sea, and were then the most formidable naval power in *Europe* (1). This year they built 200 ships, in which number our author probably includes small craft and coasting vessels. During the course of the war with *Spain*, not less

than 400 ships went annually to *Lisbon*, *Cadiz*, *St. Lucar*, and other ports of *Spain* and *Portugal* (2); at which illicit commerce the king connived, knowing it to be necessary to his subjects, tho' advantageous to his enemies. The reciprocal necessity of both states obliged them mutually to tolerate and even cultivate their traffic, under the disguise of the ships hoisting foreign colours. In consequence however of a remonstrance sent to *Philip* this year by the provinces of *Hainault* and *Artois* he seized upon all the *Dutch* ships trading to the king's ports; a *Dutch* squadron in conjunction with the *English* navy, was de-

(1) *Grotius Hist.* lib. 4.

(2) *Reidan*, lib. 12. *Meteren*, lib. 18.



## S E C T. V.

Containing the administration of cardinal Albert; the death of Philip II. and of queen Elizabeth; with other particulars.

A. D. 1596.  
Cardinal Albert made governor of the Low-Countries.

CARDINAL Albert dispatching matters in Italy, quitted Turin on the 29th of September 1595, and arrived in Luxemburg on the 29th of January following; thence he posted to Namur, in order to assemble the troops, and make preparations for pushing vigorously the war with France; which was the first objects of his politics. Here he was congratulated by crowds of the nobility, and the count de Fuentes waited upon the cardinal to surrender his trust, and give him the necessary information concerning the state of the country.

Henry IV. in the mean time was busied in prosecuting the war; he chased the Spaniards out of Burgundy, forced the duke de Mayenne to sue for an accommodation, and now besieged le Ferre, a strong town in Picardy, which he reduced under his obedience. The cardinal however retaliated by investing Calais, and obliged the garrison to surrender; it was immediately after this success, that, by advice of the Spanish provinces, he formed the resolution of laying siege to Ostend, then garrisoned by English forces; but deferred the enterprize as impracticable so late in the season, in order to bestow his whole attention on the reduction of Hulst. Count Solmes commanded the garrison, he took every precaution to render the cardinal's approach difficult. To draw off the attention of prince Maurice from his principal object, the cardinal made a feint as if his design was on Breda; this obliged the prince to send part of the garrison to succour that city, upon which Albert made a sudden turning, and sat down before the former: the surrounding marshes and canals greatly obstructed his operations, and fort Nassau still kept open a communication between the besieged and the provinces; the artillery on both sides played with fury, and the garrison made frequent vigorous sallies; but some failure in the execution of prince Maurice's orders obliged them on the 17th of August to capitulate on conditions extremely honourable. In this siege the cardinal lost 3000 men, among whom was the famous sieur de Rbone, mareschal of the league, known in the French historians by the name of Christian Chavigni. Though count Solmes had made spirited efforts in defence of Hulst, the province of Zealand was incensed to see a place, the fortifications of which had cost some millions of livres, lost in so short a time: in resentment he was deprived of his regiment; but the states general judging more favourably of his conduct, received him again into their service. Some writers allege, that he had orders from prince Maurice not to stand an assault, but to preserve the garrison for more important services; and it is certain, that the prince greatly wanted a reinforcement, his inferiority on account of the detachments sent to France, and numerous body of troops now on the Spanish expedition under the earl of Essex, preventing his keeping the field, and facing the cardinal, who had 30,000 men at the siege of Hulst.

He reduces Hulst.

A. D. 1596.

A treaty between Holland and Henry IV.

In the spring of this year a treaty offensive and defensive was concluded between the queen of England and the French king, to which all princes and states were invited to accede. The United Provinces were highly delighted with an alliance which permitted them to link themselves more closely to Henry, without giving umbrage to Elizabeth. Accordingly, in the month of November, they signed a treaty with that monarch, whereby they agreed to pay him the sum of 450,000 florins for the maintenance of 4000 foot to be employed in France, unless Philip should attack the United Provinces. In return, the king granted the states very extraordinary commercial privileges; among others, that their subjects should be exempted from the rights of Aubaine, as they are called; whereby the goods of foreign merchants dying in France, became the king's property.

Expedition to Cadiz.

It was now that the English and Dutch fleets, under the lord Charles Howard admiral of England, and the earl of Essex general of the combined land-forces, set sail from Plymouth, and anchored on the west side of the island of Cadiz. The Spanish ships of war retiring into the Punta, were vigorously attacked; the engagement lasted from break of day till noon, when the enemy perceiving their galleons miserably shattered, and their men slaughtered, resolved to set their vessels on fire, and run them on shore. Here the desolation was terrible; but three ships were saved, and taken by the English. Immediately after this success, the earl of Essex debarked with 800 men at the Punta, and advancing

<sup>a</sup> METEREN. *ibid.*

<sup>b</sup> METEREN, lib. xviii. fol. 390.

destroying the Spanish fleet in the port of Cadiz, assisting in the reduction of that city, undermining the Portuguese commerce in the East Indies, ruining their settle-

ments, and ravaging the Spanish plantations in the West Indies; so early did the cunning, the artifice, and commercial spirit of this republic distinguish itself.



a ing briskly against a body of *Spaniards*, forced them to retreat to *Cadiz*, and pursued them so closely, that the inhabitants were in too much confusion to reflect on the proper measures for their defence. The *English* burst open the gates, entered the city, and after a short skirmish in the streets, obliged the garrison to retire to the castle; where they soon capitulated. In the mean time Sir *Walter Raleigh* had orders to burn the merchant-ships that had taken shelter in port *Real*. Two millions of ducats were offered for their ransom; which the *English* admiral rejecting, he began setting them on fire, though the duke *de Medina Sidonia* found means to save great part of their cargoes. This expedition was a severe blow to *Spain*: besides the loss sustained by the merchantmen, the king lost two galleons, thirteen ships of war, twenty-four vessels laden with merchandize for the *Indies*; in b a word, to the amount of twenty millions of ducatoons. *Cadiz* was pillaged and burnt, and the combined fleet put again to sea, loaded with rich booty, though the expedition might have turned out to much greater advantage, had it been judiciously conducted. The *Dutch* writers mention an obliging letter sent by queen *Elizabeth* to *John de Duvenvoorde*, thanking him for his gallant behaviour, and ascribing great part of the success to the bravery of the *Hollanders*; but in this particular all the *English* historians are silent.

. DURING the winter, the states, by means of the city of *Breda* and other openings, laid A. D. 1597. heavy contributions on *Brabant*; the inhabitants implored the assistance of cardinal *Albert*, and he detached the count *de Vaux* to their relief. Prince *Maurice* formed the design c of surprising the count; but failing in this, he attacked him in his retreat, and pushed the enemy with such superiority, that he obtained a complete victory, with the loss only of 300 men. In this action, fought near *Tournbont*, the enemy left 1200 dead upon the field, 300 pair of colours, their military chest, and other trophies of war. Such an advantage was necessary to raise the spirits of the confederates, after the late glorious campaign of the cardinal. Next day *Tournbont* surrendered, after which the prince again put his troops in garrison; as for *Maurice*, he went to the *Hague*, where his trophies were deposited as a monument of his past victory gained in the open field; for hitherto all his successes consisted in reducing and defending towns (A).

THE cardinal now turned his whole thoughts to the augmentation of his army, and d making new levies; but the treasury of *Spain* was so exhausted, that this was a matter of difficulty. *Philip* was in a manner already bankrupt, he having publicly declared his inability to pay even the interest of the immense sums borrowed of foreign bankers and *Spanish* merchants. He was forced to stop the course of justice against those merchants become bankrupts by their loans to the court; and this, instead of mending, entirely destroyed his credit. *Albert* however stirred himself so effectually, that he was able to bring a considerable army into the field, though not before it was late in the season. Considerable efforts were made on the side of *France*; *Dourlens* was taken by the count *de Conquests of prince Maurice.* *Fuentes*, and *Amiens* surprised by *Teglio Portocarrero*. To revenge himself, the *French* monarch invested *Arras*, and performed incredible service to the *United Provinces*, by engaging the whole attention of the cardinal to the relief of that city. Maurice did not let slip the opportunity; he hastened with all possible expedition to assemble his army, crossed the *Rhine*, took the castle of *Alphen*, and then fell upon *Meurs*, which surrendered on the 3d of September; on the 8th he again crossed the *Rhine*, and invested *Grol*, defended by a numerous garrison; notwithstanding the brave defence of the besieged, *Maurice* pushed his operations with such rapidity, as obliged the place to surrender by the 26th of September, upon receiving honourable conditions. The town of *Briefort*, situated among bogs and fens, was the next object of the prince's plan of operations; this place he scarce invested when the burghers retreated precipitately to the citadel; which was likewise reduced by the 12th of October. After an incredible swift course of conquests, after having in a few days f obliged *Enschede*, *Oldenseel*, and *Otmarsen*, to receive his garrisons, *Maurice* sat down with his army before *Linghen*, which he completely invested by the 28th of October; count *Frederic de Berg* commanded a numerous and resolute garrison. Divers brisk sallies were made without effect; *Maurice's* sagacity foresaw and prepared for every event, and the besieged were by the middle of November reduced to the greatest extremities and the necessity of capitulating; upon which the prince put his army in quarters, and was received by the states with all those honours which his great services merited. In this campaign *Maurice* placed great confidence in the abilities of a celebrated mathematician, one *Simon Stevin*, to whose skill in the attack, and defence of fortified places some writers attribute the celerity of the prince's conquests; but *Maurice* had discovered profound knowledge g in this branch of the military art long before *Stevin* was employed.

(A) Prince *Maurice* is reported to have gained this victory by means of his cavalry, whom he armed with carbines instead of lances: he was likewise the first general who introduced pistols among the confederate horse, if we may credit *Meteren*, p. 408. lib. xix.



Negotiations  
of peace.

BROKEN with age, and chagrined by disappointment, *Philip* endeavoured to engage the emperor, and the diet, to use their influence with the *United Provinces*, to listen to reasonable terms of accommodation. He could not, however, support the thought of renouncing his sovereignty over a country which had cost him more blood and treasure than all his other wars; and nothing would content the states but their being acknowledged a free people. For this they had fought, and sustained an incredible variety of hardships; now to relinquish it, would be to surrender the fruits of all their toil and labour. They had already experienced that all the negotiations proved abortive, because neither side would yield what was an essential article of peace: they perceived *Philip's* insincerity, from the frequent attempts made to surprise them unguarded, at the time when the forwardness of the negotiations had lulled the states into security. However, they received *Nutzel*, the imperial ambassador, who arrived in the month of *August* at the *Hague*, with letters from the emperor, and divers *German* princes. *Christiern IV.* of *Denmark* likewise offered his mediation, and promised he would be guarantee for the security of the protestant religion; but the states replied to both ambassadors, that all the conditions hitherto proposed by *Spain* were insidious and oppressive, tending to divide the provinces, weaken the alliance, extinguish that liberty of conscience they had hitherto asserted, and treacherously wrest from them their liberty; at the same time they assured the ambassadors, that if proper security of the rights and privileges of the provinces could be obtained, nothing could be a more desirable object than the establishment of the public tranquility, the blessings of which were almost forgot and unknown in the *Netherlands*. It was certainly not the interest of the *Northern* powers, to augment the power of *Spain*; but they were deceived by *Philip*, and cozened into a belief, that the obstinacy of the states alone prevented an accommodation. *Sigismund*, king of *Poland*, was prevailed on to send an ambassador to *England*, with a view of detaching the queen from the states general. *Sweden* had likewise made some overtures towards mediating a peace; but the states opened the eyes of these powers, and plainly demonstrated to them that the catholic king would never consent to such terms as they were determined only to accept. As for *Elizabeth*, she treated the *Polish* ambassador, who assumed extraordinary airs, with the highest contempt; and dismissed him disgusted at her spirited treatment. Thus the decision of all differences was again committed to the sword, though it was imagined that *Philip's* design of marrying his daughter, the infanta, to *Albert*, and giving him the *Netherlands* for a portion, would prove so agreeable to the states, as greatly to facilitate the king's pacific intentions. Time was indeed when the provinces would have rejoiced at this event, and accepted of any terms founded upon this basis. Now they had been so long engaged in the cause of absolute freedom, that subjection to any master was become irksome. We shall see how, after farther noble efforts and glorious struggles, they obtained their end, and the full scope of their ambition; first by a truce concluded in 1609, whereby the king of *Spain* acknowledged the freedom of the *United Provinces*; and afterwards by the peace of *Westphalia*, in which they were acknowledged a sovereign state; the court of *Spain* renouncing all pretensions to sovereignty over the seven *United Provinces*.

Peace between  
Spain and  
France.

WHILE *Philip* was trying every expedient to engage the mediation of the empire and northern powers, he was making prodigious offers to *Henry IV.* of *France*, in order to detach so powerful a monarch from the confederacy with *England* and *Holland*. *France* was quite spent and exhausted with war; *Henry* was equally desirous of peace as *Philip*, but he could not with honour receive proposals without communicating them to the queen of *England* and the *United States*. The sieur de *Busenval* was dispatched with letters to the states general, acquainting them of the advantageous terms offered by *Philip*, of the situation of the kingdom, and of the king's resolution to act in concert with his allies. It was obvious, however, from the pathetic description *Henry* drew of the deplorable state of his affairs, that he meditated an accommodation with *Spain*. The states therefore used all their address to prevent this measure, which would enable *Philip* to employ his whole force in the *Netherlands*. They told the ambassador, that the fortunate issue of the last campaign would enable them to prosecute the war with double vigour and advantage; that *Philip* desired peace with *France* only until he could oppress and subdue his subjects in the *Netherlands*; that when he had obtained this great object, he would, agreeable to his constant system of policy, turn his arms against *Henry*, and with more success, as the conquest of the *Netherlands* would enable him to maintain 100,000 men without touching the *Spanish* revenue. They concluded with beseeching his majesty, to accept of no conditions until they had first consulted *Elizabeth*, their common ally. *Busenval* replied in the most obliging terms, assuring the states of the king's inviolable friendship; but *Henry* was too much a politician to let slip this opportunity of recovering his towns in



<sup>a</sup> *Picardy*, and restoring the blessings of peace to his subjects. Pope *Clement VIII.* laboured with indefatigable pains to conciliate the courts of *France* and *Spain*, and he sent upon that commission his legate, the cardinal *Alexander de Medicis*, the most expert statesman of *Italy*. He came to *Vervins*, and was there met by the *Spanish* and *French* ambassadors. No remonstrances from the states could retard a treaty upon which *Henry* had already resolved. The greatest obstructions which that prince had encountered, were raised by *Philip*. His kingdom was torn with faction, and ruined with the expences of an oppressive war. To enjoy the felicity of governing obedient subjects, peace with *Spain* was essentially necessary. He was urged by his most faithful servants, and particularly by *Gabriel d'Etrees*, who pressed it as the only measure which could firmly establish him in the throne. *Bentivoglio* <sup>d</sup> indeed ascribes the whole to the influence of *Clement* and his legate; but had not *Henry* found a reconciliation with *Philip* attended with the greatest advantages to himself and his people, it is probable he would never have suffered himself to be moved by all the address and arguments of the pope and the cardinal *de Medicis*.

THE states of *Holland*, alarmed at the congress of *Vervins*, immediately dispatched *Justin Nassau*, admiral of *Zealand*, and *John Olden-Barneveldt*, to throw off every possible impediment in the course of the approaching pacification. They proceeded to *Nantz*, and laid their instructions before *Henry*, who, receiving them politely, replied, that he apprehended peace was more distant than he could wish: he must insist upon restitution of *Blavet* and *Calais*, and he feared *Philip* would have no inclination to part with those towns; in which case the war would be undoubtedly continued. Peace, he said, was necessary to his kingdom; but they might depend it should be such as would turn out to the confusion of his enemies. *Elizabeth* laboured in the same cause with the states general. Her ambassadors had a conference at *Nantz* with the chancellor of *France*, and the dukes *d'Epemon* and *Bouillon*, about the means of establishing a general peace, which the queen was ready to accept in concert with the states: but the *Dutch* ambassadors replied, that their instructions were limited to demonstrate the necessity and advantage of continuing the war; a proposition which would scarce admit of hesitation, with respect to *Holland*. The *English* ambassadors acceded to this opinion, the scheme for a general pacification was relinquished; but the treaty between *France* and *Spain* took place on the 2d of *May*. *Elizabeth* and the states exclaimed against the conduct of the *French* king; but that wise prince soon convinced the latter, that he had not renounced their interest by restoring peace to his own subjects. On the contrary, we shall find the court of *Spain* complaining loudly of the sums of money he remitted to *Holland*, which remonstrances *Henry* answered, by saying, *That he did not assist the states, but he was paying his debts.*

A. D. 1598.

THE treaty of *Vervins* was no sooner signed, than *Justin Nassau* and *Olden-Barneveldt* quitted the *French* court, and set out for *England*, to concert a plan of operations for the farther prosecution of war. Here they were civilly received, but treated at the same time with great freedom by *Elizabeth*. That princess told them frankly, that she had liberally assisted the *United Provinces* with her money, but never met with any returns of gratitude. No attempt was made to reimburse her expences, notwithstanding the commercial wealth of the states, and her necessities, entirely occasioned by her compassion for their sufferings. This had involved her in a war with *Spain*, at the very time when the disturbances in *Ireland*, and intrigues in *Scotland*, greatly embarrassed her affairs. In consequence of her rupture with *Philip*, her subjects were cut off from all intercourse with *Spain*, to the great detriment of trade; it was therefore now incumbent upon her to listen to the catholic king's proposals, which, however, she promised never to accept, without first acquainting the states general. After all, the *Dutch* envoys easily perceived from the temper of the public, that the *English* would shew no aversion to the continuance of the war, provided the states would break off all traffic with *Spain*, reimburse the queen's expences, and take upon themselves a more reasonable proportion of the burthen. At that time the *English* councils were divided into two parties, headed by lord *Burleigh*, treasurer, and the earl of *Essex*. The frugal disposition of the former inclined him to a peace with *Spain*; the ambition and martial genius of the latter made him favour the opposite system, in which alone glory could be acquired. Warm debates arose, and the most poignant sarcasms were levelled against *Holland*. It was said that the states, under the mask of religion and liberty, had destroyed the former, by permitting every faith besides the Roman catholic; the latter, by converting freedom into licentiousness; that they fought entirely for their own interest, and artfully threw the weight of their cause upon the shoulders of their allies; that they committed the most intolerable frauds, with respect to the pay of the *English* forces, extorting from them a double price for every kind of provision; that they traded to a vast extent with *Spain*, and grew wealthy amidst all the

The states send ambassadors to England.

<sup>d</sup> BENTIVOG. p. 3. lib. xviii. p. 102.

<sup>e</sup> GROT. lib. vii. p. 381.



Treaty con-  
cluded between  
England and  
the States.

horrors of a war, ruinous to their allies, and particularly to *England*; that in all pecuniary transactions with *England* they adulterated the coin, recoined the *English* money, and made payments to them in base money, greatly below standard; that they had monopolized all the trade of *Europe* and the *Indies*, excluding their greatest benefactors from those markets in which the *Dutch* were lately but interlopers. Such were the assertions, many of them founded on truth, thrown out by the partizans of *Burleigh*, and the advocates for a peace with *Spain*. On the other hand, the power, the policy, the perfidy of *Philip*, were urged as reasons for continuing the war, until the wings of his soaring ambition should be sufficiently clipped. It was affirmed, that no lasting treaty could be concluded with a monarch who broke through all moral obligations; to gratify his lust of power, and set oaths at defiance to satiate his resentment; that if the queen abandoned the states general, and suffered *Spain* to gain possession of *Brille* and *Flushing*; she would at the same time lose the sums lent to the states, and bring dishonour on the kingdom; that if *Spain* once re-established her power in the *Netherlands*, she would then become a more formidable antagonist than ever to *England*; that if an offensive war carried on in the *Low Countries*, or the coasts of *Spain* and *Portugal*, was found expensive, her majesty might easily and advantageously direct her operations against the *Spanish* colonies in *America*, the reduction of which would more than compensate the expences of the armament; lastly, it was asserted that the *United Provinces*, and particularly those of *Holland* and *Zealand*, were the strongest barriers of *England* against the attempts of the *Spanish* monarch. Had *Cecil* lived, the issue of this dispute might possibly have been different; his death immediately turned the scale in favour of the opposite party, and produced a renewal of the treaty with the states, which was signed at *London* the twenty-sixth day of *August*. The articles were, that the states should repay the queen, at stated instalments, the sum of eight hundred thousand pounds sterling; that they should maintain at their expence the *English* garrisons in the *Brille* and *Flushing*; that they should levy troops in *England*, to be commanded by *English* officers, and paid by the states; that, in case of any attempts to invade *England*, the states would immediately send to the assistance of that kingdom a body of five thousand foot, and an equal number of horse; that the number of ships and the strength of squadrons, equipped in the common cause, should be equal; that the queen's claim to the money due from the provinces of *Brabant* and *Flanders*, to *Palavicini*, should remain entire, as a deposit for her yearly expences of twenty-five thousand pounds. These were the measures taken for vigorously supporting the war, and resisting the power of *Philip*, now at liberty to point his whole strength against the provinces.

Transactions  
of the court of  
Madrid.

IN the mean time, the councils of this prince were fluctuating and unsteady: that depth of policy and refined understanding, for which he was formerly celebrated, were clouded with disappointment, weakened by infirmity, and entangled in embarrassments. It had long been debated, whether the infant and the *Netherlands* should not be given to the archduke *Albert*, as the best method of preserving those provinces, and extricating *Philip* out of a labyrinth of difficulties; but great inconveniencies attended this measure, in case *Isabella* should ever succeed, as was not improbable, to the *Spanish* monarchy. When the affair was proposed to the council, the count *de Fuentes* opposed it with a variety of specious arguments. The marquis *de Castel Roderigo* answered the reasoning of *Fuentes*, and declared with equal warmth in favour of the measure, insisting that the dismemberment of the *Netherlands* from the monarchy would produce a variety of advantages, and particularly a great saving of blood and treasure. *Philip* was himself of the same sentiments, and declared for them the more readily, as they were approved of by a majority of the council. He considered that *France* was ascending by vast paces to a great height of power; that the union of the crowns of *England* and *Scotland* would, under the successor of *Elizabeth*, render *Great Britain* formidable; and that those kingdoms, by keeping alive the sparks of rebellion in the *Netherlands*, might perpetually harass, disturb, and embroil the *Spanish* monarchy. He likewise dreaded lest the *Flemings* should carry their conquests into the *Indies*; and was in hopes that the provinces, placed under a prince of the house of *Austria*, would content themselves with a free trade with *Spain*, without equipping fleets for long and dangerous voyages at so vast an expence. He was not aware that a spirit of liberty, of commerce and enterprise, was now excited, which it would be impossible to extinguish. What affected the king most, according to *Bentivoglio*, was the loss the church would sustain, by permitting the free use of the protestant religion. It was falsely supposed, that the provinces wanted nothing more than to be subject to a prince of the house of *Austria*; they had now so long tasted liberty, though imbittered with war and bloodshed, that no terms would have induced them to renounce what was purchased at the price of many battles. *Philip*, however, not doubting but their submission would follow, had the contract of



a marriage between *Isabella* and his nephew the archduke *Albert*, made out and signed; the articles of which were, that she should enjoy for her portion the *Netherlands* and provinces of *Burgundy* and *Charlerois*; that the male heirs should succeed, and in case of failure the females; that provided one daughter only survived of this marriage, she should marry the king of *Spain*; that the archduke should oblige his subjects to cease trading to the *Indies*, and rest satisfied with a free intercourse with the *Spanish* dominions in *Europe*, &c.

To execute this treaty, the cardinal *Albert* quitted the *Netherlands*, and proceeded with all expedition to the court of *Madrid*. His absence was suddenly perceived by violent seditions and tumults among the troops, who, unawed by his presence, threw aside all restraint. All the garrisons of the towns in *Picardy*, which by the treaty were to be restored to the *French* monarch, demanded large sums of money before they would evacuate the places they possessed. Their example was followed by the garrisons of *Ghent*, *Antwerp* and *Cambray*, who demanded their arrears, and threatened to throw off all subjection. This seditious humour was propagated like a contagious disease among all the troops, every man expressing his unwillingness to serve a court too needy and profuse to regard the wants of the soldiers, who were fighting her battles, and shedding their blood for her security. At length supplies of money arrived, and the mutineers were appeased.

b BEFORE the archduke left his government, he appointed a successor, and nominated his brother the cardinal *Andrea* of *Austria* to that dignity. He likewise quitted the ecclesiastical habit, and resigned the archbishopric of *Toledo*, reserving only a pension, payable out of the revenues of the see, of 5000 ducatoons. Before his arrival at *Madrid*, *Philip* was in extremities, and exceedingly impatient to see the marriage concluded before he took leave of all sublunary enjoyments. A variety of accidents retarded the archduke; and before he could reach the court, the king had breathed his last (A). *Philip's* will, however, was punctually executed, the marriage was solemnized, and the ceremony performed by pope *Clement*, by means of proxies sent to *Ferrara*, where his holiness at that time resided.

Death of king Philip, and marriage of the archduke and Isabella.

c THE contract of marriage had no sooner been signed by the late king, than *Albert* passed the necessary forms of taking possession of his sovereignty; previous to his journey to *Spain*. He likewise wrote a letter to the states of *Holland*, *Zealand*, and their allies, acquainting them with the king's having resigned the *Low Countries* in favour of his daughter, and requesting that they would no longer refuse submission to their natural princess, who would endeavour to govern with the utmost lenity, indulgence, and affection. This letter was enforced by another from *Philip* prince of *Orange* to his brother *Maurice*; but no reply was made to either.

d ABOUT this time 4000 *Spanish* recruits arrived in *Flanders*, to complete the old corps broken and diminished in the last campaign. With this reinforcement, the king's army consisted of 7000 *Spanish* infantry, 3000 *Italian*, 2000 *Burgundian*, 1000 *Irish*, and 7000 *German* and *Flemish* foot, with the cavalry, amounting to 25,000 men complete. After the archduke's departure, the admiral of *Arragon* was placed at the head of this army, to which the states were unable to oppose an equal force. Passing the *Meuse* at *Ruremonde*, *Mendoza* took possession of *Orsois*, an open town belonging to the duchy of *Cleves*. As the place was of considerable importance, the admiral ordered a citadel to be built, erecting likewise a strong fort at *Wassum*. Prince *Maurice* having notice of the fate of *Orsois*, quitted the *Hague* to put himself at the head of the army quartered about *Arnhem*. In the month of *September* he marched to *Gueldres Weert*, to watch the enemy's motions, and while he lay encamped here, the admiral reduced the fortresses of *Alphen* and *Bronk*. Thence he proceeded to *Rhimberg*, an unfortified town, subject to the elector of *Cologne*, but guarded by a body of the confederate forces. In his way thither, he seized the castle of *Barila*, and then cannonaded *Rhimberg* with such fury, that the garrison immediately surrendered. *Maurice* was too weak to oppose the enemy in the field; he was obliged to content himself with fortifying his camp, and reinforcing the garrisons of the places most likely to attract the admiral's attention; but he entertained hopes that the scarcity of money and provisions would excite mutinies in the *Spanish* army before the winter, and effectually stop *Mendoza's* operations. In this, however, he was disappointed, the admiral having found means to support his troops by contributions raised on these towns, which desired to be exempted from garrisons. Having made himself master of *Rbeex*, *Emmerick*, *Dotchoum*, and other places, he placed his troops in quarters, the heavy rains rendering it impossible to keep the field longer. The inhabitants of *Westphalia* and *Cleves* loudly complained of the oppression of maintaining the *Spanish* forces; they sent remonstrances to the cardinal *Andrea*, but were not redressed.

Progress of the war.

<sup>a</sup> METEREN. fol. 407. lib. xix.

<sup>b</sup> Ibid. l. xx. BENTIVOC. p. 3. l. iv. p. 109.

(A) The particulars of the life and death of this prince, whose ambition, policy and genius for intrigue, had, for a series of years, embroiled all *Europe*, may be seen in a former volume of this work.



WHILE the admiral lay before *Dotchoum*, prince *Maurice* apprehending his next effort <sup>a</sup> would be pointed against *Doesburg*, a place of more consequence, fortified all the posts by which it was accessible, and encamped before the walls, in a strong situation, until the advanced season removed all danger. During the whole winter skirmishes passed between the troops; but they were too inconsiderable to merit regard. Thus ended the campaign, in which the vigilance, activity, and address of *Maurice*, prevented *Mendoza*, with a greatly superior army, from obtaining any important advantage.

Naval transactions, and the state of commerce in the Provinces.

ABOUT the close of the year a fleet arrived from the *East Indies*, which disappointed the expectations of the proprietors and the publick, the profits having been scarce sufficient to defray the expences of the voyage. This did not, however, check that spirit of enterprize now so general and ardent in *Holland*. A new society subscribed large sums, and eight <sup>b</sup> new ships were equipped for the same voyage. Numbers of individuals embarked in attempts to make new discoveries, and open fresh sources of commerce. Voyages were made to the remote quarters of the globe, where the *Dutch* flag was unknown, and one *Balthasar Moncbuen*, a *Zealander*, fitted out at his own expence, not only two ships to *India*, but a squadron of five large vessels, to establish colonies in the islands of *St. Thomas* and the continent of *Africa*. At first his project was attended with all possible success, the *Portuguese* of *St. Thomas* joyfully accepted the proffers of an advantageous trade, a mutual oath was taken to exclude all other nations; but the *Portuguese* soon renounced their engagement, drove the *Zealanders* out of the island, and ruined the whole scheme, which had greatly raised *Balthasar's* reputation <sup>c</sup>. This year was particularly fruitful in bold expeditions. Certain merchants of *Rotterdam* equipped four ships, which they sent through the straits of *Magellan* to *California*, with intention to discover a passage to *Japan* and *China*, and return by the *Cape of Good Hope*, after having encompassed the globe. In a word, such was the avidity and spirit of this people, that no less than thirty large ships were sent by the provinces of *Holland* and *Zealand* to the *East* and *West Indies*, while they at the same time were establishing a *Levant* trade by means of the *French* ambassador at *Constantinople*, and prosecuting their fisheries with great diligence. The trade indeed was considerably disturbed by the swarms of privateers that issued from *Calais*, still garrisoned by the *Spaniards*. This was an affair of so much importance as to require the attention of the legislature. The states general assembled to deliberate upon the means of securing <sup>d</sup> the navigation of the provinces; but they could come to no other resolution, than that the general officers of the marine should, in their turns, cruise upon the privateers, and block up the harbour of *Calais*. The year concluded with a rich capture made by a small squadron equipped by prince *Maurice*. Four *Spanish* merchantmen, richly laden, were taken before they got out of sight of *Calais*. We have mentioned these naval transactions, to shew how assiduously the *Dutch* cultivated commerce, in the midst of an oppressive war, which would otherwise have proved intolerable.

## S E C T. VI.

Containing the operations of the subsequent campaign; the arrival of the archduke and Isabella in the Low Countries; the victory obtained by the confederates at Newport; with other particulars, to the death of queen Elizabeth, in 1603.

A. D. 1590.  
Oppression of the Spaniards in Germany.

THE arrogance of the *Spanish* troops quartered in the empire caused violent commotions, particularly in the districts of *Cleves* and *Westphalia*. They committed the most horrible outrages; entering, without distinction, and plundering neutral cities, to compensate their deficiency of pay. All the peasants deserted their usual employments, and sought protection in the fortified towns; industry was wholly laid aside, and every <sup>f</sup> consequent misery introduced. Sensible that their little effects would fall into the hands of the enemy, the peasants indemnified themselves by plundering the seats of the nobility, resolved to obviate the prospects they foresaw from the neglect of agriculture. The *Spanish* soldiers were in the mean while over-running the bishopric of *Munster*, the archbishopric of *Cologne*, the counties of *Bentheim*, the duchies of *Juliers* and *Berg*; in a word, all the country from the *Meuse* to the *Rhine*, where they seized upon all the towns, and collected so rich a booty, that private men remitted large sums to *Antwerp*. Their avidity was accompanied with the utmost riot and most dissolute luxury. Unaccustomed to affluence, they spent it in profusion, in drunkenness, incontinence, and abandoned mirth; endeavouring at the same time to repair their fluctuating fortune by the most cruel extortion, <sup>g</sup> putting all those suspected of concealing their wealth to the torture. All were surprised that the *Germans*, so jealous of their liberty, should have permitted those violences on the

<sup>1</sup> LE CLERC, p. 101. l. vi. METELEN. l. xx.



a laws of nations to pass unpunished. Repeated assemblies were held by the princes of the empire, but nothing was determined. Only the count of *Oldenburgh*, the bishops of *Bremen* and *Osnabrug*, and *John of Nassau*, had the courage to repel by force the insults of the *Spaniards*. The assemblies wrote several pathetic letters to the cardinal *Andrea*; but that prelate, unable to advance the arrears of the soldiers, was forced to wink at their excesses, and disregard the remonstrances of the assembly. The emperor sent *Neutzel*, a member of his privy council, to regulate the affairs of the duchy of *Cleves*, but he returned without having executed his instructions. *Mendoza* treated the inhabitants with great contempt, and he publicly expressed his detestation of the protestant princes of the empire, boasting that the Almighty had sent him as a scourge to punish heresy. Incensed at this conduct, the emperor published a decree, ordering *Mendoza* and the *Spaniards* immediately to quit the imperial dominions, a similar injunction being at the same time transmitted to the confederate forces. In substance the edicts differed in nothing; but that to *Mendoza* was couched in terms more bitter and poignant. Both were enjoined to make immediate reparation, to release all the prisoners made in the imperial dominions, to abstain from future violation of the laws of nations, under penalty of incurring the emperor's wrath, and feeling the weight of his displeasure.

*MENDOZA* paid little regard to impotent menaces; a few days after the decree was put into his hands, he seized upon *Calcar*, a town in the duchy of *Juliers*, and obliged the inhabitants to receive a *Spanish* garrison. He carried his indignation against the *Lutherans* to so high a pitch of enthusiasm, that he wrote to the bishop of *Paderborn* to purge his see of heretics, or expect suddenly a *Spanish* army in his diocese, which would at his expence perform the episcopal duty. Once more the *German* princes met to apply effectual remedies to an evil grown altogether insupportable: hither the cardinal *Andrea* and *Mendoza* sent their commissioners; *Delrio* and *Bedwitz* were pitched on to execute this important business; but the latter fell into the hands of a body of confederate cavalry, and was threatened with being treated as a spy. *Delrio* acquitted himself with so much dexterity, that after throwing a variety of embarrassments in the way, after procrastinating the resolutions of the assembly, and detaining the princes for months to hear encomiums on the equity and moderation of the catholic king, the congress at last broke up without coming to any determination, although all were convinced, and secretly felt the injuries sustained. As to the states they sent no deputies to attend the business of the assembly, justly supposing the time would be employed in fruitless altercation. Thus, after a decree of the aulic council had passed, declaring those enemies who should longer remain in the empire, after repeated congresses were held to avenge the insults upon the imperial dignity; the *Spaniards* proceeded in their usual course, and maintained garrisons in five towns upon the *Rhine*.

In the winter prince *Maurice* surprised *Emmeric*, and thereby opened a path to disturb the enemy in winter-quarters. It was partly the policy of the states to remove the seat of war into the empire, hoping thereby to engage the imperial council and the injured princes of the empire to take arms against the *Spaniards*; but they did not long maintain their post at *Emmeric*, it was retaken with little opposition by the *Spaniards*. Upon this, prince *Maurice* formed a design against *Zavemar*, in which he succeeded: as the season for opening the campaign was now approaching, the states determined to enable prince *Maurice* to act with vigour; new levies were ordered to be made: to support which expence, the provinces of *Holland* and *Zealand* granted a new duty upon merchandize, and a tax upon moveable effects, donations, and legacies; premiums and six *per cent.* were likewise given to those who lent money to the government, and all persons exempted from taxes for a certain number of years upon subscribing a thousand livres. To these measures all the other provinces, except *Groningen*, acceded.

*CARDINAL Andrea*, to counteract the vigorous measures of the states, published a declaration in the name of the infanta *Isabella*, reproaching the states with having abused the indulgence of the late king, who permitted them to trade with his *Spanish* subjects, offered them the most reasonable terms of peace, gave three archdukes for their governors, dismembered the monarchy to gratify their caprice, and was now repaid with ingratitude, and a determined resolution to continue in their rebellion. They were accused of seducing the people, by persuading them that their riches and commerce would increase by war. That this was true, might be attributed to the affection of the king for unworthy subjects, whom he hoped to reclaim by his lenity. These measures proving fruitless, the infanta and the king of *Spain* prohibited, under the penalty of imprisonment and confiscation of goods, all communication between the *United Provinces* and the kingdom of *Spain*, or the *Spanish Netherlands*. The infanta, in particular, forbid the smallest intercourse between her subjects and the *United Provinces*, withdrawing all permissions and passports which had hitherto

*Preparations  
of the states  
for continuing  
the war.*

<sup>a</sup> GROT. lib. viii. REIDAN. lib. xv. METEREN. lib. xxi.



been granted for that purpose. One month only was allowed to merchants to settle their affairs, after which the princess resolved to push the war with vigour, unless the provinces accepted the terms of peace proposed by her father, which she now again offered. A counter-declaration was published by the states, and the sole effect of the cardinal's edict was to stimulate the provinces to a more assiduous application to foreign commerce, and to give birth to that *India* company, which, in a short time, raised the republic to the highest pitch of grandeur.

Edict published by the archduke.

IMMEDIATELY after the publication of the edict passed by the states general, a fleet was ordered to be equipped to cruize upon the *Spaniards*, and the land levies were prosecuted with great diligence. Not only the old regiments were completed, but several new corps raised; particularly a regiment composed of two battalions of a thousand men each, in *Germany*, levied at the expence of count *Ernest* of *Nassau*; two thousand *French* veterans, disbanded by the king at the late peace, and now enlisted by *La Noue*; and a thousand *Swiss*, likewise dismissed from the *French* service. When the *Spanish* ambassador complained to *La Noue*, that the *French* auxiliaries were an infraction of the late treaty between the two courts, he was answered, that his intention was to purge the provinces of certain evil humours fermented by their late civil divisions<sup>b</sup>. Several regulations were made in the cavalry, and the number of horse was very considerably augmented. Nothing, in a word, was omitted to withstand the utmost efforts of the *Spaniards* and the archduke (A). On the other hand, the cardinal was no less diligent in his endeavours to bring a numerous army into the field. His first care was to raise sufficient supplies to defray the arrears due to the army and garrisons, some of which had mutinied for their pay. The garrison of *Onburs* was particularly insolent, and the cardinal had the courage to execute what no former governor ever presumed to attempt. He changed the garrison, and exemplarily punished the offenders; rewarding at the same time the garrison of *Ghent*, who in the same circumstances had conducted themselves with modesty and discretion. Next he returned to *Maestricht*, to consult with the chief officers the operations of the campaign. The first object proposed was an attempt on the Isle of *Bommel*; of which prince *Maurice* gaining intelligence, by intercepted letters, he took measures for its security. The cardinal passed the *Rhine* on a bridge made of boats, on the 17th of *April*, with a resolution immediately to enter the territories of the states, but the chief officers were divided where to strike the first blow. *Mendoza* was for attacking fort *Schenk*, which might be deemed the key to the Isle of *Betaw*; others, aware of the difficulty of this enterprize, proposed investing *Nimeguen*, to which *Mendoza* raised specious objections; particularly, that the garrison could always receive supplies by means of the river and fort *Knotsemburgh*. The last scheme, supported by a majority of the officers, was embraced. It proposed crossing the *Meuse* lower, and attacking *Bommel*, the capital of the island of that name. To facilitate the attempt, *Barlotte*, a famous partizan, undertook to seize on the Isle of *Voren*, but he was baffled by the vigilance of prince *Maurice*, who, not content with disappointing the enemy in this enterprize, detached a body of horse and foot to watch their motions, and disturb their march. This corps was fortunate enough to engage and defeat a party of the *Spaniards*, whereby *Mendoza's* dispatches, and the whole plan formed, were disclosed to the prince. Every means accordingly was employed to oppose the enemy's crossing the river. An infinity of boats and bridges were prepared, and batteries erected upon the opposite banks, by which the *Spaniards* were greatly annoyed in their course along the banks. Under pretence, however, of besieging fort *Schenk*, which he battered furiously with his heavy cannon, *Mendoza* at last passed the *Val* with considerable loss, penetrated into the isle of *Bommel*, and regularly invested the capital; but not until *Maurice* had encamped under the walls, and raised several new works for its defence. The *Spanish* general was not deterred by difficulties. He erected batteries, and prosecuted his measures with determined courage, notwithstanding the army which covered the city was little inferior to his own. His conduct was joyfully observed by *Maurice*, who

Operations of the campaign.

<sup>b</sup> BENTIVOGLIO. p. 3. l. v. LE CLERC, l. vii. p. 197. METEREN. l. ii. p. 24.

(A) Two thousand of the *English* forces were exchanged at the queen's request, for an equal number of new-raised forces, who, however, behaved with the courage and conduct of veterans, at the battle of *Newport*. Among other military regulations, one, in particular, regarded false musters; a common practice among the officers. This deceit and public fraud, of the worst tendency, was made capital. Several changes took place in the method of arming the troops. Lances were laid aside, and carabines given to the horse, in their stead. This institution was first introduced by

prince *Maurice* in particular regiments. Now it became general by order of the states. Several regiments were converted into light infantry, their heavy arms being exchanged for others more portable, and better calculated for expedition (1). It is, however, a question hitherto undecided by critics, whether the present light arms in use produce all the effects of the more clumsy weapons which formerly adorned the soldier. Certain we are, that the *Romans*, the best disciplined troops in the world, ascribed a great part of their successes to the weight of their arms.

(1.) Meteren. Bentivoglio. Le Clerc, ubi supra.

perceived



- a perceived the attempt would necessarily terminate in the ruin of the *Spanish* army, should it be obstinately prosecuted. He was taking all the proper measures for drawing the enemy gradually into his snares, when he received an express order from the states to give them battle the first opportunity. *Maurice* was astonished at orders so different from the usual cautious and deliberate conduct of the government; he perceived they were dictated by the frugal disposition of the deputies, who found it necessary to end the campaign at a certain time, to prevent exceeding the supplies granted by the provinces; and he determined not to obey, until he had first remonstrated to the states general. A joint letter was sent by *Maurice* and *William of Nassau*, representing the danger of giving the enemy battle at that time, when scarce any advantage could flow from victory, and a defeat would be attended with the most fatal consequences. Though he was equal in force, he was by no means superior in courage to the enemy, who fought in despair, the precipitate measures of *Mendoza* having brought them into a critical situation, from which resolution alone could extricate them. The *Dutch* forces, they said, consisted chiefly of new-raised levies and auxiliary troops, who could not be deemed equal to the veterans of *Spain*; if this army gave way, the provinces would lie open to all the ravages of war; if the enemy were defeated, the treasures of *Spain*, and populousness of the *Spanish Netherlands*, would soon set on foot another army; he was now gaining more important advantages than could even result from victory, as *Mendoza* obstinately persisted in wasting his blood and treasure against the walls of a city which he never should be able to reduce, while the confederates preserved their present situation; in a word, he urged, that the proper season for giving battle, depended on a variety of circumstances, which could only be determined upon the spot, and ought therefore to be referred to the discretion of the general, who either deserved their confidence, or ought to be recalled. Just, however, as this reasoning must appear, it was construed by the deputies into a desire of prolonging the war. The great influence of *Maurice* depended on his being at the head of an army; and though his zealous attachment to his country was approved, yet his ambition was not unknown. He was therefore obliged so far to comply with the sentiments of the government, as to promise he would seize the first favourable moment for giving battle<sup>c</sup>.
- d *MENDOZA* was in the mean time playing furiously from his batteries, while his troops were miserably galled from the enemy's boats, and batteries ranged along the river. He persisted in the notion he should be able to force *Maurice* to quit his situation, and the prince artfully cherished this opinion, the better to destroy the *Spanish* army. At length he determined upon a general sally from four different quarters of his intrenchments, while his artillery from the boats kept up an incessant fire. The *Dutch* forces marched out in the middle of the day, and attacked the *Spanish* intrenchments with the utmost resolution. They were received with equal gallantry, and, after a bloody conflict, drawn off before victory had declared. The action was maintained for three hours; above fifteen hundred men perished on each side, but no impression was made on *Mendoza's* quarters, nor did any important consequence result. The night following a less general, but more successful, sally was made. It was expected the enemy might be unprepared, not expecting the *Dutch* would so soon renew their efforts. The conjecture was well founded; all was in security in *Mendoza's* camp, and the utmost consternation introduced by the arrival of the confederates, whose attack succeeded beyond expectation. Several batteries were destroyed, prodigious slaughter made, and a great number of prisoners taken. After a respite of three days, the *English* and *French* auxiliaries, under Sir *Francis Vere* and *La Noue*, made another desperate sally on the *Walloon* quarter, which they forced with terrible slaughter. At last, overpowered with numbers, and badly supported by the *Dutch*, they retreated in good order. Such vigorous attacks, and the length of the siege, now protracted to the space of three weeks, convinced *Mendoza* of his error, and the impossibility of reducing *Bommel*; but the difficulty was to relinquish the design without exposing himself to the ridicule of his own troops, and the assaults of the enemy on his rear. The latter, however, he avoided, by means of little forts and batteries, erected with great judgment along the river; but could not escape the former, which broke out in sedition and mutiny. Disappointed of the expected booty from the plunder of *Bommel*, the *Spanish* soldiers became clamorous for their arrears, and were, with great difficulty and large promises, appeased. All the rest of the campaign was consumed in building and attacking forts, erected to cover the winter-quarters of both armies. The *Spaniards* made an attempt on a fort raised by *Maurice* at *Herwerden*, and were repulsed with loss; on the other hand, the confederates, led by the prince in person, were equally unsuccessful in an attack on the *Spanish* fort at *Meguen*, which, though unfinished, the garrison defended with extreme valour<sup>d</sup>.
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<sup>c</sup> BENTIVOG. p. 3. lib. v. p. 122.

<sup>d</sup> REIDAN. lib. xvi. p. 46. LE CLERC, lib. vii. p. 197.



The German  
princes take  
arms.

DURING these transactions a circumstance occurred, which, if judiciously improved, <sup>a</sup> would, beyond doubt, have ruined the *Spanish* dominion in the *Netherlands*. The *German* princes, incensed that the *Spaniards* still maintained posts and garrisons in their dominions, entered into an association to expel all foreigners; and for this purpose raised an army of twenty-five thousand foot and four thousand horse, under the conduct of the count *de Lippe*. The states general pressed the associated *Germans* to join their army; but they did not withdraw their own troops out of the districts of *Juliers*, *Berg*, *Munster*, and *Cleves*. For this reason the princes declared, that they armed in their own defence, without intending to interfere in the quarrel between the king of *Spain* and his subjects, who had both violated the privileges of the empire. Cardinal *Andrea*, to appease the *Germans*, withdrew his garrison from *Emmerick*, which he ordered immediately to be restored <sup>b</sup> to the duke of *Cleves*. This, however, did not satisfy the count *de Lippe*; he invested *Rhimberg*, held by a mutinous *Spanish* garrison, who would have surrendered it had he agreed to pay their arrears. Their proposal was rejected, the assault given, and the *Germans* repulsed with great loss, and obliged to relinquish the enterprize<sup>c</sup>. From thence the count proceeded to *Rbeez*, where he was not more fortunate; a fall from the town having put one of his quarters in confusion, and spread terror through the whole army. The panic was so great, and the harmony among the princes so ill established, that in a few weeks the army disbanded, and *Spain*, without striking one blow, was delivered from this formidable enemy.

The archduke  
and duchess ar-  
rive in the  
Low Coun-  
tries.

IN the mean time, the archduke *Albert*, and his consort, returned to the *Low Countries*, <sup>e</sup> and made their public entry into *Brussels* with such ostentation and magnificence, as impressed unfavourable ideas of their characters. It is alledged by the *Dutch* writers, that the nobility were received with a cold civility, and disgusting air of superiority; that the deputies of the states paid their compliments on the knee, a servility inconsistent with the dignity of freemen; and that *Albert* and the infanta, in every respect, received sovereign honours, and those marks of abject humiliation shewn to crowned heads. These remarks are probably dictated by prejudice, since even the *Dutch* writers allow that the archduke, during his former residence, had distinguished himself for his moderation, lenity, and affability: a carriage at this time no less necessary than before. On his entering upon business, the first difficulty that occurred, was, the oath usually taken by the <sup>d</sup> archdukes, to preserve the privileges of the provinces inviolable. The states hinted to them the necessity of withdrawing foreign troops, demolishing the citadels, and committing the defence of the towns to the inhabitants. Nothing could be more shocking to the archduchess, nursed in the arms of despotism, than an insinuation which tended to limit her prerogative. Her prejudices were, however, surmounted by *Albert's* moderation, who acquainted her, that she could only obtain her ends by temporising, and promising to withdraw all foreigners, as soon as the dangers of war were removed at a distance. Having adjusted this point, the archduke and duchess set out for *Louvain*, where they took the oaths prescribed; and, after making the tour of the provinces, returned to *Brussels*. Next, the state of the country was taken into consideration; and the causes of the miscarriage at <sup>e</sup> *Bommel*, which was charged to the misconduct and obstinacy of *Mendoza*. This general recriminated; accusing the troops of disobedience, and the government of neglect, in furnishing money and the necessary supplies; to which he, in some measure justly, attributed the disgraces sustained<sup>f</sup>. After a long hearing, *Mendoza* was acquitted, continued in his command, and the necessary measures taken to prevent future disturbances and mutinies<sup>g</sup>.

Discord in the  
seven provin-  
ces.

THE *United Provinces* were no less embarrassed and divided among themselves. Great clamours were raised by the deputies of the provinces, against the expences of the campaign, which had already greatly exceeded the supplies raised, without producing any <sup>t</sup> public advantage. It was not considered that prince *Maurice* had done all that could be expected in defending *Bommel*, and securing all the frontier against the irruptions of the enemy. A fresh demand of money was made, and positively refused by some of the provinces, who desired the army might be sent into winter-quarters. The divisions were running high, when a remittance of three hundred thousand francs arrived from *France*, *Henry IV.* wisely foreseeing that the penuriousness of the provincial states would ruin the cause, and once more render the *Spaniards* absolute masters of the *Netherlands*. Notwithstanding this unexpected supply, deputies were dispatched to confer with prince *Maurice*, and represent to him the state of the revenue, which required that the troops should immediately quit the field. The prince replied, that money expended in defence of liberty should never be grudged; that in the present case they must determine to support the war <sup>g</sup>

<sup>c</sup> BENTIVOG. p. 130.  
xxi.

<sup>f</sup> REIDAN. lib. xvi. p. 175. GROT. lib. ix. p. 395.

<sup>g</sup> METEREN, lib.



a with vigour, or lose the fruits of all their blood, toil, and treasure, already bestowed. That nothing could be attributed to mismanagement, since he was ready to lay before the states a clear account of the services in which the public money had been employed; that marching so early into quarters would afford the enemy an opportunity of penetrating into the bowels of a country, the very frontiers of which they had hitherto found impregnable. He consented, however, that the charge of boats, waggons, and baggage horses, should be diminished; but earnestly exhorted the deputies to reflect on the fatal consequences of entertaining a hostile army for the winter, in the heart of the provinces, and the difficulty of dislodging so powerful an enemy. He desired he might be permitted to erect three forts on the banks of the *Vaal*, to restrain the irruptions of the garrison of *St. Andrew*; but the  
b expence amounting to eighty thousand francs, he was forced to content himself with throwing up some slight works on the dyke of the *Ile of Tiel*. In a word, notwithstanding all the prince's remonstrances, and the probability that the archduke would endeavour to retrieve the character of the *Spanish* arms by some bold action, the states resolved upon a reduction of the forces, strongly suspecting that the corps were uncomplete. All the companies of foot consisting of two hundred men, were reduced to one hundred and thirty, and those of horse composed of one hundred men, were reduced to eighty, by which means the government saved sixty thousand livres per month. A ferment was excited in the army, and this reduction would have proved the most fatal blow ever sustained by the provinces, had the enemy embraced the opportunity. The rivers were all frozen, the states were defenceless, and every thing contributed to render an irruption into the provinces successful,  
c had *Albert* been careful to maintain discipline, catch at circumstances, and recruit his army. But all this was neglected. Prince *Maurice* having, in the month of *November*, by express order of the states, placed his troops in winter-quarters, the admiral of *Arragon* followed his example, after leaving a strong garrison in *Fort St. Andrew*. He imprudently indeed gave out, that he only waited for a frost, to invade the provinces; and thereby cautioned prince *Maurice* to take all measures in his power for their security.

Reduction of the troops.

With respect to naval affairs, great preparations were made towards the beginning of the year; as soon as all intercourse between the *Spanish* dominions and the provinces were prohibited, the states equipped an armament composed of sixty-three sail under the conduct of *Peter Vander Dous*, to harrafs the coasts of *Spain*, and prevent all commerce between that nation and the other maritime powers. Great encouragement was likewise given to private adventurers in the *East* and *West-India* trade; inasmuch that *Balthasar Monchuren*, so unfortunate the preceding year on the coast of *Africa*, now fitted out a considerable squadron to cruize in the *West-Indies*, and search for the gold mines in *Guiana*. While the grand armament was preparing, a part of the *East-India* fleet returned richly laden, and sufficiently compensated the former disappointment. This success gave fresh vigour to the states; and enabled them to pursue their schemes with redoubled vigour. On the 28th of *May* the fleet quitted the *Texel*, and arrived by the 11th of next month on the coast of *Portugal*. Finding he could make no impression on the coast, *Vander Dous* proceeded to the *Canaries*, and made a descent on the island called *Grand Canary*, though vigorously opposed by the *Spaniards*. Next morning the town was taken by assault, the inhabitants escaping to the mountains, and carrying with them their most valuable effects. *Vander Dous* offered to ransom the place; but the *Spaniards* refusing to give the price demanded, he laid the whole in ashes. Hence he sailed for *Gomara*, which he plundered, proceeding with half the fleet to *America*; and sending the other half back under admiral *Geebrantsen*. This voyage proved unfortunate; the climate and fruits of *South America* produced terrible diseases among the seamen, which swept them off in great numbers, occasioned the death of *Vander Dous*, and several of his officers. After some fruitless attempts on the *Spanish* settlements, the fleet returned to *Holland*, except a squadron of seven ships,  
f which came back the following year, heavy laden with a booty of sugar and other commodities, carried off from the *West-India* islands. After all, the whole advantage obtained from this formidable armament, was to draw the attention of the court of *Spain* from the affairs of the *Netherlands*, and put the king to great expence in equipping a fleet, which lay afterwards to rot in his harbours. As to the booty taken, it by no means defrayed the charges of the government. The year concluded with a negotiation for peace, carried on under the auspices of the emperor, who offered his mediation. The issue was the same with that of all preceding attempts, to reconcile parties too much inflamed to listen to reasonable conditions.

Naval affairs.

NEVER was the court of *Spain* more distressed for money than at present. Yet were  
g *Philip III.* and *Albert* too haughty to descend from their dignity, and relax in the terms of peace proposed the former year. The archduke's long journey and voyage, his marriage,

A. D. 1600. The distressed situation of the Spanish affairs.

LE CLERC, lib. vii.

GROT. lib. viii. RALZIGH, apud Purchas, fol. iv.



and the brilliancy of his court, had exhausted the supplies intended for the prosecution of the war; and *Philip's* own marriage, and the expences of equipping a powerful fleet, rendered him incapable of making the necessary remittances. Long arrears were due to the troops, who every where became clamorous. The *Spanish* forces first broke out into open mutiny. A small party took post at *Hamel* in the diocese of *Liege*; in a short time it was augmented to a corps of two thousand foot and eight hundred horse. Their example was followed by the *German* and *Walloon* garrisons of *Crevecœur* and fort *St. Andrew*, and at last the revolt had almost become general. *Albert* was forced to treat with the mutineers, and assign them free quarters, and a fortified town in *Brabant*, until their arrears were discharged, paying them at the same time a sum of money sufficient to answer other exigencies. Scarce had the mutineers at *Hamel* quitted that post, when a body of *Italians* who had mutinied, seized upon the place, which they fortified. *Albert* was forced to appease this sedition in the same manner he had done the former. To prevent the garrisons of *St. Andrew* and *Crevecœur* from proceeding to extremities, the archduke pretended he would send them upon an enterprize, where the booty would more than compensate the deficiencies of their pay. *Barlette* the partizan was appointed to conduct the expedition; he reviewed the troops on his arrival; but neglecting to distribute money among the soldiers, they mutinied, seized their officers, and sent them with their families prisoners to *Balduc*. It was dangerous to employ the forces that remained firm in their obedience against the mutineers. *Albert* dreaded that the contagion would spread through the whole; and yet this would have proved the most effectual measure, as there was no end to answering their insolent demands.

Prince Maurice reduces several important places.

*MAURICE* perceived that a fair opportunity now offered of attacking the *Spaniards* to advantage; but his powers were limited, and his force inconsiderable. However, that the occasion might not wholly slip without deducing any benefit, he assembled eight companies of infantry, and an equal number of cavalry, which he dispatched under *Lewis* of *Nassau*, and colonel *Edmond* a *Scotchman*, to make an attempt on *Watchtendoc* in *Guelderland*. The enterprize was suggested by *Rhibove*; it succeeded to admiration, the town and citadel were taken after a slight resistance, and the government given to the officer who had formed the design. This success encouraged prince *Maurice* to pursue his blow. He marched secretly with a strong detachment towards *Crevecœur*, seized the out-works before the mutinous garrison was apprised of his design, and in the space of three days was master of all the fortifications, after defeating a detachment of five hundred *Spanish* horse, which came to the relief of the besieged. The prince made overtures to the garrison of *St. Andrew*; but the mutineers refused to surrender the fort, unless the prince advanced a sum equal to the arrears owing by the court of *Spain*, which he had not in his power. *Maurice* then determined to apply force; he summoned the garrison, and threatened to give no quarter, if they did not immediately capitulate; but they despised his menaces, while the country round the fort was under water; and even put to death the trumpet sent with the summons. Next he hemmed in the garrison by a number of little forts and redoubts, sufficient to prevent their being supplied; at the same time keeping up so brisk a fire from certain batteries which he had erected, as forced the besieged to conceal themselves behind their ramparts. Just as they were reduced to extremity for want of fuel, and necessaries for their sick and wounded, a signal from the garrison of *Balduc* revived their courage, and gave them hopes of speedy assistance. But this glimmering of expectation soon vanished. *Velasco* who was sent with a detachment for the relief of the besieged, made fruitless efforts to enter. He was baffled in every attempt by *Maurice*; and forced to leave the garrison to their fate. In consequence, they immediately capitulated, and to a man enlisted in the service of the states, where they behaved with great courage and fidelity.

The province of Groningen compelled to pay the taxes.

WHILE *Maurice* was pursuing the advantage afforded by the disorder of the *Spanish* army, the states, as usual, assembled to deliberate on the means of raising the supplies for the ensuing campaign. *Groningen* had for three years refused to pay the contingent stipulated; a bold exertion of power was necessary to bring the province to reason, and upon this the states resolved. *William* of *Nassau*, governor of *Friseland* and *Groningen*, was dispatched with a body of troops to the capital of the latter province, to compel the inhabitants to perform the articles of the union. He entered the city without the least disorder, disarmed the burghers, and built a citadel, leaving the provincial states to make their complaints to the states-general. In this they were not wanting: deputies were immediately dispatched, with loud complaints of this violation of their privileges; but they were given to understand, that as *Groningen* was protected by the government, it must expect to bear a share of the public expence, and on the same footing of equality with the other provinces. Finding they could have no redress, the provincial states consented to pay their contingent; upon which *William* of *Nassau* proceeded to *Friseland*, where, by a just mix-



a ture of persuasion and force, he quelled a violent tumult among the peasants\*, who refused to pay the public tax. These, it must be confessed, were violent remedies in a free constitution; but at this time they were absolutely necessary, to prevent the dissolution of the whole constitution, as the other provinces refused to pay their quotas, if *Groningen* was exempted.

b *ALBERT* was upon no better terms with the states of the *Spanish* provinces, who renewed their complaints against the oppression of the people with foreign soldiers, the mismanagement of the public money, the weight of taxes, and the profusion of the court. He demanded that the supplies for the next campaign might be granted, a civil list for the support of the court established, and a sum of money advanced upon the credit of the remittances expected from *Madrid*. They, on the other hand, required security that any such remittances were actually expected, and that when they arrived, they would be paid into their hands; they desired the account of the preceding year might be laid before them; and before they granted fresh supplies, irresistible proofs were required that the last were not misapplied.

*Confusion of the Spanish provinces.*

c Such were the state of affairs, when the *United Provinces* entered upon a resolution to open the campaign with vigour, and strike some blow, which should at the same time secure their own commerce, and confound the enemy. The states of *Holland* and *Zealand* argued the necessity of an attempt upon *Dunkirk*, the privateers of which place extremely molested their merchantmen. It was said, that this enterprize, though important, would not be difficult, because the army could be transported by sea, and by seizing certain forts round *Newport*, might march unmolested to *Dunkirk*. After this it was proposed, that *Newport* and *Furnese* should be attacked, by which a way to *Ostend*, defended by an *English* garrison, would be secured. Prince *Maurice* of *Nassau* was present at these deliberations, and astonished at the unusual vigour of the proposals, which he was ready to attribute to the despair of the merchants of *Holland* and *Zealand*, who had suffered extremely from the enemy's cruizers. Though he would not discountenance bold resolutions, he thought it his duty to represent the hazard of the attempt, and the impossibility of reducing *Dunkirk*, before the archduke would be in a condition to march with a superior army to its relief. After enlarging upon the subject, and pointing out all the inconveniencies which attended the project, he concluded with advising that *Sluys* might be invested, as an enterprize which would facilitate all their future operations, and be attended with less hazard. This, among other advantages, would, he said, enable the states to remove the seat of war into *Flanders*, the richest province belonging to the enemy, and from whence they drew their chief resources for continuing the war. The proposal, however judicious, was rejected, because it presented no immediate relief to commerce; the other was preferred with all its dangers and difficulties. The transports were immediately got in readiness, and the troops, to the number of twelve thousand foot and two thousand horse, conducted by prince *Maurice*, and accompanied with a large train of battering cannon, were embarked. On the ninth of *June* the fleet arrived at *Rammekins*, where, being detained by adverse winds, the prince desired leave to proceed by land through *Flanders*, which was immediately granted. In his march *Maurice* published manifestos, promising the utmost security to all the peasants who would supply the army with provision, and threatening to lay all the villages in ashes if the inhabitants absconded. In his way he seized upon the forts of *Oudenberg*, *Snacskerk*, and *Budene*, which he garrisoned with his own soldiers. Arriving at *Ostend*, he detached count *Solmes* to attack fort *Albert*, situated at the distance of half a league from the town. The garrison consisted of five hundred *Spaniards*, who made so brave a defence, that, having reduced this, *Maurice* determined not to lose time in attacking all the other forts erected to restrain the *English* garrison†.

*Vigorous resolutions of the state-general.*

f *MAURICE* was scarce arrived at *Newport*, when he received intelligence from the governor he had left in fort *Oudenberg*, that the archduke was in full march to attack him, with a numerous army, already flushed with the reduction of all the forts that prince had left behind. It was hardly credited in the confederate army that *Albert* could so suddenly begin his march, considering the seditious mutinous disposition of his troops; but when he had passed *Bruges*, when he had made himself master of the forts of *Oudenberg*, *Snacskerk*, and *Budene*, *Maurice* was disconcerted. Resolving to remove from *Newport*, where he found it impossible to chuse a situation to his liking, he detached *Ernest* of *Nassau*, with colonel *Edmond's* *Scotch* regiment, a battalion of *Zealanders*, four troops of horse, and four pieces of cannon, to seize on the post at *Leffingen*, through which the enemy must pass. On *Ernest's* arrival, he found the *Spaniards* in possession of the passage, upon which he determined to stand his ground until he should be supported by *Maurice*. At first the enemy

*Albert marches to attack Maurice.*

\* *METEREN*, lib. xxi. *GROT.* lib. ix. † *Id.* *ibid.*



Prince Ernest  
of Nassau de-  
feated.

mistook him for the van of prince *Maurice's* army ; but finding it was only a detachment, they attacked the confederates with irresistible impetuosity ; broke the cavalry, which took shelter in *Ostend* ; then fell upon the infantry, which would have baffled all their attempts, had not the *Zealanders* quitted the field, and left the *Scotch* regiment alone to sustain the whole weight of the enemy. So obstinate was *Edmond's* resistance, that his corps was almost all cut to pieces, endeavouring to secure a regular retreat to *Ostend*, which prince *Ernest* effected. In this action nine hundred men perished, and the consternation among the *Dutch* deputies at *Ostend* was equal to what might have been expected, had *Maurice* and the whole army been defeated. Next day, the second of *July*, the archduke held a council of war, to deliberate whether he should wait for the detachment of three thousand men under *Velasco*, or immediately march, and attack the confederate army. *Zapena*, an experienced officer, was of the former opinion. *Barlotte*, the partizan, of the latter ; and both offered specious arguments in support of their sentiments. *Albert* seemed inclined to follow the opinion of *Zapena*, but an accident determined him in favour of *Barlotte*. Some of the out-guards had spied the *Dutch* fleet stirring from *Ostend*, whence it was concluded that *Maurice* had no intention of re-imbarking his army ; it was therefore thought adviseable to attack him, while the panic of *Ernest's* defeat was fresh in the minds of the soldiers. Agreeable to this resolution, orders were immediately issued for the army to march with all possible expedition ; the troops that had mutinied, desiring to lead the van, in order to distinguish their courage and fidelity. *Maurice* was beginning his march to *Ostend*, when the advanced-guards of the enemy were descried. Immediately he drew up in order of battle, ordering the rear-guard to halt, and the transports with the baggage and artillery were all failed for *Ostend* ; in order to shew the troops that they must either conquer or die, as there was no possibility of escaping. All the eminences were planted with artillery, the charge of which was given to the sailors, who served with great courage and alacrity. Scarce was the army ranged, when certain soldiers, who had escaped from the late defeat, brought the first intelligence of *Ernest's* misfortune. Prince *Maurice* was greatly chagrined, but dissembled his sentiments, and forbade the soldiers, on pain of death, to suffer a syllable to transpire ; sent them for the greater security, on board some boats which were setting off for *Ostend*. It is said, that he immediately ordered one of them to be put to death for having communicated the secret. Never was assembled a greater number of volunteers of distinction, than at this time served under *Maurice*, to learn the art of war from a general so renowned. They consisted of *English*, *French*, and *German* nobility, who formed a kind of body-guard to the prince, and determined to share his fortune. *Lewis* of *Nassau* put himself at the head of the van-guard, drawn up in such a manner that the second and third lines might relieve the first, without confusion ; a manœuvre never effectually practised, except at the battle of *Newport*. The *English*, commanded by Sir *Francis Vere*, composed the chief part of the van ; the rear was led by count *Solmes*, and consisted of the provincial troops, the *Swiss* and *French* auxiliaries. As to the rear-guard, it was formed of *German* soldiers, under the conduct of *Oliver de Temple*, a general officer of reputation.

Battle of  
Newport.

In this order *Maurice* firmly expected the enemy, whose disposition was nearly similar, each having a body of cavalry in front, who began the charge, after the artillery had been briskly served for near three hours ; during which time each expected the other would advance to the attack. But the prince was determined not to fatigue his troops with marching over sultry sands, and the archduke was advised by *Zapena* to defer the engagement to the next day, when the army would be refreshed, and other circumstances possibly more favourable than at present. He observed that the sun was now directly in the eyes of the *Spaniards*, that a strong westerly wind blew clouds of sand, and would drive the whole smoke of the artillery and musketry in the faces of the soldiers, which would prevent their distinguishing the enemy, and greatly disturb their operations ; that the event of an attack upon the confederates, rendered desperate by their situation, was extremely doubtful ; that victory would more certainly result from deferring battle, and cooping them up in a post where they must soon perish or surrender, having no retreat, and being destitute of provision and water. But the soldiers, flushed with the advantage gained over *Ernest* the preceding day, loudly demanded battle, and complained of being deprived of their plunder, which they believed certain. They repeated a saying, usual in the wars against the *Moriscos* : *The more Moors, the more glorious the victory.*

PRINCE *Maurice's* cannon was so well served, and the ships kept up so continual a fire on the enemy, during high water, as forced them to remove to a greater distance from the shore, upon which the fleet kept on its course to *Ostend*. Both vans engaged with the utmost intrepidity, and sustained the fight with astonishing obstinacy. *Albert* directed his chief strength against the *English*, who baffled all his efforts, until Sir *Francis Vere* received a wound, which obliged him, for a while, to quit the field. They were now supported by a body of *French* auxiliaries, and the battle became more general, the confederates right wing



a wing being deeply engaged with the left of the *Spaniards*. Here prodigious havock was made among the enemy, who repeatedly returned to the charge, after they were broken and repulsed by the incessant fire kept up from the artillery and musketry. Upon the left the confederates frequently gave way; but they were constantly rallied, brought back, and supported with fresh troops kept in reserve. At last both wings of the enemy were united, and the center, composed of the best *Italian* and *Spanish* infantry, alone stood firm, repelling all the efforts of *Maurice*, who vigorously attacked with the cavalry mixed with infantry. After the engagement had continued for three hours, and both sides seemed rather exhausted, and spent with fatigue, than fatiated with blood, four pieces of cannon were so happily pointed against this impregnable body of *Spaniards*, as put the whole in confusion, and obliged victory at length to declare in favour of the confederates. The fire of the artillery was seconded with a general attack of the cavalry, led on by *Maurice* in person, and pushed with irresistible impetuosity. As soon as the enemy were perceived to stagger, the *Dutch* horse cried out, *Victory*: the word instantaneously spread through the whole army, the center of the infantry advanced, and fell on with fury; the archduke received a slight wound, and his troops were wholly disordered, dispersed, and routed. Five thousand men, besides officers; were slain, and taken prisoners; among the latter were *Mendoza* and *Zapena*: and thus ended a battle brought on by the imprudence of the states, won by the courage and skill of *Maurice*, together with the blunders committed by *Albert*; with the loss of fifteen hundred men killed, and an equal number wounded, on the side of the confederates (A). Never had the *United Provinces* experienced an event more important, their very existence depending on the fate of *Maurice* and his army. Nothing could exceed the anxiety of the *Dutch* deputies shut up in *Ostend* during the battle, except their joy on receiving the news of the victory, and the congratulations of the conqueror, who ascribed all his good fortune to the goodness of divine providence, and the courage of his troops, claiming to himself no part of the merit.

WHEN the pursuit of the flying enemy was over, *Maurice* alighted from his horse, and at the head of the troops kneeled on the ground with great devotion, returning thanks to God in a loud and fervent prayer, for the signal victory with which the Almighty was pleased to bless the confederate arms. His example was followed by the army, and next day was appointed for public thanksgivings at *Ostend*, where he suffered the troops to refresh themselves, while he was deliberating with the deputies and his officers the future plan of operations. Here violent contests among the soldiers arose about the prisoners, whom some were for putting to death, in revenge of the cruelties exercised on their comrades, after the defeat of *Ernest*; and others for saving, in order to procure their ransom. However, *Maurice's* authority quelled the tumult, and his generosity diffused a spirit of humanity through the whole army. Every man was touched with the tenderness of his behaviour to *Mendoza* and *Zapena*, who, to the mortification of being prisoners, had the additional affliction of being mortally wounded. Notwithstanding the utmost care *Zapena* died in a few days, filled with sentiments of the deepest gratitude and veneration for the character of *Maurice*, whose conduct more resembled that of a father, than of the conqueror of an inveterate enemy<sup>n</sup>.

Prince Maurice gains a complete victory.

As for *Albert*, he set out the day after the battle to *Ghent*, to consult with the archduchess upon further measures; and was received with such affection and intrepidity of conduct by that princess, as inspired new hopes and fresh courage. She had heard before his arrival a variety of reports, which, in the usual manner, exaggerated the loss, and even asserted that *Albert* was killed; but she maintained her constancy, and behaved in such a manner, as secured the esteem and admiration of her subjects. Thence the archduke returned to *Bruges*, where he collected together the scattered remains of his army, which he joined to *Valasco's* corps, with such expedition, that he reinforced the garrison of *Newport*, and the forts he had taken round *Ostend*, before the confederates had left that city. *Maurice* incurred censure for having spent three days in this place; for not having pur-

<sup>n</sup> GROT. lib. ix. p. 398.

(A) Various are the accounts of the battle of *Newport*. In circumstances no two historians agree. *Grotius* relates that the loss of the *Spaniards* did not exceed three thousand men; *Bentivoglio* diminishes the number one third, but allows that the victory was complete. Sir *William Temple* ascribes the defeat of the *Spaniards* to the obstinate courage of the *English*; and all the *Dutch* writers acknowledge their bravery, but deny the consequences drawn by the *English* writer. *Reidanus*

is severe in his animadversions upon both parties. The *Dutch* are blamed for having reduced themselves to the necessity of fighting or perishing; and the *Spaniards* for not avoiding battle, when without striking a blow, they might have reduced the enemy. We are however of a different opinion, as *Maurice* might certainly receive supplies by the shipping, which did not quit the coast until the engagement began (1).

(1) *Meteren*, lib. 73. *Bentivog.* p. 148. *Grot.* p. 399. *Temp.* p. 74. *Reid.* lib. 17.



fued the enemy further; and for delaying a moment to lay siege to *Newport*; but he vindicated himself, by alledging the fatigue his troops had undergone, and their reluctance to enter upon any new enterprize, before they had recovered their exhausted strength and spirits. On the sixteenth of *July*, he compleatly invested *Newport*, the garrison of which, amounting to three thousand men, made vigorous sallies, and so obstinate a resistance, that the prince was forced to abandon the design, and embark his army for *Ostend*. From hence he made divers irruptions into the enemy's territories, but they were rendered fruitless by the powerful army assembled by *Albert*; and as the states were not in humour to enter upon fresh undertakings, he distributed the forces in winter-quarters. By this means *Flanders* escaped the impending storm, at a time when all men imagined the conquest of this province would be the necessary consequence of the victory at *Newport*°.

Negotiations  
for a peace  
broke off.

WHEN the operations in the field ceased, overtures of peace were renewed. Deputies were sent by the archduke to confer with the states general, at *Bergen-op-zoom*. Here they were met by deputies from the states, and both sides readily agreed, that an accommodation was necessary, and essential to the good of the *Netherlands*; but they differed as widely as ever about the conditions. It was acknowledged by the deputies of the *United Provinces*, that nothing could be more agreeable to their wishes than to see an end put to a ruinous and destructive war; but this was not to be expected while foreign troops resided in the country, and possessed all the fortresses. They solicited the assistance of the *Spanish* provinces in expelling foreigners, and restoring the privileges of the *Netherlands*; assuring them, that the difference of religion would occasion none in the affection they owed to each other as countrymen, provided the liberty of the whole could be secured. They further urged, that so dependent was the archduke on the court of *Spain*, and several of the provinces on the archduke, that no treaty with either could be binding or safe, while they were reined in by citadels, and under the lash of a powerful army. To this the other deputies replied, that they were sent to conclude peace with their countrymen, and not to enter upon revilings against their sovereign; that it could not be expected the archduke would leave himself defenceless, while the *United Provinces* remained compleatly armed, and ready to seize the advantage which his credulity might offer. They concluded with solemn assurances that the prince would ratify whatever conditions were settled among the deputies. Neither side would consent to be disarmed, and thus the conferences ended; upon which the *Spanish* provinces applied their whole attention to the means of supporting the war for another campaign. While they were deliberating upon these measures, letters arrived from *Philip III.* which equally disgusted the states of the *Spanish* provinces, and the archduke. They were addressed in the stile of *Philip II.* before the dismemberment of the *Netherlands* from the *Spanish* monarchy, and the phrase, *To our estates of the provinces*, retained. The ambassador, however, removed the blame on the secretary, who had inadvertently copied the phrase from former dispatches, and thus the minds of the people and prince were quieted.

THE first operations concerted by the states of the *Spanish* provinces were against the trade of the enemy. A fleet was equipped at *Dunkirk*, under admiral *Wakena*, to destroy the herring-fisheries of *Holland* and *Zealand*; upon the success of which depended, in a great measure, the strength and opulence of those provinces. The fishing-busses were protected by three men of war; but *Wakena* attacked the convoy with such desperate fury, that after sinking one of the men of war, and obliging the others to sheer off, he fell upon the busses, which he sunk, burned, and destroyed. The *Dutch* immediately sent a squadron in quest of the *Flemish* admiral; but he found means to elude the enemy, and bring his fleet safe into *Dantzick*, and the ports of *Galicia*. This loss, however, was compensated to the *Hollanders*, by the arrival of the richest ships ever returned from the *Indies*, upon which the proprietors shared four hundred *per cent.* upon their capital, and were encouraged to launch out deeper in this profitable commerce. As to the squadron sent by the freights of *Magellan*, it came back disappointed, shattered, and sickly, after having weathered terrible storms, and sustained incredible hardships (B).

° METEREN, lib. xxii.  
METEREN, lib. xxiii.

P Id. ibid. LE CLERC, p. 212. lib. vii. GROT. p. 401. GROT. lib. x.

(B) We must not omit the following incident, which merits a place among the transactions of the year. The countess of *Newenar*, first married to count *Horn*, who was beheaded by the duke of *Alva* and afterwards to the count of *Newenar*, bequeathed to prince *Maurice*, at her death, the counties of *Meurs* and *Horn*, with their dependencies. Upon the former the duke of *Cleves* seized, as a fief of his principality. To be revenged,

*Maurice* sent one *Cloet*, an officer of a bold and enterprising genius, to seize upon *Cracon*, a fortress of *Meurs*, which he executed with success, after having defeated the governor of *Staten*, with a detachment of four hundred horse and five hundred foot. By this means the whole county of *Meurs* was preserved in the prince's obedience, and the ambition of the duke of *Cleves* extinguished, by one vigorous blow judiciously aimed (1).

(1) *Reidan*. lib. 17. *Le Clerc*, lib. 7.



<sup>a</sup> DURING the winter a variety of schemes were set on foot, and enterprizes formed A. D. 1601. for seizing upon cities, towns, and fortresses. The most important was a design projected by one *Francis de Province*, to deliver *Gertruydenburg* to the *Spaniards*; which being happily discovered, the traitor was condemned to be hanged, drawn, and quartered. About this time, *Mendoza* and other prisoners of distinction obtained their liberty, on condition that all the soldiers of the *United Provinces*, confined in the prisons, or on board the *Spanish* gallies, should be released; that they paid the sum of twenty-three thousand livres, and gave security for the payment of seventy-five thousand more, at a time appointed. *Le Clerc*, however, alleges, that the prisoners on neither side were dismissed before the following year, because *Philip* neglected to ratify the articles of exchange.

<sup>b</sup> As the spring approached, the *United Provinces* pushed more vigorously their preparations to act offensively the ensuing campaign, without which it was obvious the victory at *Newport* must prove fruitless. They received fresh remittances from *France*, *Henry* taking this opportunity of clearing off the old debts, to enable the states to withstand the power of *Spain*; and they considerably increased the revenue, by new duties upon all imported merchandize. Money was likewise borrowed from the *India* traders, so successful in the late voyage to the *Molucca Islands*, and a variety of schemes proposed, and adopted, for raising the necessary supplies. Prince *Maurice* had given orders for the army to assemble in the neighbourhood of *Gravenfwaert*, and his cavalry, in marching thither, encountered <sup>A party of the enemy defeated, and Rhimberg taken by prince Maurice.</sup> a body of the enemy's horse, under count *Adolphus de Berg*, whom they defeated with considerable slaughter. This accidental advantage was deemed a happy omen; the troops <sup>c</sup> assembled with alacrity, crossed the *Rhine* the ninth of *June*, and appeared three days after before *Rhimberg*, garrisoned by twelve hundred men, under the conduct of *Bernard d'Avila*. The prince began his operations by attacking a fort situated in a small island in the *Rhine*, to prevent this being exposed to the insults of the enemy. After forming this post, he made it the head of his trenches, at which the soldiers worked with great diligence <sup>r</sup>.

*ALBERT* was not in a condition to attempt raising the siege; but he ordered count <sup>Ostend besieged by the archduke.</sup> *Herman de Berg*, governor of *Spanish Guelderland*, to endeavour throwing in supplies; and he projected making an effectual diversion, by laying siege in person to *Ostend*. The prince was acquainted with his intentions, but continued to prosecute his operations, in <sup>d</sup> which he encountered a variety of difficulties from the vigorous sallies of the garrison. By the fourteenth of the month, in despite of all obstruction, he pushed his works to the rampart of the counterscarp, which he undermined, and blew up with great success. Just as he effected a lodgment, he was deprived of eight companies of *English* troops, detached, by order of the states, to join Sir *Francis Vere*, sent with a strong corps to annoy the archduke's army before *Ostend*. This diminution of his strength did not discourage *Maurice*; he plied the garrison with red-hot bullets, effected a breach by another successful mine, and was preparing to give the assault, when the garrison capitulated upon honourable conditions. The reduction of *Rhimberg* was of the utmost consequence, because it covered the province of *Overyssel*, and now prevented the enemy from levying contributions towards <sup>e</sup> that quarter. In this manner it was that a town, sequestered in the hands of the elector of *Cologn*, and committed by him to the *Spaniards*, whom he favoured, fell at last into the hands of the states general.

<sup>f</sup> At *Ostend*, *Albert* made the most vigorous efforts. The affections of his subjects had enabled him to raise such an army as it was impossible for *Maurice* to attack with any probability of success. Yet, after months were spent in the siege, little progress was made. Sir *Francis Vere* threw himself into the town, and the garrison behaved with such intrepidity as astonished, but did not discourage, the archduke. An infinity of batteries were raised, and assaults made without number. Rivers of blood were spilt, but neither side was dispirited, because they received constant supplies of men and provision; the army from the country <sup>g</sup> around, and the garrison by the sea, which was constantly kept open. The obstinacy of *Albert*, in prosecuting this siege, afforded the *United Provinces* all the advantages they could desire. *Maurice* was left master of the field, while the treasures and forces of *Spain* and the *Flemish* provinces, were exhausted before a place deemed impregnable, because it could always be relieved. He accordingly invested *Bolduc* with an army of seven thousand foot and three thousand horse. The place was garrisoned only by ten companies of infantry and an equal number of cavalry; but such was the spirit of the burghers, animated by the clergy, that they resolved to suffer all extremities rather than submit to heretics. The trenches were opened on the first of *November*, and the siege vigorously pushed until a strong reinforcement entered the town on the twenty-seventh; the prince's army being insufficient to defend lines of so great extent. This, together with a report that the archduke was marching with powerful forces to the relief of the garrison, and the severity of

<sup>r</sup> LE CLERC, lib. vii. BENTIVOG. p. 3. lib. vi.



the season, obliged *Maurice* to relinquish the enterprize, and send his troops into winter-quarters.

ALL this time the siege of *Ostend* went on without intermission. Neither the inclemency of the season, the murmurs of the troops, or the intrepid gallantry of the garrison, could oblige the archduke to renounce an attempt upon which he had set his affections. Both the army without, and the garrison within, suffered extremely by sickness and fatigue. The *English*, in particular, who were constantly in action, and unseasoned to the climate, were greatly diminished; insomuch that the besieged, who at first amounted to seven thousand men, were, in the space of three months, reduced to three thousand men. At the same time the outworks were greatly damaged by the enemy, and unusual inundations of the sea, to repair and defend which required an exceeding exertion of vigour and diligence. Dykes, surrounded by fascines, were erected to oppose the fury of the waves; and had scarce been finished, when the archduke ordered them to be attacked and set on fire, with so much success, that they burned for three days, to the great terror of the garrison. The most vigorous sallies were made, and the utmost efforts used, to extinguish the flames, without success. At last, when the besieged were quite spent with fatigue, Sir *Francis Vere* received intelligence from a prisoner, that the archduke had appointed the next day for a general assault with all his forces. Alarmed at this intimation, the truth of which he could not doubt, because the soldier was so particular as to give a plan of the disposition of the attack; he determined to elude the danger, by setting on foot a capitulation, which might protract the time until his garrison was refreshed, and the place reinforced. His stratagem succeeded; he received a succour of four companies of foot, and accomplished all his other purposes, before his design was suspected. His conduct was blamed, as dissingenuous and unworthy of a soldier; it certainly, however, protracted the fate of *Ostend*, which he afterwards defended with such astonishing spirit and resolution.

IRRITATED at having been the dupe of the *English* governor, *Albert* resolved upon revenge; and appointed the seventeenth of *January* for storming a wide breach which his batteries effected. The attack was made with the utmost vigour, under *Mexia*, an experienced *Spanish* officer. It was supported for three hours with unremitting courage, and at last repelled by the invincible intrepidity of the besieged, after the *Spaniards* had lost one thousand men. After this unprosperous assault, the archduke was advised to raise the siege, which the severity of the season rendered intolerable to the troops; but he now thought his own reputation and the honour of the *Spanish* arms too deeply interested to listen to any propositions. He ordered barracks to be erected for the accommodation of the soldiers, committed the direction of the siege to don *Juan de Rivas*, and set out for *Ghent*, to concert the means of pushing his operations with still more vigour. The states general embraced this occasion to exchange the garrison of *Ostend*, which was worn out and emaciated with perpetual fatigue and watching. As the enemy had considerably relaxed in their diligence, and the communication with the sea was preserved open, the scheme was executed without difficulty. A fresh garrison, supplied with every necessary, accordingly took charge of the town, under the conduct of colonel *Dorp*, colonel *Edmonds*, a *Scotchman*, and *Hertain*, a *Frenchman*. Sir *Francis Vere*, with the former garrison, joined the army under prince *Maurice*.

OSTEND was certainly not worth a moiety of the treasures expended in that siege and defence. The garrison cost the states near two hundred thousand livres per month; how much more must the archduke have lavished away in useless works, ammunition, provision, barracks, and the other expences of a numerous army? The *Spaniards* had an idea, that, by gaining possession of *Ostend*, they could shut up all the ports in *Zealand*, and wholly destroy the commerce of the province: that indeed would have been a considerable object; but experience proved that the trade of *Zealand* was independent of *Ostend*. It was the court of *Spain*, and not the *Ten Provinces*, that pushed this siege; the latter perceived that they lay exposed to the insults of the enemy, while the whole force of the *Netherlands* was employed upon a single object; they therefore positively refused the sum demanded by the archduke, and insisted on his supplying the mutinied troops out of the money arrived from *Spain*, which he now destined for prosecuting the siege of *Ostend*. But the army was augmented early in the summer by eight thousand *Italians*, under the marquis *Spinola*, to whom, in the end, the prosecution of the siege was committed. The *United Provinces* formed a scheme for preventing the junction of *Spinola* and the *Spanish* army, but it vanished in smoke. It was therefore proposed that *Maurice* with his army should make the tour of *Brabant*, enter *Flanders* on that side, and march to the relief of *Ostend*. *Maurice* represented the difficulty of marching a large army through an enemy's country, filled with forts and garrisons, and narrowly watched by an army; but his opinion was overruled. He was ordered to begin his march, and he accordingly passed the *Meuse* with all his forces, attended with two thousand waggons laden with provisions. On his entering the



a the territory of *Liege*, he obliged the inhabitants to furnish the army with every kind of subsistence, under pain of military execution. In *Brabant* he published an edict sent him by the states general, inviting the provinces subject to the archduke, to join with him in restoring the privileges of the *Netherlands*, and throwing off the oppressive yoke of the *Spaniards*; but this publication producing no effect, the army advanced to *Tillemont*, where *Mendoza* was posted with a body of fourteen thousand horse and foot. He had taken possession of a pass through which the prince must necessarily march, and must be forced before the army could proceed. *Maurice* attacked his advanced guard, drew up before him in order of battle, but could not bring the *Spaniard*, grown more cautious by his imprisonment, to an engagement. Upon this a council of war was called; and here b it was unanimously determined, that pursuing the rout marked out by the states would be impracticable, and that investing *Grave* was a measure more safe and important. This enterprise was accordingly undertaken with great spirit and alacrity. Nature and art had contrived to render this one of the strongest bulwarks in the *Netherlands*; it was garrisoned by a body of veterans, under *Gonzales*, a *Spanish* officer of merit, and supplied with all the requisites of a vigorous defence. *Maurice* began his operations with attacking a half-moon, on the side of the river, of which he gained possession in a few days. He opened trenches on the opposite side, pushed his attacks by sap, merely to save the destruction of his men, and was opposed by the most vigorous sallies, in one of which Sir *Francis Vere*, who commanded on the right, was wounded. *Mendoza* approached within half a league of the c prince's quarter, with intention to force succours into the town, or raise the siege by a battle; but he found the intrenchments so judiciously formed, that he despaired of succeeding in the latter, and applied his whole attention to the former. His attempts were baffled, he was reduced to extremities in his camp, and forced to retire to *Venlo*, leaving the garrison of *Grave* to make the best defence in their power. In consequence, after sustaining a siege of ten weeks, *Gonzales* surrendered upon honourable conditions\*.

*Maurice reduces Grave.*

It was soon after the reduction of *Grave*, that the *Italian* auxiliaries mutinied, and formed one of the most dangerous conspiracies, which had yet appeared in the *Spanish* army. At first they endeavoured seizing upon *Deift*; but being disappointed, they marched to *Graven-dork*, and thence to *Hoogstrade*, so near *Breda*, that they could easily be protected, should d the archduke offer to reduce them by violent measures. After receiving assurances of prince *Maurice's* favour, they began with levying contributions in *Brabant*. At the same time the garrisons of *Antwerp* and *Weert* raised great clamours for their pay, and at last openly mutinied. The latter were appeased by the advancement of part of their arrears; but it was not easy to satisfy the large demands made by the former, of arrears upwards of twelve months standing. Money indeed was so scarce, that *Mendoza* quitted the command, and set out for *Spain*, where he was very coldly received. In this situation the archduke resolved to try the effects of severity; he had often, to no purpose, used gentle methods. A manifesto was published, declaring the mutineers at *Hoogstrade* proscribed, their effects confiscated, and themselves guilty of high treason, for which a reward of an hundred e crowns was offered for the head of a subaltern officer; two hundred for that of a field officer; and ten for the head of each private soldier. Immediately the mutineers published a well-drawn apology, in which was refuted every assertion of the archduke, and that duke was taxed with profusion and luxury at his court, while the army was perishing with cold and hunger. Not satisfied with mere words, they made a furious irruption into *Liege* and *Brabant*, levying heavy contributions, and punishing with military execution whoever refused to comply with their demands. Such was the terror they inspired, that the pope's nuncio interceded, promised to procure their pardon if they would submit, and likewise offered them a considerable sum of money. The states of the *Ten Provinces* assembled to deliberate the means of advancing their whole pay; but this the archduke, resolved to try f the effects of rigour, opposed. The incursions of the mutineers in *Brabant* were supported by others made by the confederate soldiers, no less ruinous to the country. It is remarkable that the laws of war were observed by the mutineers, who formed themselves into a kind of military establishment, under certain laws, which they rigidly observed. Certain officers of their cavalry having been won over by the archduke's promises, were seized, put to the torture, and hanged by the heels. They had not only their officers, their council, and their general; but a secretary, a seal, arms, and motto. *Albert* had given *Frederic de Berg* orders to march with seven thousand men against the mutineers, who had now assumed the name of *The Squadron*. *Maurice* gave them notice of the approach of the enemy, and desired, if they should want his protection, to advance nearer his camp; but *Frederic de Berg* made so much haste that he surrounded them in *Hoogstrade*, and would have obliged them to g surrender at discretion, had not *Maurice* seasonably arrived to their relief, and obliged *Berg* to retire.

*Revolt of the Italian troops.*

\* BENTIVOG. lib. vii. p. 3. p. 166.

† GROT. lib. xi. METEREN. lib. xxiv.



*Continuation  
of the siege of  
Ostend.*

SUCH was the situation of affairs at the close of the year, during which the siege of *Ostend* was carried on with the same vigour as the preceding year, and with as little success, tho' it now became apparent that the garrison must at length surrender, for want of room, which daily diminished by inches. The works were considerably damaged, many of them were taken by the enemy, but constantly supplied by others erected in their stead. By this means the garrison continually lost ground, and they were at last cooped up in a very narrow space; though they still maintained their spirits, as they received every kind of supplies and refreshments from the harbour.

*Progress of  
commerce.*

To conclude the transactions of the year, the returns from the *East Indies* were no less considerable than the former year. Three ships, loaded with spices, arrived, and brought with them ambassadors to prince *Maurice*, from the king of *Achem*, who had no idea of a republic. These successes, and the growing commerce of *England* and *France* to the same quarter, inspired the first idea of a company, which has since proved the strength and bulwark of the *United Provinces*, and the most opulent mercantile body in the universe. For the farther particulars of this flourishing company, the reader may consult the explicit account already given in the tenth volume of this work. We shall only observe, that the return of the *Indian* ambassador inspired the *Eastern* nations with sentiments of great respect for the *Dutch*, whom they now regarded as equal in power to the *Spaniards* and *Portuguese*. The island of *Ternate*, one of the *Moluccas*, declared in their favour, and was supported by the *Hollanders* in a war against an inveterate enemy, the king of *Tidore*. In a word, the sum paid by the company for their charter, the vast exportation of home manufactures, the prodigious wealth drawn into the provinces by the sale of *India* commodities, the astonishing increase of the marine, and the immense revenues arising from even slight duties upon so immense a trade, raised the *United Provinces* to a degree of opulence and grandeur, amidst all the horrors of a civil war, which will hardly be credited by posterity. Hence they were enabled to prosecute their military operations, without detriment to commerce; and to foil the attempts of *Philip* and *Albert* to destroy their liberties, while they were duping every other nation in trade, and engrossing to themselves the commerce of *Asia*, of the *Levant*, the *Baltic*, and a great part of that of *America* <sup>u</sup>.

<sup>u</sup> Mod. Univ. Hist. Vol. x. LE CLERC, lib. vii. p. 221.



S E C T. VII.

Containing the death of queen Elizabeth, and the transactions which followed, to the conclusion of the truce with Spain and the archduke Albert, in the year 1609.

<sup>a</sup> **T**HIS year was ushered in by the death of queen *Elizabeth*, the strenuous protectress of *Holland* against the usurpation of *Spain*. In this, it must be confessed, she was wholly actuated by self-interest; but still the assistance of men and money afforded to the provinces, laid the foundation of their independency, and often met with unmerited returns. Some writers suppose, and not improbably, that this event was no way disagreeable to the states-general. The spirit of *Elizabeth* was too violent, and the superiority she assumed so disgusting, that necessity alone forced them to comply with her humour. The *Hollanders* had now thrown off that humility which characterised them, when the protection of the *English* queen was first implored; wealth, power, and the success of their arms, inspired a haughtiness which could not suit with the spirit of *Elizabeth*. From the character of *James* I. they hoped to find in him an ally equally powerful, but less troublesome and imperious. To secure the interest of this prince, a solemn embassy was sent to congratulate him on his accession to the throne of *England*. The ambassadors, after demonstrating the necessity they were under of continuing the war against *Spain* and the archduke, besought his majesty to continue the *English* auxiliaries in the pay of the states, and suffer them to be recruited; that he would enter into a league with other powers of *Europe*, to oppose the aspiring views of *Spain* after universal monarchy; adding, that her late majesty having desired they would equip a squadron of large men of war to join an armament she intended against *Spain*, they had accordingly got ready nine ships and two frigates, which were lying in the *Downs* for his majesty's orders. To this *James* answered in general terms, expressing his intention to live upon terms of friendship with the states-general, but his irresolution as to the measures which should be formed for the good of his kingdoms; he was but just come to the crown, and they must excuse him if he declined involving himself in a war so early. By this the ambassadors easily perceived that they were disappointed in their views, and their situation nothing improved by the change of princes in *England*.<sup>a</sup>

A. D. 1603;  
Death of  
Elizabeth  
queen of Eng-  
land.

The states send  
ambassadors to  
James I.

<sup>d</sup> THE court of *Spain* was entering upon the most vigorous resolutions to support the archduke, as they now entertained certain expectations that he would have no issue by *Isabella*, and of consequence the *Netherlands* must again revert to the crown of *Spain*. While mutual preparations were making, the governor of *Bolduc*, by a stratagem, cut off five troops of confederate cavalry, most of whom he made prisoners. Upon this *Maurice* determined to lay siege to the place; and though he could not expect to reduce it without artillery, with which the depth of the roads had prevented his furnishing himself, yet to check the insolence of the garrison, and stop their incursions into the territories of the states, was an object of considerable importance. Thither *Albert* marched with all expedition; but on his arrival found that *Maurice* had not seriously determined on the siege, because he had neglected to occupy all the posts necessary for that purpose. To profit by the situation of the confederate army, the archduke detached, in the middle of the night, the marquis *de Bella*, with a select body of troops, to seize and fortify a post which would greatly straiten the enemy's quarters. *Maurice* had intelligence of the motion, and prepared to frustrate the design. He set out at the head of three thousand *English*, *Scotch*, and *French*, with whom he came upon the marquis, as he was preparing to intrench himself, and attacked with such irresistible impetuosity, at first put the enemy in confusion, and soon obtained a complete victory, and possession of the important post disputed. It was this activity and penetration which rendered the prince on every occasion superior to his enemies, who possessed all his prudence and experience without that intuitive talent so essential to the general. After this, the prince abandoned all the forts and works he had erected, and remained for two days encamped in the open country, at a short distance from the enemy, to provoke them to an engagement. But *Albert* had now so little inclination to try the fortune of a battle, that he retired, and under pretence of the severity of the cold, put his troops in winter-quarters.<sup>b</sup> Such were the operations of the campaign, after the most vigorous resolutions were taken on both sides, of pushing their operations with uncommon diligence and perseverance.

*Maurice de-*  
*feats a body of*  
*Spaniards.*

<sup>f</sup> As to the siege of *Ostend*, it proceeded but slowly; both the general without, and the governor within, had been changed, but no considerable advantage resulted to either party; *Rivas* commanded the army, and practised every expedient to approve himself worthy of the trust, but he was repeatedly baffled by the diligence of *Vander Noot*, the

*Progress of the*  
*siege of*  
*Ostend.*

<sup>a</sup> LE CLERC, lib. viii. METEREN, lib. xxv. <sup>b</sup> Id. ibid. GROT. lib. xii,



governor. At last he succeeded in reducing three out-forts, which he joined to the quarter <sup>a</sup> commanded by fort *Albert*, by means of a great platform, mounted with heavy cannon, and surrounded with gabions full of earth. The garrison erected a battery, to frustrate the effects of this platform, and threw bombs so successfully, as destroyed the whole attempt, and cost the enemy infinite labour and expence. They seconded the fire of their battery by a vigorous sally, in which seven hundred *Spaniards* were killed, and an equal number made prisoners. Disappointed in this design, *Rivas* applied his mind to cutting off the communication between the garrison and the sea. *Pompey Torgau*, the best engineer in the service, contrived a kind of floating battery, which would prevent the entrance of ships, provided it could be secured from the fury of the waves, by dykes and other defences. To raise these, above half the army was assiduously employed for several days, <sup>b</sup> and when the work was almost perfected, *Rivas* had the mortification to see the whole destroyed by a storm of wind, which drove the sea with great violence against the dyke, and an incessant shower of bullets poured out from the heavy artillery of the garrison. Upon the whole, though no officer ever laboured with more diligence than *Rivas*, he made little progress, which so chagrined the archduke, that he resolved to commit the conduct of the whole to the marquis *Spinola*. Before the marquis would accept the honour intended, he desired leave to examine the state of the siege, for which purpose he sent experienced officers to view the works. Some of these dissuaded him from hazarding his reputation in an undertaking which must necessarily prove unsuccessful, from the impossibility of cutting off the communication of the garrison with the sea. Others were of a contrary opinion; <sup>c</sup> they believed the town must infallibly surrender in time, and that perseverance would surmount every difficulty. The love of glory spurred on the mind of *Spinola* to embrace this last opinion. Success, he knew, would raise his reputation to the highest pinnacle of military fame; and should he fail, he hoped it would be imputed to the impossibility of succeeding.

A. D. 1604.  
The states resolve to besiege Sluyce.

In the month of *October*, he took charge of the army, and soon distinguished his capacity. Before the spring of the succeeding year he advanced his works so far, that the states-general plainly perceived that *Ostend* could only be saved by hazarding a battle, or at least making such a diversion, as would probably oblige the archduke to withdraw his army. The latter proposal was thought the least hazardous; and upon this the states resolved, fixing <sup>d</sup> for that purpose upon the siege of *Sluyce*, a place so important, as would certainly engage the archduke's attention. The army, amounting to fifteen thousand foot, and twenty-five hundred horse, embarked immediately for *Zealand*, where they were met by prince *Maurice*, attended by *William Nassau* governor of *Friseland*, *Frederic Henry Nassau* his brother, general of the horse, three other princes of the house of *Orange*, the prince of *Anhalt*, the deputies of the states-general, and the council of state. Next day the fleet set sail for *Flanders*, and the troops debarked on the banks of the canal *Swartagate*, after they had taken two small forts on the isle of *Cadsant*. It is imagined, that if *Maurice* had proceeded directly to *Sluyce*, according to the advice of the deputies, he might have taken the place unprepared, and obliged the enemy to have raised the siege of *Ostend*, by cutting off all <sup>e</sup> their convoys of provision. On the contrary, he rejected the proposal, as attended with a thousand difficulties, which could only be foreseen by those who were experienced in the art of war; but the reasons he offered were such as confirmed the suspicions of the deputies, that he was not desirous of finishing a war, upon the continuance of which depended his own great authority, and the elevation of the house of *Nassau*. We shall see how these jealousies gave birth to a strong faction, which has ever since been the chief barrier of the republic, against the aspiring ambition of the princes of *Orange*.

*MAURICE* proceeded with reducing all the out-posts which could obstruct the siege of *Sluyce*. He took *Isendyck*, defeated a body of twelve companies of *German* foot posted at *Ardembourg*, and took possession of *Middelebourg* in *Flanders*, which the enemy evacuated at <sup>f</sup> his approach. Whether he ought not to have proceeded directly to *Sluyce*, is what cannot be determined at this distance of time, through all the mists of prejudice and passion which obscure this whole transaction, and by rendering it equivocal, tarnish the lustre of the prince's character. *Albert* had no sooner intelligence of the motions of *Maurice*, than he detached *Velasco* general of the horse, since *Mendoza's* departure, to take post at *Damare*, a strong situation between *Bruges* and *Sluyce*. Here he was by every possible means to oppose the progress of the enemy. *Maurice* determined to dislodge him, and with that intention detached a numerous body of cavalry, under the generals *Ghend* and *Bax*. The *Dutch* met with almost insurmountable obstacles, by reason of the difficulty of the roads, and the resistance made by *Velasco*. *Bax* was wounded, and his troops on the brink of being defeated, when the infantry seasonably arrived, renewed the engagement, forced the post, <sup>g</sup>



a and defeated the *Spaniards* with great slaughter. Upon this success the prince invested *Sluys*, evacuating all the posts which commanded the town, and taking the best measures for preventing the garrison from receiving succours, until his lines were completed. *Serrano*, a *Spanish* officer of reputation, commanded in the town; but he was badly provided with necessaries, and supported only by a slender garrison, of which he gave the archduke immediate notice. Supplies of men and provision were frequently thrown in before *Maurice* had finished his lines: one indeed would have imagined, that he purposely suffered the garrison to be reinforced, in order to try the strength of his own capacity, in reducing a town which had every advantage that nature and art could communicate. At last he had so completely invested it, that the archduke placed all his hopes of the safety of *Sluys* in b the marquis *Spinola*, who was far advanced in the siege of *Ostend*, and had gained more ground in a few weeks, than the former generals had done for the two preceding years. *Spinola*, however, had too much discernment to undertake dislodging prince *Maurice*, which was necessary for the relief of the garrison. He found his lines too strong, and drawn too judiciously to be forced. After viewing the posts, and finding them impregnable, he marched with all expedition to *Damare*, where he attacked a detachment commanded by *William* of *Nassau*, who received him gallantly, and sustained the shock of the whole *Spanish* army, until he was supported by prince *Maurice*, which obliged *Spinola* to retreat, after having lost above a thousand men. Next day, the garrison, reduced to the last extremity for want of provision, capitulated on honourable conditions, marched out with their arms c and baggage, but so emaciated and exhausted, as to excite the compassion of their enemies. The garrison of *Sluys*, when it surrendered, amounted to four thousand men, so weakened with disease and hunger, that several hundreds dropt down dead in the short march to *Damare* <sup>f</sup>.

THE success of *Maurice* greatly chagrined *Spinola*. That prince had in the space of three months reduced the strongest fortresses in the *Netherlands*; whereas the *Spaniards* had spent three years before *Ostend*, and it was still a matter of doubt with some men whether they could succeed.

*SPINOLA* returning to the siege, soon demonstrated the possibility of reducing the strongest situations. He blew up mines every where, he made violent assaults, and hemmed the besieged within so narrow a circle, as determined the fate of *Ostend*. Several governors since *Noor*'s departure had been killed, and a multitude of inferior officers were either slain or grievously wounded. Almost every shot from the enemy's batteries now did execution, as the balls fell within a small compass wholly occupied by the troops. At last a strong wind from the south-west, at high water, gave the finishing blow to the works of the besieged, which being newly erected in the room of others that were demolished, could not withstand the fury of the waves. They were all overturned, and it was afterwards in vain for the garrison to resist; however, they refused to surrender, before the sentiments of the states and prince *Maurice* were known. A council was immediately called at *Sluys*, to deliberate whether the relief of the garrison was to be attempted, or the place e immediately surrendered. The latter opinion prevailed, and orders were accordingly dispatched to the governor. The capitulation, in which the garrison and inhabitants obtained the most honourable terms, was signed the twentieth day of *September*, above three years after the town had been first invested; and it had cost the lives of an hundred thousand brave soldiers. By means of this fortress, the states-general employed the whole strength of *Spain* for three campaigns, and prevented the archduke from entering with a superior army into the *United Provinces*, while it left *Maurice* at liberty to reduce *Rimbach*, *Grave*, and *Sluys*. Curiosity drew the archduke and dukes to see the remains of a place which had so long and gloriously resisted the whole force of their arms; but scarce the vestiges of what it had been, could now be traced; all was a heap of ruins, and those fine works, upon f which such vast sums had been lavished, were reduced to rubbish and a mere chaos. As for *Spinola*, he was loaded with honours, and equally caressed as if he had terminated the war. He went to the court of *Madrid*, to solicit supplies for the ensuing year, was graciously received by the king, and promised all he required. He gave *Philip* a clear detail of the state of the *Netherlands*, and the necessity of carrying the war into the enemy's country. By crossing the *Rhine*, and finishing their operations on that side, they might easily penetrate into the provinces, which they would find impracticable on the side of *Zealand*, where canals, rivers, and dykes, rendered the *Hollanders* inaccessible. He represented, in A. D. 1903. the most lively colours, the disorders consequent on the mutiny of the troops, which proved the greatest obstruction to the service; and demonstrated, that the disease was incurable, g unless they were paid more regularly; for loyalty and fidelity did not require that soldiers should fight upon trust, and starve in the cause of their country. He proved that the da-

*Ostend taken by Spinola.*

<sup>f</sup> BENTIVOG. tom. iii. lib. vii. p. 177.



images sustained from the depredations of the mutineers, cost the government more than if they were scrupulously paid, and that the mismanagement of the revenue was the whole source of the evil. The king and council were fully convinced with his reasoning, and they entered immediately on the necessary measures to send *Spinola* back, with full power to remedy all the disorders of which he complained. On his departure he was declared marshal-general of the camp, and commander in chief of the *Spanish* and *Italian* forces. He had authority to dispose of the king's revenues and troops in the provinces, in what manner he thought proper. He was created a knight of the golden fleece, and loaded with honours and preferments, which equally shewed the discernment of *Philip* and the merit of *Spinola* <sup>a</sup>.

Mutiny of the  
Spanish forces.

DURING the absence of the marquis *de Spinola*, terrible disturbances happened among the *Spanish* troops, who were all on the wing of revolting. Several of the mutineers had already entered into the service of the states; others were plundering the ten provinces, and some had the insolence to demand the strongest fortresses of the *Netherlands*, as security for the payment of their arrears. *Albert's* situation was truly deplorable; the scarcity of money rendered him incapable of satisfying the troops, and his lost authority prevented his protecting his subjects from their violences. He became, through no fault of his own, equally obnoxious to the inhabitants and the soldiers, while the states at the same time refused the supplies necessary for the maintenance of the court, until their demands were answered, and assurances given that the foreign troops should be withdrawn. *Spinola* fortunately arrived in time to stop the progress of an evil, which must soon have worked the ruin of the provinces. He began with immediately paying off the troops, and bringing them back to their duty, with redressing the grievances of the people, and giving all possible satisfaction to the states. Then he set on foot his levies, which were prosecuted with such diligence in *Germany*, *Italy*, and the provinces, that the states-general of the *United Provinces* became soon sensible of the necessity of opposing this vigilant officer with all their prudence and fortitude. <sup>b</sup>

Motions of  
prince Maurice  
and *Spinola*.

*MAURICE* had orders to augment the troops, and levy a body of horse in *Germany*. The king of *France* promised succours in a secret manner, and advised the states to enable the prince to enter early upon action, and stop the designs of *Spinola*. But with the utmost endeavours *Maurice* had his army complete a month before their expectation. In the month of *May* he made a bold attempt on *Antwerp*, which proved fruitless, though it was planned with the utmost prudence, and conducted with all imaginable resolution. The shipwreck of the vessels employed in the enterprize ruined the whole, and afforded the *Spaniards* an opportunity of making a great number of prisoners. It was further intended by this expedition, to attack *Spinola* at his head-quarters in the neighbourhood of *Antwerp*, before his whole strength was collected; but both enterprizes failed through a variety of cross accidents. The prince having provided all the forts on the *Scheld* with every necessary, resolved to remove the seat of war into *Flanders*, to prevent *Spinola's* design of penetrating into the *United Provinces*; and the *Italian* general throwing a bridge over the river, enabled his troops to turn themselves on every side, and commence hostilities in whatever quarter was found most convenient. *Maurice* was encamped in the neighbourhood of *Isendyck*, and *Spinola* imagining his design was to attack *Sasde Gand*, or *Bruges*, removed to a situation where he could watch the motions of the confederates, without any danger of being attacked, his camp being surrounded with fens and marshes <sup>c</sup>.

WHILE the two principal armies were attentively observing each other, the archduke detached the count *de Buquoi* with a body of eight thousand men, to seize upon certain passages of the *Rhine*. This officer, after defeating several small parties of the enemy, reduced *Keisers-waert*, into which the coadjutor of *Cologne* put a garrison, thereby infringing the neutrality with respect to the *United Provinces*. The motions of count *Buquoi* put *Maurice* in fear that an attempt would be made on *Reinbach*; to prevent which, he detached his brother *Henry*, and *Ernest* of *Nassau*, to put this important place in a state of defence. They encamped on the *Rhine*, threw a bridge over the river, and chose such a situation as should enable them to succour *Wesel*, *Rheez*, *Emmerick*, or *Rhimberg*. *Wesel* armed the burghers in its own defence. The inhabitants of *Linguen*, *Oldenzeel*, *Grol*, and *Bravocort*, demanded supplies of them, and provisions from the deputies who attended prince *Henry*, which they promised, and neglected, not imagining that *Spinola* would penetrate so far. In this they were deceived; the marquis perceiving he could do nothing in *Flanders*, left the reduction of that province to count *Frederic de Bergh*, and suddenly arrived with five thousand men on the banks of the *Rhine*, halting at *Boorort*. This river he crossed on the twenty-fourth of *July*, having received intelligence that the provinces of *Friseland* and *Overyssel* were defended only by a small body of forces. To secure his <sup>d</sup>

<sup>a</sup> BENTIVOG. tom. iii. lib. vii. p. 177. METEREN. lib. xxv. LE CLERC, lib. viii. <sup>b</sup> GROT. lib. xiv. METEREN, ibid.

retreat,



a retreat, he ordered the count *de Buquoi* to build forts in certain posts; and to conceal his design, it was debated in the archduke's cabinet-council, whether *Grave*, *Sluys*, *Breda*, or *Bergen-op-zoom*, should be invested. Informed of the fluctuations in the enemy's councils, the states little imagined the *United Provinces* were in danger, and had accordingly neglected the precautions necessary to their security.

As soon as the forts at *Keifers-waert* were finished, *Spinola* laid his plan of operations before the council, which met with universal approbation. He could not avoid traversing the dominions of the duke of *Cleves*, and of other neutral princes: but he determined that his army should maintain such strict discipline, as should afford no just cause of complaint; he sent the count *de Serle* to assure the magistrates of the towns, that no violence should be offered to the privileges of the inhabitants; leaving the count *de Buquoi* with a strong detachment, to proceed with the rest of the army through *Cleves* and *Westphalia*, and maintaining such regularity and order, as even forces praise from the *Dutch* writers. Having penetrated into *Overysfel*, he first presented himself before *Oldenzeel*, at a little distance from *Linguen*, which was the principal object of his attention. In one day he reduced the former town, which was poorly fortified, ill provided, and weakly garrisoned. At the same time *Trivulcio* was detached to occupy all the posts around *Linguen*, and take the proper measures for forming the siege. The garrison of *Linguen* consisted of five hundred *German* soldiers, under the conduct of *Cobbin*, who had just begun to repair the fortifications, suffered from penurious motives to fall into ruins. The states had even neglected to lay in the necessary stores, because they hoped prince *Maurice* could return soon enough from *Flanders*, to frustrate all the schemes laid by *Spinola*; but they suffered the just punishment of that frugality which had more than once endangered the supply of the provinces. The town was invested, and the approaches were so vigorously carried on, that *Cobbin* capitulated ten days after the trenches were opened. It was perhaps an error in *Spinola*, to check the ardour of his troops, and the rapidity of conquest, by losing time in repairing the fortifications of *Linguen*; but his design was to secure a retreat, and maintain a footing in the province, should he be forced to retire on the arrival of *Maurice*. He knew that a strong garrison would be able to employ the prince's strength, while the *Spanish* forces might leisurely quit *Overysfel*, and carry their conquests into another province.

PRINCE *Maurice* was no sooner acquainted with the intention of the *Italian* general, than he issued the necessary orders for preserving his conquests in *Flanders*, and proceeded with his army to oppose the enemy in *Overysfel*. His first design was to relieve *Linguen*; but the garrison having surrendered before his arrival, he made dispositions for covering all the other towns that lay exposed. *William* of *Nassau*, governor of *Friseland* and *Groningen*, likewise began his march for the provinces, to remove the apprehensions of the people, and secure their fidelity to the states, in which he proved successful. The great object was to prevent *Spinola* from crossing the *Yssel*; to effect which, *Maurice* strictly watched his motions. After he was joined by *William*, the army amounted to nine thousand infantry, and three thousand cavalry, and was considerably augmented by a number of *Spanish* mutineers, who now wholly deserted that service, and proved extremely faithful to the states general. *Villar*, the chief officer among the deserters, attacked and defeated a detachment commanded by the baron *de la Chaus*, who was killed in the engagement. The vigilance of *Maurice*, and the advanced season, obliged *Spinola* to retire, after he had left strong garrisons in *Linguen* and *Oldenzeel*. He cantoned his troops round *Malheim*, at such distances as furnished the prince with the idea of surprising the *Spaniards*. A scheme for this purpose was drawn out; and had the execution been equal to the design projected, the *Spaniards* would have sustained an irretrievable blow. Prince *Frederic* and general *Bux* were appointed to conduct this difficult and important enterprize, which failed through some misunderstanding. The attack was made by the cavalry, who were astonished to find the enemy drawn up, when they expected to have caught them unprepared; however, the onset was pushed with such impetuosity, as would have produced the desired effect, had not *Spinola* arrived with fresh forces, renewed the engagement, and after an obstinate conflict turned the fortune of the day, when a body of *Dutch* infantry appeared in support of their countrymen. The action was now a second time renewed with redoubled fury, and the combatants were continually augmented, with troops powering in from all quarters. In the end, the *Spaniards* would have obtained a complete victory, had not two battalions of *French*, commanded by the count *de Chatiller*, secured a retreat to the *Dutch*, by keeping up a brisk unremitting fire on the enemy's flank, extended towards the river.

<sup>1</sup> LE CLERC, lib. viii. METELEN, lib. xxvii.



SUCH was the issue of a manœuvre upon which *Maurice* placed great dependance, as it was planned with so much prudence, as seemed to insure success. The loss was considerable on both sides, but writers are divided with respect to the number. *Bentivoglio* alleges that *Spinola* left three hundred dead in the field; but that the loss of the *Dutch* exceeded five hundred men, besides *Emmerville*, the best officer among the *French* auxiliaries<sup>a</sup>. *Meteren*, on the contrary, affirms that *Maurice* had two hundred men killed, and the enemy near three times that number; whereas *Grotius* reckons the loss pretty equal, but the victory clearly in favour of *Spinola*, the *Dutch* being not only disappointed in the intention of the attack, but forced to leave the field of battle. Upon the whole, prince *Henry Frederic* is blamed universally by all historians, for delaying the attack, and giving the enemy time to recover their surprize, draw up their forces, and acquaint *Spinola* with their situation. What beyond doubt determines the event of this engagement so much disputed, is, that the enemy immediately afterwards laid siege to *Wachtendock*, and reduced this strong fortress, without the prince's having it in his power to relieve the garrison. While this siege employed the count *de Buquai*, to keep up the credit of his arms, *Maurice* made an attempt on *Gueldres*, which proved unsuccessful, and rather contributed to augment the disgrace he endeavoured to avoid. These misfortunes, however unjustly, affected the reputation of this great commander, who was often under the necessity of acting agreeable to the instructions of the states, contrary to his own sentiments; frequently he entrusted the execution of delicate enterprizes to his officers, and was always curbed by a faction which now arrived at great strength, and openly professed themselves enemies to the aspiring ambition of this prince, and the growth of the house of *Orange*. With this *Maurice* ended a campaign, which on the whole proved honourable to *Spinola*, though it detracted nothing from the great merit of prince *Maurice*.

Naval affairs.

WE shall conclude the transactions of the year, with observing the rapid progress of the infant *India* company, which not only received the joyful news of vast conquests made in *Asia*, of several rich captures of *Portuguese* *Indiamen*, but of the safe arrival of thirteen large ships, loaded with spices, and the most valuable merchandise of *India*. About the same time, a *Dutch* squadron equipped for that purpose, had the good fortune to fall in with a fleet of transports, which was carrying a battalion of *Spanish* forces to recruit *Spinola's* army. The transports were chiefly *English*, except a few *Hamburgers*: they hoisted the *English* flag; notwithstanding which the *Dutch* admiral attacked them with great fury, sunk some, took others, and pursued the rest to *Dover*, where he fired warmly upon them within reach of the *English* cannon. Five companies of soldiers were taken or destroyed, the seven remaining companies were blocked up for several weeks, and *James* was forced to put up with this violation of the neutrality he declared, contenting himself with fruitless, disregarded remonstrances. His cautious, timid disposition could not long escape the discernment of the *Dutch* (A), and they seemed willing to revenge upon him the haughty usage they were compelled to bear from the spirited *Elizabeth*. This year was likewise successful in cruizes upon the *Dunkirk* privateers, many of which were taken, and their crews immediately hanged; with which they were so terrified, as to keep close in port, and suffer the *Dutch* commerce to proceed unmolested.

A. D. 1606.  
Difficulties  
about raising  
the supplies in  
Holland.

THE year was ushered in with demands from the council of state of the *United Provinces*, for supplies to support the expences of the ensuing campaign. It appeared that the public charges were considerably augmented, without the armies being proportionably increased. Twelve hundred thousand florins were assigned for the extraordinary expences of the land-forces; besides which, the council proposed that the provinces should liquidate all the sums due since the year 1599, which amounted to twelve millions of florins. The former demand was readily granted; but all the provinces exclaimed violently against an exaction, which would entirely impoverish the people, though it was no more than they had subscribed for the public service, and which, if performed, would have enabled prince *Maurice* to ruin *Spinola*, and terminate the war in a single campaign. Still however a faction exclaimed against the prince, and attributed the prolongation of the war to his ambition and avarice; although it was demonstrable, that, unable to keep the field, he was forced to act defensively, and was even too weak to succour *Rhimberg*, when besieged in the month of *August*.

\* BENTIVOG. p. iii. lib. vii. p. 187. METEREN. lib. xxvii. p. 574. GROT. lib. xiv. p. 470.

(A) It must however be confessed, that the states general had reason to resent the conduct of king *James*, who, according to their writers, took every opportunity of favouring the archduke and the *Spaniards*. He had not only withdrawn the *English* forces, but suffered

them to be employed in the *Spanish* service, and recruited in *England*. Besides, the transports on this occasion were almost all *English*, which could not fail of being deemed a violation of the neutrality he professed.



a *SPINOLA*'s circumstances were altogether different. That general set out, when the campaign was finished, to *Brussels*, to concert the plan of future operations with the archduke, and was so fortunate as to have all his proposals approved; but the concurrence of the court of *Spain* was necessary for the carrying them into execution, and it was presumed the lively representations of *Spinola* would greatly influence his catholic majesty. Accordingly he set out for *Madrid*, and was received by the king with the utmost cordiality. His proposals were immediately applauded, but the difficulty was to raise the sufficient supplies. Three hundred thousand doubloons a month, besides the revenues of *Flanders*, were demanded for the vigorous prosecution of the war, which was a sum too vast even for the *Spanish* monarchy, assisted with the treasures of *Mexico* and *Peru*, but already drained by continual wars of near forty years standing. The best measures possible were however taken to answer *Spinola*'s expectation; and with such alacrity did the whole court embrace the scheme presented, that an advanced sum of money was immediately remitted to *Brussels*, to make fresh levies. But the plan of operations was in some respects disconcerted by the tediousness of the negotiations at *Madrid*, and a fever which *Spinola* afterwards contracted, that prevented his return to the *Netherlands*, until the summer-season was pretty far advanced.

*Spinola obtains promises from the king of Spain of the necessary supplies.*

b This delay probably saved the *United Provinces*. The states spent the whole winter in deliberating the means of supporting the expences of the campaign, and the troops that would be necessary. In the spring the levies were not begun, and even then made under a variety of disappointments. The *French* king, embroiled with the duke de *Bouillon*, forbid troops to be raised in his country, and a war kindled in the territory of *Brunswick* obstructed the levies made in *Germany*; above all, the narrow parsimony, and unseasonable frugality of the *Dutch*, had almost ruined their affairs. At last the business of recruiting was undertaken, and *Henry* permitted a small body of *French* to pass into the *Netherlands*, before the end of the campaign<sup>1</sup>.

c *SPINOLA* did not hesitate about seizing the advantage gained by his superiority. He had two armies in the field; one composed of twelve thousand foot and two thousand horse, he led in person; the other, amounting to ten thousand infantry, and twelve hundred cavalry, was under the direction of the count de *Buquoy*. Both were provided with every necessary, and constantly attended by two thousand waggons loaded with provision. Advancing to the country of *Twente*, *Spinola* ordered the count de *Buquoy* to pass the *Vaal*, and enter the enemy's country; but in this he was frustrated by the vigilance of *Maurice*, who raised such a variety of obstructions, as it was impossible to surmount. Baffled in his principal design, *Spinola* resolved not to lose the whole fruits of his superiority, and accordingly invested *Grol*, which obliged *Maurice* to march to the relief of the garrison. He met with numberless difficulties in succouring the place; but was on the point of succeeding, and had wrote to the governor an assurance of speedy assistance, when the letter being intercepted by *Spinola*, and the siege vigorously pushed, compelled the garrison to surrender in despair. This obliged the prince to retire, and so animated the *Spanish* troops, that *Spinola* undertook the siege of *Rhimberg*. The prince de *Soubise*, and several volunteers of distinction, immediately threw themselves into the town, with a view of displaying their courage; the defence was obstinate, but colonel *Utenhove* was at length under the necessity of capitulating. *Maurice* in vain practised every method to save *Rhimberg*; he would even have ventured a battle, had the states approved of so desperate a remedy; but all was in vain, the activity of *Spinola* rendered his utmost endeavours fruitless.

*He takes the field, and enters the provinces.*

d SCARCE had the *Spanish* general compleated the reduction of this strong town, when the troops mutinied. At first he endeavoured to prevail on them by arguments to return to their duty, and finding reason useless, he employed force. This augmented the evil, and more enflamed the passions of the mutineers, who thought themselves hardly enough used in being deprived of their pay. They even encreased to two thousand horse and foot, retreating towards *Breda*, where they could insure quarters. *Maurice* took advantage of the spirit of rebellion, and the sickness that prevailed in the *Spanish* army. He marched towards *Overyssel*, with intention to recover the late losses sustained by the provinces. He begun with *Lochem*, which he reduced in three days, and then proceeded to *Grol*; but he had scarce formed the siege of this place, when he foresaw numberless difficulties in the prosecution. Still however he pursued his design, in expectation that the confusion in *Spinola*'s army would prevent his giving him any annoyance. Owing to this confidence, he neglected pursuing his course with the usual precaution. *Spinola*'s intelligence was

*His troops mutiny.*

<sup>1</sup> LE CLERC, lib. vii. MATEREN, lib. xxviii.



good; he assembled eight thousand infantry, and twelve hundred horse, and set out with the utmost secrecy and expedition to attack the prince's quarters, while the garrison, informed of his intention, kept up a brisk fire on the besiegers. *Maurice* however had advice of *Spinola's* march; he consulted the deputies what should be done, and had their consent to hazard a battle, if necessary. But he did not chuse to risque the safety of the provinces on the issue of an engagement; though the *French* auxiliaries, and even the *Dutch* troops, loudly demanded battle. In this he certainly acted with prudence, though it afforded a handle to his enemies, to censure his courage, and at the same time his desire to prolong the war. *Maurice* had too much fortitude and true magnanimity to enter upon dangerous measures for mere popular applause. He had already exhibited too many proofs of courage, to be justly taxed with cowardice, and he left his general conduct to speak for his fidelity. In a word, he resolved to retire, and executed his purpose in so masterly a manner, that *Spinola* did not think proper to pursue, and contented himself with reinforcing the garrison<sup>m</sup>.

He relieves  
Grol.

AFTER *Spinola* had accomplished the relief of *Grol*, he returned to *Brussels*, to remedy the disorders which threatened destruction to the archduke's affairs. Every method was tried to appease the mutineers, and in some measure with success. Such was the confidence they reposed in *Spinola*, that they returned, upon his promise that their arrears would soon be advanced; but the remittances from *Spain* falling short of expectation, he failed in his engagements, and yet still had the good fortune to retain the affections of the soldiers, who shifted the blame from him upon the shoulders of the archduke. In fact, *Spinola* and his friends had advanced large sums to the crown of *Spain*, of which they began now to dread the loss, together with the blighting of those laurels acquired in the two last campaigns. But the difficulty consisted in extricating himself. To throw up his command would but lessen all his prospects of being reimbursed, and to continue his commission would be hazarding the reputation he had gained with so much toil and labour. In these circumstances his only hope was, that the *United Provinces* would not take advantage of the situation of the *Spanish* army; but would, from their usual principle of frugality, involve *Maurice* in the same difficulties that attended him from the necessities of the court of *Spain*. Such was the situation of affairs at the close of the campaign. We shall see how the efforts of the provinces succeeded on the ocean<sup>n</sup>.

Naval affairs.

THE states general perceiving that little progress was made in the land-operations, thought the most effectual method of distressing *Spain*, and of concluding the war at a small expence, would be to harraß the *Spanish* shipping, and destroy the commerce of that kingdom. In pursuing this design, not only the expences of a fleet would probably be reimbursed by captures, but the *Dutch* trade greatly promoted, and new colonies erected on the ruins of the *Portuguese* establishments. One grand fleet was accordingly equipped to cruize on the *Spanish* coast, to watch the arrival of the plate flota, and protect the commerce of the provinces. This armament was preparing, when advice was received that a *Dutch* squadron of seven ships had fallen in with eight galleons from *Peru*. The *Spaniards* attacked the *Dutch* with great vigour, but met with so warm a reception, that two of the galleons were burnt, and the rest so roughly handled, that three foundered at sea and were lost. This misfortune was severely felt by the king of *Spain*, though it produced no immediate advantage to the *Hollanders*. It raised his indignation to such a height, that he fitted out a squadron to intercept the *Dutch*, met them in their return, took the whole fleet, and sent orders to the admiral to treat the prisoners in the same manner as the *Dutch* had used the *Dunkirk* pirates; upon which the crews were immediately hanged. To revenge this cruelty, the states gave orders to admiral *Hautain*, who commanded their grand fleet, to attack the *Carracca* flota in the river *Tagus*, and burn and destroy the whole without mercy; but he was frustrated in this attempt, and forced to satisfy himself with some unsuccessful descents on the coasts of *Spain* and *Portugal*. As he was ready to quit his station, eight galleons homeward-bound were discovered. *Hautain* immediately gave chase, and drove two of the galleons on the rocks, where they perished; the rest entered the *Tagus* and escaped. Soon after he was overtaken in a terrible storm, in which the whole fleet was dispersed, and several ships lost. His squadron was now reduced to thirteen sail, including frigates and brigantines, when the flota of don *Faisardo*, composed of nine men of war, and eighteen galleons, was descried. The immensity of the booty in view determined the *Dutch* admiral to attack the enemy, though greatly inferior in strength. He endeavoured to gain the weather-gage, and was disappointed. Vice-admiral *Classen* was separated in this tack from the rest of the *Dutch* fleet, attacked by five ships of the enemy, and engaged with the utmost fury. He defended himself for several hours with great in-

<sup>m</sup> BENTIVOG. p. 3. lib. vii. p. 107.

<sup>n</sup> LE CLERC, ibid. GROT. lib. xiv.



a trepidity; but his main-mast being shot away, and his ship otherwise greatly shattered, he resolved to blow himself and crew into the air, rather than strike to an enemy who had lately so cruelly treated his countrymen. This he executed with admirable constancy, and perished with a hundred and fifty brave soldiers and skilful mariners. The engagement was warm between *Hautain* and the *Spanish* admiral, but night separated the combatants, and prevented the destruction of both parties, who were each resolved to die or conquer. Such were the transactions of this year, towards the close of which the richest *India* fleet ever seen from *India* arrived, with the agreeable news of further advantages gained in *Asia*, and the prosperous situation of the company's affairs.

b THE infinite losses sustained by the *Spaniards*, by sea and land, in *Europe*, *Asia*, and *America*; the immense expences of the war; the little probability of reducing the provinces; the exhausted state of the treasury; the vast debts contracted by the crown; and the muti-  
c nous disposition of the troops, all suggested the first idea of the necessity of a truce with the obstinate *Hollanders*. It was now seriously deliberated in council, and the motion supported by the persons most attached to the interests of their king and country. The *Portu-  
guese*, who were the greatest sufferers in their *East India* traffic, made strong remonstrances to *Philip III.* on the damages sustained from a ruinous war, in which they were no way concerned. They had lost an infinity of rich ships, were deprived of their best establishments in the *Indies*, stripped of their commerce, and in the open way to destruction, if a speedy issue was not put to the disturbances in the *Low Countries*, which had already cost *Spain* and *Portugal* above double the intrinsic value of the *Seven Provinces*. They asserted, that the difficulty of the war would every year increase, with the inability of *Spain* to support it; that the enemy were growing rich and powerful upon the ruins of their trade and navigation, and would every year prove more formidable. They added, that the natural situation of the provinces, surrounded by deep rivers and the ocean, rendered them impregnable; and if *Spain* could not succeed through the spirited conduct of such generals as the duke of *Parma* and the marquis *Spinola*, while she exerted her utmost force, how could she expect a fortunate issue under any other generals, when her strength was spent and exhausted? *Philip*, wholly occupied with the pursuit of pleasure, was naturally pacific, and had prosecuted the war by the advice of his council, rather than from inclination. His ministers insinuated to him that the *French* king was labouring to unite the provinces to his own crown, in order to extend his dominion over the *Netherlands*. It was, beyond doubt, less disadvantageous and dishonourable to *Spain*, to suffer the provinces to enjoy their liberty, and become a free state, than to fall into the hands of a powerful and ambitious rival, who was mounting by large strides to an equality with the house of *Austria*. The success of the infant *India* company, afterwards established upon a larger basis, made the king apprehensive, not only of the loss of his colonies in the *East*, but of that vast empire he possessed in the *West Indies*. It was at the same time whispered, that the *Dutch* would afford the *Mozers* shipping to transport vast armies into *Spain*; and indeed it is astonishing that the provinces, amidst all their distresses, never attempted making this diversion. These considerations, joined to the inclinations of the archduke and *Isabella*, quite wearied out with the perpetual complaints of their subjects, determined *Spain* to make overtures for a truce. Even *Spinola*, for the reasons we have before mentioned, was of opinion that it was better to enjoy the *Ten Provinces* in security and peace, than risque the whole *Netherlands*, and ruin *Spain*, in the fruitless attempt to conquer rebel subjects, who had too long tasted the sweets of liberty, ever again to bear with ease the shackles of monarchy and absolute dominion. He said, that if to their growing empire in *Asia*, they should add establishments in *America*, *Spain* would be reduced to its primitive poverty.  
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f THESE sentiments of the *Spanish* court transpired before any formal proposals had been made. In *Holland* some alledged, that the report of pacific designs was industriously propagated, only to lull the provinces into security, and catch them napping and unprepared. Numbers of people pretended to discredit the rumour, because they lived, and had raised fortunes, by the war. Others found out, that a peace would dissolve the union of *Utrecht*, and bring the trade of *Holland* and *Zealand* back again to *Antwerp*. On the other hand, the provinces most exposed wished for an equitable peace, and all moderate persons desired to see the public tranquillity re-established on such a footing as should secure the liberty of the provinces. These were the general sentiments of both parties, when the commissioners *Walrave* and *Wittenborst* arrived, from the archduke, at the *Hague*, to make some proposals touching a congress. Prince *Maurice* was then in *Overyssel*; and the deputies to whom the ambassadors addressed themselves, gave such discouragement, that they  
g returned to *Brussels*, without having publicly communicated their instructions. They

The court of Spain begins to talk of peace.

Objections to a peace in Holland.



A. D. 1607.  
The archduke  
sends deputies  
to the Hague,  
and treats  
with the  
Dutch as a  
free people.

were again sent to the *Hague*, in the month of *December*, with orders to acquaint the states, that they had instructions from the archduke to assure them of the sincerity of his pacific views, and readiness to grant any reasonable terms, and to demand such conditions as the *United Provinces* were determined to accept. They were further impowered to offer the states either a peace or truce, and the choice of time and place for fixing a congress, where the articles might be adjusted. To these assurances and demands the states general refused to give an answer, because the ambassadors had brought no letters expressly addressed to the states. This difficulty was not foreseen; but, to remove it, one of the ambassadors set out for *Brussels*, obtained the letter required, and returned to the *Hague*. Now the ambassador demanded a public audience of the states general, and obtained it on the third of *January*. They read publickly the archduke's letter, professing his hearty desire to heal up those wounds which had so long afflicted the *Netherlands*; they commented upon the letter, set forth the uncertain event of war, the misery of the people, the duty of conciliating fellow-subjects unhappily divided by civil discord; with a variety of other topics; to which the states general answered: That while the archduke formed any right to the *United Provinces*, it was impossible they could ever consent to a treaty; that all the world allowed they were born a free people (A), and their highnesses could never make out their pretensions to dominion over them but by force; that it was incumbent on the states to recover what had been insidiously and oppressively wrested from them; that they could not consent in conscience, in honour, or safety, to treat with princes who formed pretensions to their undoubted liberties, until such pretensions were solemnly abjured; as for the rest, they declared they would be no ways accessary to the evil consequences which might ensue, since their resolutions were all formed in self-defence, and founded on justice and the natural rights of mankind, all of which dictated, that subjects might lawfully oppose the ambitious encroachments of their sovereigns, and draw their swords against princes in defence of liberty. With this answer the ambassadors returned, promising that they would soon acquaint the states with the archduke's sentiments.

It must be acknowledged that the general sentiments of the *United Provinces* were averse to peace; that the states treated the archduke cavalierly, and raised all possible obstructions in the way of a negotiation; but such were the circumstances of the courts of *Madrid* and *Brussels*, that they now waved punctilio, and were contented to effect at least a suspension of hostilities, upon any tolerable conditions. With this view *John Neyen*, an ecclesiastic, extremely conversant in politics, insinuating in his address, able, penetrating, subtle, and eloquent, was again dispatched to the *Hague*. *Neyen* was acquainted personally with the principal men in *Holland*; he had a great number of friends in that country, and, though a catholic, was exceedingly beloved by the reformed, because he had the art to make his opinions seem moderate. On his arrival he found the states immoveably fixed in their resolution to listen to no terms, unless they were treated and addressed as a free people. To this the archduke had strong objections; because it was in fact acknowledging that he had hitherto maintained an unjust war; that he was in no condition to continue it; and that he had really no just pretensions to the sovereignty of the *United Provinces*. He apprehended that such a concession would be injurious to *Philip's* and his own reputation; and he was sensible of the danger of rewarding rebellion with liberty. However, necessity overcame his scruples, and he determined to grant the demands of the states general, hoping that if the negotiation should turn out to his advantage, the event would plead his apology, and excuse the means he had practised of restoring peace to his subjects; but he first gave instructions to *Neyen* to endeavour to procure some mitigation of this hard preliminary condition. *Neyen* expatiated to the states on the archduke's pious intentions to spare the effusion of christian blood, and of treating with the provinces upon the most equitable footing; he eloquently explained the mutual obligations of sovereigns and subjects, and enumerated with admirable address all the arguments in favour of indefeasible right, a topic since that time so hackneyed in other countries; he launched out upon the blessings of peace, and the advantages which the commerce of the *United Provinces*, in particular, would deduce from the establishment

9 BAUDIVS de Judiciis, lib. i. p. 4.

(A) This assertion would seem to allude to the solemn declaration, published in 1581, by the states assembled at the *Hague*, whereby they deprived *Philip II.* of all right, dominion, and sovereignty over the *United Provinces*, which they henceforward declared to be a free state; because his majesty had first dissolved the original contract, by divers infractions and violations of the engagements subsisting between him and his subjects (1).

(1) *Vid. Wiquetfort. demost. 4. lib. i. Hist. des Provinces Unies.*



- a of public tranquillity ; but he artfully avoided touching the liberty of the states general, and the preliminary demanded. Finding all his arguments to induce them to relax in this particular fruitless, he returned to *Brussels*, and was in a few days sent back with full powers to negotiate with the *United Provinces*, as a free state, over which neither the catholic king or the archduke had any just claim of sovereignty. He was directed to conclude either a truce or perpetual peace, according as he found the states general disposed ; to offer them the choice of their own deputies, and the time and place for fixing the congress ; and, to facilitate the treaty, to demand a suspension of arms for the space of eight months, during which no hostilities of any kind should be permitted ; provided however, that the proposals should in eight days be accepted. These overtures were contained in a writing,
- b signed by the archduke on the thirteenth day of *March* 1607, and accepted by a similar writing signed by the states on the twenty-fourth of *April*. At the same time, an order to suspend hostilities was reciprocally sent to all the governors of towns, generals, and commanders in either service. The articles of truce were exchanged at *Lillo* ; and the archduke left the farther explication of the agreement of suspension to his envoy *Neyen*, who desired leave to repair for this purpose to the *Hague*. As *Neyen* received no immediate answer to his request, he construed the silence of the states into consent, set out for the *Hague*, and on the first day of *June* published an edict, whereby he declared that the suspension took place at sea as well as land, limiting it however to the *Northern* ocean and the *British* channel. In this edict the frontiers were adjusted, and several other particulars,
- c which had before been omitted. Foreign ministers, particularly the *French* ambassador at the *Hague*, were made acquainted with the determination of the states, and invited to send plenipotentiaries to assist at the congress. In consequence, the *French* king sent the president *Jeannin*, and the sieurs *Roijsi* and *Busenval* to *Holland*, where, on their first arrival, they gently expostulated with the states, for having come to a resolution so important to the tranquillity of *Europe*, without having previously acquainted their master with their intention, and received the advice of so constant and necessary an ally<sup>1</sup>. *James*, king of *England*, likewise promised that his ambassadors, *Spencer* and *Winwood*, should attend the congress.

- Now the chief difficulty that remained regarded the manner of opening the negotiation.
- d The deputies of the states foresaw the great revolution in affairs which so sudden a change from war to peace would produce, especially should prince *Maurice* disapprove of the treaty. The reputation acquired by the prince, in the long course of his services, rendered him very powerful and very popular. His reputation was a vast structure raised on a firm foundation laid by his father ; a building erected by courage, virtue, and public spirit, on the basis of patriotism. *Maurice* was not only at the head of the army, but he held the stadtholdership of four out of the seven provinces, and the rest were under his direction, as his two cousins were governors. Several of the states became jealous of his authority and ambition ; they united into a faction, pretended to fear that *Maurice's* popularity would aspire at absolute dominion, and gave themselves up to the direction of *Barneveldt*, pensioner of
- e *Holland*, a minister equally able and faithful. The continuance of the war would certainly encrease the prince's authority, and a truce proportionably diminish it, and open the way to the exertion of the functions of civil power : this disposed the whole party to wish for the treaty, and to advance its progress and issue with all their weight and influence. It was further necessary, they alledged, to shew their allies that the states had it in their power to conclude peace when they pleased, which would render them more independent on their allies, oblige *France* to declare more openly, and induce all their allies to afford real, instead of imaginary, assistance and large promises. On the other side, the *Orange* party threw all possible obstructions in the way of the treaty, receiving every proposal with great coldness and arrogance, starting punctilious difficulties upon every expression, and obliging
- f the archduke upon every trifling occasion to send expresses into *Spain*, and wait their return, without advancing a step in the negotiation. In this interest may be included the bulk of the people, as well as the whole body of militia by land and sea. The former, by long habit, contracted invincible prejudices against *Spain*, and the latter proposed the improvement of their fortunes. But there was one consideration which weighed strongly in favour of the opposite faction. This was the decline of the vast *Spanish* monarchy, so formidable under *Charles V.* and *Philip II.* owing to extensive projects, ambitious councils, and unfortunate events. On the contrary, *France* was rising to a great degree of power, conducted by a prince enterprizing, constant, and intrepid. This king put an end to all domestic discord and misfortune, by a peace with the house of *Austria*. It was obvious, however, that the temper of the nation, long accustomed to constant heats and commo-

*Obstructions raised by the states to the progress of the negotiation.*

<sup>1</sup> METEKEN, lib. xxviii. GROTI. Hist. lib. xvi.



motions, would not long remain quiet without exercise; and to prevent the people from finding employment at home, it might be necessary for the king to contrive work for them abroad, which might at the same time promote the views of his own ambition. *Flanders* had anciently formed a part of the *Gallic* monarchy, and its princes derived and held their power of the kings of *France*. An enterprize to recover the ancient demesnes of the crown lay extremely convenient, and seemed perfectly congenial to the disposition of *Henry*, who was at this very time making great preparations, which might very probably fall on this side, if invited by any greater decay of the *Spanish* power in the *Netherlands*. It was further observed, that the authority of *Spain* in the *Low Countries* was supported by treasures, which came by long and perilous voyages from *Spain*; and by troops drawn from thence, from *Italy* or *Germany*, at a great hazard and expence. The territory of the *Ten Provinces* was inconsiderable, and awed by the neighbourhood and jealousies both of *France* and *England*; but if *Henry* were once master of *Flanders*, the body of the *French* monarchy would be so great, so entire, so populous, and flourishing, as would make an attempt on the liberty of the *United Provinces* fatal, and completely decisive. Then would they have laboured in vain against *Philip*, and fought out that long and glorious struggle, not for absolute freedom, but for a change of masters. It was this idea of a political balance, as well as a dread of the ambition of *Maurice*, that actuated that able minister *Barneveldt*, though many of his party were excited by personal resentment to the prince, and drawn over by the presents and promises of *Spain*.

BESIDES the contending interests of the two parties, the negotiation met with another obstruction. The archduke had indeed given his solemn assurance, that he would obtain a declaration from king *Philip*, ratifying the means he proposed, and the terms he should stipulate in the treaty; but hitherto no declaration of the *Spanish* court had appeared to confirm the preliminary steps to the negotiation. Such a declaration was necessary, because the *Netherlands* reverted to the crown of *Spain* at the decease of the archduke without issue; in which case, all treaties with him would prove void, unless they were concluded with *Philip's* consent. At last the declaration, couched in form of two acts, was obtained; of which *Spinola* gave notice to the states, desiring a passport for *Lewis Verreiken*, the archduke's ambassador. When *Verreiken* presented the declaration to the states general assembled at the *Hague*, it was objected, that the king had approved in general terms of all that had been done, and promised strictly to observe the armistice; but that he had designedly flurred over the clause where it was specified, that the archduke treated with the provinces on the footing of a free state, over which he had no jurisdiction. Not only this, but several other particulars in the manner and stile of the act, were displeasing to the states general. They resented the title given the archduke of sovereign of all the *Netherlands*; the acts being written on paper instead of parchment; the king's subscription, *We the king*; the seal affixed, which was not the great seal of *Spain*; and the demand, that the *Dutch* squadrons should be immediately recalled from the *Spanish* coasts. In the end, the ambassador was informed, that the states could not accept the declaration without considerable amendments. *Verreiken* laboured to remove the objections. He insisted that the catholic king would never have ratified the preliminaries stipulated by the archduke, had not his intentions been wholly pacific; that procuring the amendments required would only retard the negotiation; but that if the states would, in the mean time, proceed to business, he would engage to obtain the declaration wanted as soon as in course it could be expected. But this was positively refused; and the states, for their own security, gave the ambassador copies of such a declaration as would quiet their scruples, in the *Latin*, *French*, and *Spanish*; that no mistake, through the equivocal sense of words, might arise. In these, several articles, relative to religion, were inserted, which, it was apprehended, the court of *Spain* would not grant; and indeed the writing would seem to be calculated with that design, and dictated by the partizans of the house of *Orange*.

WHEN the second ratification arrived at *Brussels*, the first observation which occurred, was, that the great seal was not affixed: but this difficulty the archduke engaged he should be able to surmount, should the contents prove otherwise agreeable to the sentiments of the *United Provinces*. The article with respect to religion, it was foreseen, would occasion more trouble. *Verreiken* and *Neyen* were dispatched to the *Hague* with this new ratification; and though it was supported with all their eloquence and address, could not gain the approbation of the states. They objected, that, like the former, it was written in a loose stile, upon paper, and sealed with a private signature. However, to preserve the appearance of candour, they said they would communicate the ratification to the provincial states, and report their opinion in six weeks; adding, that if the archduke thought proper to

\* BENTIVOGLI, p. 207. MEYER, Rer. Belg. lib. v.

† METEREN, lib. xxviii. LE CLERC, lib. viii.



- a appoint plenipotentiaries in ten days, they would follow his example, and send deputies to the congress. Before the ambassador's departure, the states desired that the original ratification might be left in their hands; but this was refused, though *Verreiken*, to oblige them all in his power, remained at the *Hague*, kept the ratification, and sent his colleague to attend the archduke's commands. By the fourteenth of *November*, *Neyen* returned from *Brussels*, with orders to deliver the ratification to the states, upon receiving their written promises to restore it, in case the negotiation should prove abortive. Even this was denied, and *Neyen* again forced to set out for *Brussels*, where he obtained the archduke's leave to surrender the ratification, without any promise or written acknowledgement. From such punctilious conduct and fastidious cavilling, it was obvious that the *Orange* party prevailed;
- b that the general sentiments of the people were not pacific, and that the negotiation would at last prove fruitless.

WHILE the treaty went on in this channel, letters addressed to the states were received from the emperor, in which he expressed his astonishment at their not acquainting the imperial court with their intentions, reminded them that the *Netherlands* were formerly a part of the empire, and that consequently they could not claim the privileges of a free state, without his consent; nor would any grants made by the archduke and the king of *Spain* prove valid, without the full approbation of the *Aulic* council. To these letters the states returned a civil answer, excusing themselves by affirming, that they imagined the king of *Spain* and the archduke had given his imperial majesty timely information; otherwise they

c should not be wanting in this mark of respect. They represented the cause which induced them to throw off the sovereignty of *Philip*, and now insist on the privileges of a free people; they alledged their having already been acknowledged independent by several states and sovereigns; and lastly, that they apprehended it properly belonged to *Philip*, to enquire whether he had a power to make the grants he proposed; that as for themselves, they had long taken the resolution of being free, or of perishing in the defence of liberty.

SCARCE had the states-general returned this answer, and received the compliments of several foreign princes, when the provinces reported their opinion, that the ratification was a sufficient basis for negotiating a peace or truce. This resolution had been carried in all the provincial states, in despite of the objections raised by the *Orange* faction. Never did

a the talents of *Barneveldt* appear more conspicuous than on this occasion; on which he equally displayed the orator, the statesman, and the patriot. After deliberating with the ambassadors of *France* and *Great Britain*, the states acquainted the archduke by letter, that they were ready to enter upon the negotiation, provided that nothing should be demanded repugnant to their privileges, or obliquely directed against their liberties; and that if he would nominate plenipotentiaries, they would appoint an equal number of deputies (A). Towards the close of the year the armistice was expired, of which the archduke gave the states-general notice, and of his desire to prolong it for a month. He likewise acquainted them by letter, that he had nominated plenipotentiaries, and expressed his inclination that the congress might sit with the utmost expedition. The marquis *de Spinola*, *Ricardot*, *Mancidor*, the archduke's secretary, *Neyen*, and *Verreiken*, were appointed ambassadors. It

e gave umbrage, that not one native of the *Netherlands* should be chosen to adjust the articles of a treaty, that wholly respected this country, but the power was in the hands of the *Spaniards*, and by exerting it they proposed to gain some advantages to themselves<sup>u</sup>.

IN the beginning of the following year, *Spinola* and the other ambassadors set out for the congress; and as soon as they arrived in the territories of the states, they were received by *Justin Nassau*, and conducted to the *Hague*, without any expence. In all the towns the

A. D. 1658.

<sup>u</sup> *METEREN*, lib. xxx. *LE CLERC*, lib. viii.

(A) It was at this very time, when the attention of all *Europe* was fixed on the approaching congress, which was to determine the fate of the *United Provinces*, that the *Hollanders* planned the scheme of a *West-India* company, which should likewise trade to *Africa*, upon the model of the *East India* company. The project met with obstructions, on account of the peace now negotiating; as it was apprehended the king of *Spain* would dispute any grants which could be made out to the company. However, though the states chose to avoid raising difficulties in the way of the treaty, which the whole world must attribute to their desire of prolonging the war, they permitted their grand armament to set sail in quest of the *Caracca* fleet, soon expected. Admiral *Hemskirk* accordingly steered for the coast of *Spain*, received information that a *Spanish* squadron of six men

of war lay in the bay of *Gibraltar*, and made dispositions for attacking the enemy. *Juan Alvares d'Avila* commanded the *Spanish* fleet. He was attacked by *Hemskirk* with the utmost resolution, and the engagement continued with great fury, until the *Dutch* admiral lost his arm by a cannon-ball. The death of so brave an officer caused some confusion in the fleet; but the spirits of the *Dutchmen* were soon roused, by the gallant conduct of *Verhoef*, who succeeded to the command. After an obstinate fight, *d'Avila* was killed, his ship run a-ground, and burnt by the garrison of *Gibraltar*, to prevent his being taken: the rest of the *Spanish* fleet was burnt, sunk, or destroyed, and the victory indisputably in favour of the *Hollanders*, though they received no other benefit from it, than the destruction of the *Spanish* armament (1).

(1) *Meteren*, lib. 28. *Le Clerc*, lib. 8. p. 248.



The congress  
sits at the  
Hague.

people flocked to see *Spinola*, whose reputation was as great in *Holland*, as in the other provinces of the *Netherlands*; and at *Dordrecht*, prince *Maurice* met that general, who seemed to regard the prince with astonishment and admiration. *Maurice* expressed sentiments no less favourable to *Spinola*, and they both paid those compliments which were certainly due to each other's merit. Various were the sentiments of the people on the arrival of *Spinola* in *Holland*. Some alledged, it was wrong to suffer so popular an enemy to enter the heart of the country, and thereby afford him the opportunity of seducing the minds of the people. To this it was answered that the people were inveterate enemies of the *Spanish* dominion, and *Spinola* himself a promoter of the peace. Before the arrival of the plenipotentiaries, the states had prevailed, on the *French* ambassadors, that their master should become guarantee of the treaty intended; and they ventured to engage, that his majesty should assist the states with 10,000 men, in case it was broke thro' the fault of the king of *Spain* or the archduke. By the 4th of *February*, the states-general thinking it was time to open the negotiation, sent compliments to the ambassadors, and demanded their instructions. Then they appointed *William* of *Nassau* and the sieur *Broderode*, with a deputy from each province, to confer with them. *John Barneveldt* was chosen to represent *Holland*. All were assembled in a great hall provided for that purpose, and the first day was spent in examining their reciprocal powers, in which a variety of difficulties occurred. We shall only mention, that the *Dutch* deputies demanded whether the ambassadors proposed treating with them, as the representatives of a free state? To which they were answered in the affirmative. They next enquired by what right the archduke retained the arms of the provinces, if he proposed resigning the sovereignty? To which it was replied, that he was directed in this particular by the practice of other princes, by the king of *Spain* retaining the arms and title of king of *Jerusalem*, the *French* king those of *Bavaria*, and the king of *England*, the arms and title of sovereign of *France*, though they possessed not a foot of land in those countries. A few days after the *Dutch* deputies produced a schedule of the particular privileges they demanded, and the form of resignation required. The *Flemish* ambassadors declined giving an answer, but sent the writing to *Brussels*; and received the archduke's consent, that this article should be granted, agreeable to the desire of the states-general, in hopes that an equivalent might be obtained relative to the commerce of the *Indies*. The facility with which an article of such importance was given up, created suspicions in the states, that either the archduke was not sincere, or that the congress would prove fruitless, on account of extraordinary demands touching some other points; though in fact it proceeded from an extreme desire of terminating a war which had equally exhausted *Spain* and the ten provinces.

THE next object was a general armistice, restitution and compensation of losses; articles which were without difficulty adjusted, by leaving matters to their present situation; but it was more delicate and dubious with respect to commerce. Both equally affected the extensive trade of the *East-Indies*; they had too long experienced the advantages of this commerce, to resign any part of it without reluctance. The directors of the *East-India* company were deeply concerned in the issue of this article, and they made the strongest remonstrances to the states-general and the deputies. Four days were taken up with the single article of commerce; the debates were warm and spirited, but nothing was determined. At length the *Dutch* deputies declared, that only the acceptance of one of three proposals they had to make, could terminate the dispute. The first was, that the provinces, in consequence of a peace, should ever have free leave to trade to the *Indies*; the second, that they should have liberty, in consequence of a truce, for a certain number of years; or that at least there should be peace on this side the tropics, and both nations left to promote their several interests by arms on the other side the line. This last proposition was made, because the *Hollanders* knew themselves greatly superior by sea, and the *Indian* princes in general disgusted at the *Portuguese* government. Two of these propositions were immediately rejected; the one being directly contrary to an express instruction, that the commerce with the *Indies* should on no account be allowed to the provinces; and the other to the inclinations of the archduke, which determined him to have the peace general, or the congress dissolved. As to the second proposal, the ambassadors declared they would accept it with this restriction, that the states should agree to renounce the *India* trade at the expiration of the truce. But this was refused, and the ambassadors desired that the article of commerce might be deferred until others were adjusted.

NEXT the *Dutch* deputies demanded a list of the articles of which the ambassadors proposed treating; but this was denied, until they consented that no advantage would be taken of omissions, and that whatever should happen to be forgot, might not be excluded. The deputies set the example, and gave in a list of their propositions, contained in twenty-eight distinct articles. They were followed by a similar catalogue exhibited by the ambassadors in seven articles, the principal of which turned upon religion; but they were expressed



a pressed so equivocally, and arranged with so little method, as afforded a large field for cavilling. With this writing they presented a request, that the states would draw out a scheme of the *European* and *Indian* commerce, which they would transmit to the courts of *Brussels* and *Madrid*, provided it contained nothing which appeared too severe to the catholic king and the archduke. The proposal was accepted, the writing prepared, and a demand made, that both parties should reciprocally deposit a certain sum in *Spain* and *Holland*, as security for the performance of their engagements. The articles were first examined at the congress, and debated with much warmth. *Ricardot* in particular was so affected with the insolence of the deputies, that he shed tears, and lamented the unhappy situation of *Spain*, which reduced a great monarchy to the necessity of temporizing with a set of  
b burghers and merchants. *Spinola* managed his temper with more address, and to his conduct it was owing that the congress had not broke up long before. *Neyen* was dispatched to *Brabant* and *Spain*, with the scheme of commerce, which now received considerable amendment; but still the bill was too harsh, and long rejected by the proud stomachs of the *Spaniards*, who could not make concessions with any grace, to those whom they used to command. These proposals met with a variety of obstructions at the court of *Madrid*, and *Neyen's* long stay rendered it necessary to prolong the armistice to the end of the year.

ABOUT this time the states-general received advice of negotiations carried on at the court of *France*, which almost determined them to break off the conferences precipitately.  
c While *Neyen* continued at *Madrid*, don *Pedro de Toledo* was sent to *Paris*, to engage *Henry* in the interest of *Spain*, and thereby destroy the fruits of the whole negotiation at the *Hague*. *Philip* could not be prevailed on to acknowledge the freedom of the provinces, unless they previously renounced the commerce of the *Indies*; but finding that the *French* monarch was deaf to all his proposals, he concealed his sentiments, in hopes of obtaining his ends by dint of address and refined policy. At last, the ambassadors declared on the twentieth of *August*, that their final instructions respecting the three great points of religion, liberty, and commerce, were arrived: that his catholic majesty was resolved to acknowledge the freedom of the provinces, upon no other condition, than that they should re-establish the catholic religion, and renounce the *India* commerce. Upon this declaration they retired, leaving the deputies to deliberate upon an answer with the states-general, the council of state, prince *Maurice*, and *William* of *Nassau*. Having communicated the proposal to the foreign ambassadors at the *Hague*, it was resolved that the negotiation was at an end; and a manifesto was published on the twenty-third, in which, after enumerating all the transactions of the congress, the whole blame of the consequences that might ensue from a rupture of the treaty, was thrown upon *Philip* and the archduke. The manifesto was delivered to the *Spanish* ministers, who complained loudly of the manner in which they were treated. They then demanded an audience of the states-general, and obtained it on the twenty-seventh. Here they proposed a truce for a certain number of years; and the states-general accepted the offer, on condition, however, that the sovereignty  
d and freedom of the province should be acknowledged during and at the expiration of the truce. This exceeded the powers of the ambassadors; but they remitted the proposal to *Brussels*, and received for answer, that what the states demanded could only be granted on their renouncing the commerce of *India*, and establishing the catholic religion in all the provinces; that, however, the archduke had forwarded their propositions to the court of *Spain*, expected an answer in a few days, and hoped the ambassadors might in the mean while be permitted to reside at the *Hague*. In this manner the truce was spun out to the end of *September*.

IN the mean time prince *Maurice*, who never approved of the negotiation, apprehending that a truce at least would ensue, should the *Spaniards* relax in their conditions, sent  
e a circular letter to all the magistrates of the cities. This letter was dated the twenty-first of *September*, and tended to alienate the minds of the people from the truce in agitation. In the arguments urged on this occasion, it was easy to discern the politician, the patriot, and at the same time the aspiring prince. His reasoning was calculated to the good of his country. He strenuously opposed the restoration of popery, and asserted the sovereignty of the provinces; but he at the same time artfully enflamed the minds of the people, and rendered them averse to peace, possibly with a view to his own interest. Certain it is, that the truce proposed was necessary to both parties, and would have proved beneficial, could it be obtained on equitable conditions. *Maurice*, however, seemed averse to it upon any terms; and it was perhaps more the interest of the *Spaniards* to have concluded a perpetual  
f treaty of peace.

ON the twenty-fourth of *September*, the ambassadors gave notice to the states, that they were now impowered to treat with the provinces as a free republic, and conclude a truce  
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for seven years, during which, both parties should freely trade to each other's dominions in *Europe*, retain what they now possessed, and cease from all acts of hostility. They acknowledged, however, that the archduke was not authorised by the catholic king to grant these conditions; but that he hoped to get them ratified. The proposal was communicated through the channel of the *French*, *English*, and *Brandenburg* ambassadors; but it was rejected, unless the sovereignty of the states was absolutely acknowledged without restriction, and free leave granted to trade to the *Indies*. As such concessions exceeded the powers of *Spinola* and his colleagues, the conferences broke up, and the ambassadors took their leave, their time being expired. At parting, *Ricardot* assured the states, that the archduke had acted with the utmost sincerity throughout the negotiation; he blamed their obstinacy, exhorted the states to reflect seriously on the conditions they rejected, which they might probably hereafter not be able to obtain by intreaty and solicitations; and he concluded with saying, that they must be responsible for all the consequent effusion of christian blood, should the war be resumed. The ambassador was answered by the pensioner *Barneveldt*, who instanced, as a proof of the sincerity of the states-general, their refusal to enter upon the conferences, until their sovereignty was acknowledged. He concluded with retorting the allegation, that they would be responsible for the future effusion of blood, since the severity of the *Spanish* councils first kindled the war. The tyranny of *Philip II.* furnished the fuel, and the pride and inflexibility of *Philip III.* prevented its being extinguished, at a time when all the combustible materials were already consumed<sup>a</sup>.

The negotiation of peace broke off.

Soon after the departure of the ambassadors, it was discovered that *Ricardot* had either forgot or designedly left at his lodgings, the original instructions given to the *Spanish* ministers. This the states published, with a long comment in their own vindication, though posterity have justly construed the instructions to their prejudice. In every line the archduke's pacific intentions were apparent, and nothing but the fastidious and insolent demands of the states, their cavilling humour, and punctilious conduct, would have prevented the establishment of a truce, on the same terms it was afterwards obtained. All the foreign ministers would seem to be of this opinion. They concurred in pressing the states at least to conclude a truce; and the president *Jeannin*, in particular, enforced his advice with a variety of arguments. When the states objected that no dependence could be placed in the promises of the *Spaniards*, who had so often violated their engagements, he replied, that his master, the king of *France*, would guarantee the treaty, attack the violators with all his forces, and support with all his might that prudence and perseverance which enabled an oppressed people to treat with their sovereign on the footing of a free republic.

The republic divided into parties.

It has already been frequently intimated that the provinces were divided into two factions, one of which totally rejected the truce, and every proposal that did not immediately contribute to the establishment of a solid and lasting peace. At the head of this party was prince *Maurice*; whose interest and aspiring views made him, it is alledged, prefer war to the most advantageous terms of accommodation. It was, however, dangerous to profess himself an enemy to the tranquility of his country; he therefore chose the safer method of obtaining his ends, by arguing against the consequences of the truce, sensible that *Spain* and the archduke were not yet sufficiently humbled to grant peace on the terms the states would demand. *Barneveldt* was the oracle of the other faction; he entered warmly into the opinion of the *French* ambassador, and thought a truce ought not to be rejected, because perpetual peace could not be obtained; it would, at least, afford the provinces a breathing, to enable them to renew the war with redoubled vigour. He penetrated into all *Maurice's* views, and represented in the strongest colours the danger of servitude to a family, whose patriotism was only a cloak to their ambition. Libels and pasquinades, calculated to blow up the sparks of civil dissension, were every day published; nor did the *Orange* party scruple to tax the kings of *France* and *England* with selfish views, in recommending a truce which could not be rigidly observed; which in consequence would involve the provinces in numberless calamities, and prove beneficial to the commerce of *France* and *England*. A number of anonymous letters, thereby threatening an attempt on his life, were received by *Barneveldt*, all of which he laid before the states, saying, that though he despised the anger of the great, and the resentment of the deluded vulgar, while he was conscious of faithfully performing the duty he owed to his country; yet he could wish to resign an employment which he found rendered him odious. With these words he quitted the assembly, and was soon followed by deputies, sent to exhort him not to abandon the state at this critical juncture, when his ability and integrity were most wanted. Upon resuming the functions of pensionary, he represented in the most lively terms the advantages deducible from the succours offered by the two kings, and the regard which ought to be shewn to their sentiments; he gave in an exact

<sup>a</sup> GROT. lib. xvii. BAUDIUS, lib. iii. MEURSIUS, Rer. Belg. lib. v. METEREN, lib. xxx. LE CLERC, lib. viii. CLARENDON'S hist. of the rebel. tom. i.



a calculation of the supplies necessary for the prosecution of the war; he refuted all the objections made to the truce; and by the weight of his influence, the spirit and strength of his arguments, brought over the province of *Holland* to the opinion of the five other provinces, which had declared in favour of the truce. *Zealand* alone, swayed by private motives, on account of the rich captures made during the war, and the influence of *Maurice*, remained deaf to all terms of accommodation. The dispute grew high, the *Zealanders* insisting that to conclude a truce without their consent would be a direct infraction of the union of *Utrecht*; and the others remonstrating upon the injustice of one province's giving law to all the others \*.

In these disputes the year was spun out, without any progress made, either in the prosecution of the war, or of a temporary pacification. However, *Barneveldt* and the foreign ministers laboured with so much zeal and assiduity, that they prevailed on the archduke to prolong the armistice, and send deputies to confer with the *French* and *English* ambassadors at *Antwerp*. Here it was the great point was gained, of again renewing the conferences with the states-general of the *United Provinces*, then assembled at *Bergen-op-zoom*. In the end, the conferences were removed to the *Hague*; and, after subduing infinite obstructions, a truce for twelve years was concluded on the ninth of *April*, ratified on the fourteenth, then published in all the towns of the *Netherlands*, and joyfully received by the majority of the people, especially of the *Spanish* provinces. In the first article of the treaty, the archduke, in his own, and the king of *Spain's* name, acknowledged the *United Provinces*, renounced all claim to sovereignty over them, but in such general terms as would admit of altercation. In the second a truce for twelve years, by sea and land, through all the dominions of both parties, was concluded. By the third article the parties were to remain in possession of what they now held, without cession or exchange. In the fourth a general amnesty was stipulated, and full freedom of trade by sea and land to each others dominions granted. This necessarily implied a cessation of hostilities in the *Indies*; however, great debates afterwards arose upon this account. *Spain* observing the rapid progress of the *Hollanders* in the *India* trade, apprehended they would soon become too powerful in that quarter; and the *Dutch* were willing to maintain the advantage of their superiority. Both, for this reason, disputed the article; yet it could not be set aside without destroying the whole treaty, and the fruits of all their laboured conferences. The fifth article regulated the imports, and duties to be paid by the subjects of the archduke and the states, trading to each others dominions, which were to be on the same footing with those of other nations. The archduke used his utmost endeavours to have the duties at *Lillo*, on the *Scheld*, abolished, and the commerce of *Antwerp* restored to its former grandeur; but this was so diametrically opposite to the interest of the *Hollanders*, that it was impossible it should ever take place. The sixth and seventh articles likewise regarded commercial affairs; but it would be unnecessary to dwell on particulars; sufficient it is, that the truce was mutually beneficial, *Spain* being no longer in condition to support the war, and the *Hollanders* having obtained the end of all their desperate resistance and invincible perseverance in the cause of liberty. *Philip* of *Nassau* was of all men the greatest gainer by the truce; as, in consequence, he entered into possession of all his paternal estates in the *Spanish Netherlands* and *Burgundy*; while the states rewarded the faithful services of *Maurice* with a pension of twenty-five thousand florins, to be paid annually out of the public treasury, besides an appointment of sixty-thousand francs as governor-general. Pensions were likewise settled on the other princes of the house of *Nassau*: all were gratified in a manner that demonstrated the high sense the republic had of their merit, though they might possibly be disappointed in their great design of raising prince *Maurice* to sovereign authority. In this manner was a bloody, tedious war terminated, which had more than once almost totally extinguished every spark of freedom and the protestant religion in the *Seven United Provinces* †. The fortune of the states on this occasion admirably displays how courage, conduct, and perseverance, however baffled and disappointed, will, in the end, rise superior to misfortune, and triumph over every adversary.

A. D. 1609.  
The conferences  
renewed, and  
truce concluded  
for twelve  
years.

\* AITSMA, tom. i. lib. i. p. 16. METEREN, lib. xxx. fol. 660;  
Etiam BAUD. tom. iii. sub fin.

† Scriptores citat. ibid. p. 18, & 662.



## S E C T. VII.

*Containing the religious disputes among the protestants of the United Provinces ; the treaty with the Moorish prince of Tetuan ; the disputes about the succession to the duchy of Cleves : in a word, all the civil and political transactions of the new republic, to the expiration of the truce in the year 1621.*

*Religious disputes in Holland.*

SCARCE had the United Provinces tasted the sweets of liberty and peace, when religious disputes arose, to blight the felicity procured by obstinate valour and invincible resolution. *James Arminius* of *Oudewater*, in the province of *Holland*, first a minister of the gospel at *Amsterdam*, and afterwards at *Leyden*, gave birth to a new sect, called after his own name, whose principles were founded upon doctrines as old as the belief of a supreme being. The sect was, however, in his time first distinguished, and his disciples stigmatized as deserters from the followers of *Calvin*. They asserted free-agency ; they spoke ambiguously of God's prescience ; they deemed the doctrine of the *Trinity* not essential to salvation ; many of them affirmed that the scripture requires no adoration of the *Holy Ghost* ; and all, that *Jesus* is not equal to God the father : in a word, they regarded the creed of *St. Albanasius* as the unintelligible, unmeaning comment on an incomprehensible mystery. These tenets were adopted by great numbers of the learned in *Holland*, the other protestant provinces, and in *Germany* ; but they had not been publicly taught from the professorial chair before the elevation of *Arminius* to that office. Most divines who had received their education at *Geneva*, or in the *Palatinate*, brought with them from thence the doctrine of predestination ; a violent contest arose between the parties ; synods and religious conferences were held in divers places ; the states interposed, and the chief persons of the republic espoused either *Arminius* or *Gomarus*, who were the leaders of these factions ; for such in reality they ought to be esteemed. Religion was only the pretext, policy was the source of those impure and bitter invectives poured out on both sides. The prince of *Orange* and *Barneveldt* seized this opportunity of venting their mutual animosity, which now was greatly augmented by the credit which the pensioner acquired from accomplishing the truce with the archduke, in despite of all the endeavours of the house of *Nassau*. In all controversies it is difficult to adhere to the original point in dispute ; it is particularly so in religious contests, where probably both parties are reasoning upon what exceeds the limits of their understanding. The smallest deviation leads into a greater, and at last the disputants end in something which has not the smallest relation to the first subject of debate. Thus it was that a quarrel among obscure divines, about points which neither could determine, became the bone of contention among the leading personages in the provinces, and laid the first conception of a humour that has ever since remained lurking in the constitution of the state, breaking out upon all revolutions, and laying the foundation of that disunion and discord, which will probably terminate one day in the total subversion of the republic. It would be impossible to exhibit a just idea of these disputes, without running into theological disquisitions, equally fruitless to a reader, and inconsistent with historical narration. Sufficient it is, that neither party was convinced, though the necessities of the state made them for some time silent ; and that the *Arminians*, though least numerous, were, however, extremely formidable, on account of the weight, influence, and ability of their leaders<sup>a</sup>.

*Treaty with the emperor of Morocco.*

WITH respect to civil affairs, the object of greatest consequence was, to push with all imaginable vigour the advantage which the provinces in general might deduce from this interval of tranquillity ; for, during the war, trade was altogether confined to *Holland* and *Zealand*. With this view the states ordered that one hundred and fifty *Moors*, taken on board *Spanish* captures, should be returned without ransom, and presented to the emperor of *Morocco*, in consideration of the civilities shewn by that prince to *Hemskirk's* fleet some years before ; and to obtain certain commercial privileges in his dominions. Two ships of war were accordingly sent under captain *Hermansen* to the coasts of *Africa*, having on board the *Moorish* prisoners, and a present of some black cattle from prince *Maurice* to the emperor. The presents were well received ; all the immunities required, granted ; and a proposition made of declaring war jointly against the king of *Spain*, which the *Dutch* civilly declined, urging in excuse the late truce. This proposal was made by an alcaide, who returned with the fleet to *Holland*. The *Moorish* envoy, perceiving the states were averse to war, offered to take part of their fleet into pay ; but this was likewise refused, and, to qualify his disappointment, the ambassador was loaded with presents, and dismissed with the strongest protestations of respect and veneration for his master.

<sup>a</sup> METEREN, lib. xxxii. LE CLERC, lib. ix.



THE next year was ushered in by an event which had almost frustrated the intention of the late treaty with *Spain* and the archduke, and involved in a fresh war all the provinces of the *Netherlands*. Prince *John William* duke of *Cleves* and *Juliers*, dying without issue-male, his dominions devolved upon his sisters, in whose right the elector of *Brandenburgh*, and duke of *Newburgh*, demanded the succession. Several other competitors likewise appeared; but these were the chief. The elector applied to the *French* king and the *Dutch*, to support his pretensions; the duke of *Newburgh* to the king of *Spain* and the archduke. At first the contention lay between the house of *Saxony* on the one side; and the houses of *Brandenburgh* and *Newburgh* on the other. Divers conferences were held to adjust the claims of the candidates amicably, but they proved fruitless. The archduke, newly respiring after a tedious war, had no inclination to involve himself in fresh disputes, in which he was properly no party; but it was his interest to provide that the *Dutch* should take no advantage of his pacific inclinations, and, under pretence of assisting the elector of *Brandenburgh*, seize upon those places in the disputed territory which lay most convenient to the provinces. The emperor claimed the right of deciding the dispute, but *Henry IV.* did not chuse that the house of *Austria* should have any accession of dominion or power. However, the former adjudged the duchies, under certain limitations, to the house of *Saxony*; and the assassination of *Henry*, by *Ravaillac*, happened before that monarch had taken any measures to oppose the imperial verdict. Still the court of *France* espoused the princes, and encouraged the states general to undertake the siege of *Juliers*, to which they were solicited by the elector of *Brandenburgh*. *Dutch* writers alledge, that the states determined upon this measure with reluctance, apprehending it might be deemed an infraction of the truce; but they were compelled to it by *Maurice*, whose warlike, ambitious mind eagerly sought a rupture, or at least a war, in which his talents shone with such lustre. Accordingly, with fourteen thousand foot and three thousand horse, he traversed *Spanish Guelderland* without offering the smallest violence to the inhabitants, the subjects of the archduke; and sat down before *Juliers*. After a vigorous defence, the city capitulated by the second day of *September*, and was garrisoned by *Dutch* forces, under the pretext it should be sequestered in the hands of the states until the dispute might be finally decided. *Albert* regarded this transaction as an infraction of the truce. He perceived that the states, actuated by ambition, relied too much on his pacific intentions. He therefore determined to venture the whole state of *Flanders* rather than suffer such an encroachment on right, and addition to the power and dominion of rebel provinces, not yet declared free, but treated with as free and sovereign; a middle distinction made in the late treaty, by way of salvo to the pride of the court of *Spain*. He first demanded solemn restitution of the town of *Juliers*, in the name of the duke of *Newburgh*; but obtaining only shuffling dilatory answers, an army was assembled under *Spinola*. As the states had strongly garrisoned their late acquisition, they were under no apprehensions about the destination of this army, not doubting but it was intended against *Juliers*; in which the archduke would find himself disappointed. The masterly conduct, however, of *Spinola* threw the provinces into the utmost consternation. After approaching within sight of *Juliers*, he wheeled round suddenly, marched to *Wesel*, and took it before the *Dutch* army could come to its relief. This town was strong by nature and art; it was claimed by the duke of *Brandenburgh*, as a dependency on the duchy of *Cleves*, but was held by the inhabitants under the protection of the states general. Not less astonished than awed by the success of a bold attempt, which opened a way to the invasion of the provinces, the *Dutch* applied to the mediation of *England* and *France*, and at last accommodated matters with the archduke by more abject concessions than they had ever before made in their most adverse circumstances. By this one spirited stroke, *Albert* regained the reputation lost from the terms granted in the late treaty, and the states were justly chastised and mortified for that insolent carriage shewn towards sovereign princes, and crowned heads, once their masters<sup>b</sup>.

The truce broke by the death of the duke of *Cleves*.

The archduke and republic again reconciled.

The religious disputes again renewed.

THE appearance of a rupture with the archduke cooled for a while the ardor of faction and religious controversy in the *United Provinces*. No sooner was the truce re-established, than the civil divisions broke out with redoubled strength and vehemence. The *Gomarists* renewed their persecution of the *Arminian* dissenters; they were pushed on by the house of *Orange*, sometimes protected by the states, and opposed chiefly by *Barneveldt*, *Grotius*, *Vossius*, the learned in general, and the magistrates of cities in which their influence prevailed. *Arminius*, on his first elevation to the professorship, behaved with the utmost moderation; he scrupulously avoided giving offence, but was, in course of lecturing, forced

<sup>b</sup> Idem. *ibid*.



A. D. 611.

to advance opinions which roused the indignation of the *Gomarists*, who watched the opportunity of resuming the disputes. His doctrines were opposed, and he defended them with great temper and ability. The best pens in *Holland*, or indeed in *Europe*, were employed in his vindication. *Grotius* and *Vossius* both embarked deeply in the cause; and the *Leyden* professor became the head of a faction of which he was but an inconsiderable member. In some towns the *Arminian* clergy were imprisoned or expelled, in others the *Gomarists*. Synods met in all the provinces, public disputations were maintained, and both parties rather confirmed in their opinions than convinced of their errors. The suspension of the clergy naturally led to an enquiry into the rights and powers of the magistrates, this into the prerogatives of the lieutenants or stadtholders of the several provinces, and that into the sovereign right of the provincial states and states general. A question purely speculative became now a matter of the utmost consequence to liberty. The *Arminians* were represented as secret friends to *Spain*, and enemies to the privileges of their country; the people were inflamed, prince *Maurice* was raised to a greater height of popularity than he ever before obtained, and being at the head of the army, and supported by the multitude, he ventured upon some bold and dangerous alterations in the civil government; changing the magistrates of cities at pleasure, so as to obtain a majority in the provincial states, and consequently in the states general. The first contested election of magistrates was at *Lewarde* in *Friesland*, where the magistrates, legally chosen, were deposed, and supplanted by others nominated by the populace. The next was at *Utrecht*, where the divisions ran high in proportion to the number of the people. The burgomasters were disliked, and complaints were made of their assuming an authority inconsistent with the laws; promises of speedy redress were given; but the populace wanted more. They demanded the authority, and by a violent election of burgomasters usurped the right of civil government. So general was this tumult, that even the Roman catholics took up arms, and insisted upon the free exercise of their religion, though expressly prohibited by the union of *Utrecht*, in which all other opinions besides are licensed. As the violence of faction ran to a dangerous height, prince *Maurice*, attended by deputies from the states general, repaired to *Utrecht*, in order to restore the tranquillity of the city; but, instead of meeting with the respect his quality, his office, and his merit, demanded, he was grossly insulted, and forced to retire precipitately. This determined the states general to assemble at *Woerde*, and to summon the provincial states of *Utrecht* and prince *Maurice* before them. After long deliberation, no remedies adequate to the disease, could be found; the states of *Utrecht* were therefore dismissed, with a serious exhortation to apply themselves vigorously to the suppression of riots and tumults, which might probably terminate in anarchy, and the destruction of all government, unless seasonably prevented. It is difficult to find the cause of the commotions in *Utrecht*; they would seem to be a consequence of the original dispute between *Arminius* and *Gomarus*; but then the parties, in the heat and zeal of controversy, had changed opinions; and *Maurice* was insulted by the very populace by whom he was adored.

A. D. 1612.  
Commutations at  
Utrecht.

WHEN the provincial states of *Utrecht* returned, they reported the censures passed on their conduct by the states general; which so enraged the populace, that, flying to arms, they committed a thousand disorders, rioted about, and raised such tumults as the new magistrates could not appease. Upon this the burghers were ordered to send four deputies to attend the states at the *Hague*, with the submission of the inhabitants of *Utrecht*. It was added, that if they preferred the states should sit rather at *Utrecht* than the *Hague*, their inclination should be gratified, provided the garrison was reinforced with four more companies of soldiers, to suppress disorders, and protect the assembly against insults. All these admonitions and concessions produced no effect. The *Utrechters* remained obstinate, and the states talked of laying siege to the city. Previous, however, to violent measures, they published a circular letter, addressed to all the provincial states of the union, acquainting them of the transactions at *Utrecht*, and requiring their advice and assistance. Meantime a body of forces had orders to file off towards *Utrecht*. At first the magistrates laughed at the motion of the army; they imagined the states would never push matters to extremities; but they no sooner beheld the city almost completely invested, than they changed their tone, and besought the magistrates of *Amsterdam* to interpose as mediators. In consequence, a kind of reconciliation was effected, and the *Utrechters* were punished, by deposing the new magistrates, and restoring those who had been expelled by the people. Thus ended, without effusion of blood, a tumult which might have endangered the safety of the commonwealth, had not the government acted with great spirit and resolution.

\* UTEMBOGARD. p. 3. p. 488. METEREN, lib. xxxii. LE CLERC, lib. ix.



WITH respect to the clergy, their disputes became purely political. It was debated, How far the sovereign authority might interpose in ecclesiastical affairs? Whether the clergy might not, in conscience, be under the necessity of preaching doctrines contrary to the legislative power? Whether the sovereign authority has power to assemble the clergy, and to chuse the members of the assembly? Whether the ecclesiastical synods are subject to the sovereign power? and, admitting they are, Whether by that means the sovereign is not made arbitrary over the consciences of the subject? The parties came to be distinguished by the appellations of Remonstrants; and Contra-Remonstrants. Libels, pasquinades, and violent invectives, mutually enflamed their spirits. At *Utrecht* factions were renewed; and it was visible the people only watched an opportunity to subvert the government, and restore their own favourites to the magistracy. This induced the states general to invest the council of state with authority to exact a fresh oath of fidelity from the magistrates, burghers, and other inhabitants. The populace were now exasperated to the highest pitch. They knew themselves guilty of sedition; by the oath required they became guilty of perjury. They formed the project of gaining possession of the garrison commanded by the chevalier *Ogle*, appointed to that trust by prince *Ernest of Nassau: Canter and Helsdingen*; the persons raised to the magistracy in the late tumults, entered into the conspiracy; and all bound themselves by an oath to secrecy and fidelity to their engagements. By some means, however, their design transpired; some of the conspirators were seized, put to the torture, and an ample discovery obtained. The two chiefs were banished for life, and forbid, at the peril of their lives, ever setting foot in the *United Provinces*. Several of the conspirators were condemned to death; but afterwards reprieved, and pardoned.

*The religious disputes now become political.*

As the controversy could never be decided by arguments; where each party built upon the authority of the sacred writings, the contra-remonstrants solicited the states general for a national synod to sit under the direction of the states; they granted the request, as the most probable method of terminating disputes; but were opposed by the provincial states of *Holland* and *Utrecht*. Thus, not only the ecclesiastical, but the civil government was divided. *Barneveldt* saw the ruin that impended, and he endeavoured to divert it, by proposing certain ecclesiastical laws to be confirmed by the states. This scheme was projected several years before, but never carried into execution. It was now approved by a variety of members of the states of *Holland*, but rejected by others, until the religious controversy should be first decided. Whatever was done before this event; would, it was urged, be premature, and the laws would have the approbation only of one party. *Barneveldt*, however, meant to silence all disputation by the force of laws; but this was contrary to the interest and views of the *Orange* faction, who made a handle of the proposal, to the prejudice of that great statesman and patriot. He was accused of dangerous designs upon religion; notwithstanding which he carried his point in the province of *Utrecht*, and was in a fair way of subduing the rage of faction<sup>a</sup>. At *Rotterdam* matters went otherwise. One *Gisellius*, a violent contra-remonstrant, stirred up the people by his seditious harangues. He preached that it was unlawful to communicate with the remonstrants; he was admonished to moderation by the magistrates, but in vain. He was exhorted to hold a conference with his opponents, and to compromise their differences amicably, but to no purpose; he refused to appear, and continued his inflammatory harangues from the pulpit. The magistrates published a proclamation, declaring, that neither they nor the remonstrants were the authors of those factions which disturbed the public tranquillity, and forbidding the people to credit the calumnies published against the clergy. At last it became necessary to suspend *Gisellius*. He was accordingly forbid to preach within the jurisdiction of *Rotterdam*. This was called persecution, the notion of which is attended with the worst consequences in a free government. His partizans caballed in private, became dangerous, and obliged the magistrates to order *Gisellius* immediately to quit the city. He refused to obey, but was compelled, and ignominiously led through the public streets by a bailiff. The *Orange* party made an excellent handle of this circumstance. They exclaimed, that liberty was at an end; that the magistrates usurped a power altogether unconstitutional; and asserted, that the remonstrants were in the interest of the Jesuits, and conspiring again to subjugate their country to the *Spanish* tyranny. However absurd the accusation might appear to all judicious persons, it was so artfully propagated as to gain credit. *Maurier*, a French writer of credit, then resident in *Holland*, relates, that so convinced was the princess dowager of *Orange* of the ambitious designs entertained by prince *Maurice*, that she seriously remonstrated with him upon the subject. He even alledges, that

*Ambitious designs of prince Maurice, and steadiness of Barneveldt.*

<sup>a</sup> BRANDT, lib. xxv. UTEMER, p. 4.



the prince endeavoured to prevail on her to gain *Barneveldt* to his purposes, assured that the consent of this honest patriot would easily pave the way to sovereignty. He further relates, that the princess closeted *Barneveldt*, used all her influence with him, and received for answer, that nothing could be more consonant to his wishes than the glory and elevation of the house of *Orange*, could this be obtained consistently with the liberty of his country. *Barneveldt* then expatiated upon the hazard of the project, which must necessarily terminate in the ruin of the family, and possibly of the commonwealth. In a word, he spoke with so much strength, energy, and pathos, that he entirely overcame the princess, converted her to his own opinion, made her a rigid stickler for liberty, and persuaded her to exert all her influence to induce *Maurice* to lay aside his purpose, and heal up those divisions in church and state, which could never produce any other effect than the destruction of all parties <sup>a</sup>.

*MAURICE*, notwithstanding, affected to abstract himself entirely from the ecclesiastical disputes. When *Barneveldt* told him, that faction ran so high that the states of *Holland* must have recourse to him to assist their authority, he pretended astonishment, and declared his aversion to meddle in these matters. However, *Barneveldt* had too much discernment not to fathom his private sentiments; which the prince indeed inadvertently hinted in the conversation about the remonstrants. The pensioner proposed, that the states general should be moved to grant a general toleration, with respect to the disputed points; and that the clergy of each side, who were suspended, should be restored to their functions. To this proposition the prince, in appearance, consented; and it was accordingly decreed by the states, assembled at the *Hague*, in the year 1616, that every violation of such general toleration as contributed to the public tranquillity, should be punished in the most effectual manner by the civil and ecclesiastical powers. It was further decreed, that if any fresh disputes should arise upon points hitherto uncontroverted, they should be decided by a majority in the provincial or national synods. These resolutions were, however, opposed by the deputies of the cities; viz. *Rotterdam*, the *Brille*, the *Hague*, *Benthuysen*, and a variety of towns, where the people declared, they could not, with a safe conscience, hear doctrines openly preached, which must give offence to every sincere christian. It was not considered, that *Jews*, *Armenians*, and *Mohammedans*, were permitted the free exercise of their several religions in *Holland*. Still, however, the states pursued their first resolution, though they relaxed a little in favour of the deputies, on condition they would not suffer persons within their jurisdiction, who embraced the toleration, to be oppressed. In the end, the deputies were dismissed, with an exhortation to examine the affair coolly and deliberately, and to assist with all their influence in restoring public tranquillity, which could be no great difficulty, considering that both parties were of the same religion, had the same form of worship, the same public ceremonies, the same manner of exposing vice and cherishing virtue, and differed only in a few points of little consequence to salvation, or indeed to society.

*Barneveldt  
proposes re-  
straining the  
liberty of the  
press.*

THE excellent design of the states was, however, considerably obstructed by the pride and conceit of the theologians, who would not admit that any part of their system was capable of amendment; and by the secret endeavours of the *Orange* faction to lessen the influence, and blait the character of *Barneveldt*, as well as to diminish the authority of the provincial states of *Holland*. This purpose could not be accomplished but under the mask of liberty and religion, which ever work powerfully on the minds of the vulgar, who least understand them or enjoy their benefit. The nobles and magistrates of *Holland* were attacked in public writings; and *Barneveldt*, in particular, after forty years faithful service, was libelled as a traitor to his country. He had frequently represented this abuse of liberty to the states; but the point was delicate: laying any restraint on the press would enflame the minds of the people, and afford the fairest opportunity of declaiming against the government, to the fomenters of sedition. *Barneveldt* now gave in a draught of his plan for suppressing libels and inflammatory publications; but it was strongly opposed by the magistrates of *Amsterdam*, notwithstanding their conduct was the subject of the keenest satires and pasquinades which had yet appeared. They gave no reason for their opposition, only that they did not approve of renewing laws which had been repealed after mature deliberation. Nevertheless, in the following year, *Barneveldt* so far prevailed, that the ordonnance was published, though it was never put in force, or received by a variety of other towns <sup>f</sup>.

SUCH was the state of parties, that the remonstrants were obliged to meet privately in some towns, and the contra-remonstrants in others. Wherever the faction happened to

<sup>a</sup> Contin. de REIDAN. lib. xxvi. BRANDT. lib. xxvi.

<sup>f</sup> BRANDT. ibid. LE CLERC, lib. ix.



- a be most powerful, they seized on the churches, and excluded their opponents. At *Amsterdam* the remonstrants were weakest; but hearing that the states had in other cities granted the use of churches to the contra-remonstrants, upon their petitioning, they wrote to *Leyden* for a minister of their sect to preach the gospel in *Amsterdam*. One *Rembert Bischoep* was sent; and, on his arrival, the reformists met in a private house, to hear divine service, and perform their devotions. Finding the place too small for their numbers, they hired a large warehouse belonging to a merchant; their opponents complained to the magistrates of their illegal assemblies; but obtaining no redress, they assembled in a tumultuous manner, during public worship, broke the windows, forced the doors, abused the minister, and threatened the lives of the audience. The remonstrants now, in their turn, complained to the magistrates, and demanded justice and protection; but they were answered, that the best method to secure themselves would be to avoid such meetings as incurred the resentment of their fellow-citizens. What encouraged the populace in their tumults, and made the magistrates remiss in the discharge of their duty, was, that prince *Maurice* had, about this time, declared in favour of the contra-remonstrants, and desired that a clergyman of their principles might be sent to preach in the *French* chapel at the *Hague*. The remonstrants were now afraid to assemble; they petitioned the magistrates for the same protection granted to other sects; they pleaded the toleration-edict, but obtained no satisfactory answer, though the magistrates were too cautious absolutely to deny their petition. At last they had recourse to the states; but the apprehension of involving themselves in disputes with the magistrates, obliged the states to shift off the matter, by recommending the petitioners to the burgomasters of *Amsterdam*.

The populace rise against the remonstrants.

Prince Maurice declares himself head of a party.

- Not only the open declaration of prince *Maurice*, but the conduct of *Dudley Carleton*, the *British* ambassador, encouraged the contra-remonstrants to proceed in a higher strain. They now threw off all respect for the states of *Holland*, and *Barneveldt* was grossly insulted in the assembly, by a person greatly his inferior in birth, capacity, influence, and integrity. Every thing contributed to the public confusion, and all moderate persons dreaded that anarchy and the dissolution of the government must ensue. The states were reduced to the necessity of imploring the prince's protection, which he artfully withheld, under various pretexts. He even issued several orders to prevent the troops from assisting the magistrates in quelling tumults and suppressing seditions. This induced *Barneveldt* to labour diligently in keeping the states assembled, as the only means of preserving the constitution. At last the magistrates of the several towns, seeing they could expect no assistance from the military power to enforce the laws, resolved to augment the garrisons and guards of their own authority, agreeable to the original laws of the country, as *Grotius* demonstrates<sup>8</sup>. They communicated their intention to the prince; he was displeased, alledging it was an encroachment upon the prerogative of the governor of the province. Upon this pretence he quitted the *Hague* in the night, and set out for the *Brille*, where he introduced two companies of soldiers in despite of all the remonstrances of the magistrates. He had not acquainted the council of state with his resolution, which gave great offence to that assembly, as it was an established custom with the governors to take their leave in form. *Maurice*, however, disregarded their sentiments; he had now thrown off the masque, and resolution was necessary to obtain a majority in the states, by changing the magistrates in the cities.

He refuses to assist the states of Holland.

Seizes on Brille, &c.

- ADVICE of the transaction at *Brille* soon arrived at *Leyden*; and the magistrates, apprehending they might be favoured with a similar visit, assembled the chief burghers, and formed the resolution, that, in case the prince should approach the city, a deputation should meet him, to request he would offer no violence to their privileges, by forcing armed troops into the city. The same resolution was taken by the magistrates of *Haerlem*, *Tergau*, and *Woerde*; but *Maurice* had by this time gained possession of *Delft* and *Scheidam*. Thence he sent circular letters to the cities of the province of *Holland*, justifying his conduct; but they were so ill received by the magistrates in general, that he was, more than ever, convinced he could never effect his purposes while *Barneveldt's* interest was so considerable; nor could this be diminished but by obtaining a majority in the states, by placing his own creatures in the public offices of the cities. However, before he made an attempt on the cities of the province of *Holland*, he made trial of his authority at *Nimeguen*, where, during the war, he retained the power of changing the magistrates at pleasure. Here he deposed three of the chief magistrates, who espoused *Barneveldt*, and favoured the remonstrants. The disgraced magistrates threw themselves under the

<sup>8</sup> Apolog. c. 10.



protection of the states of *Holland*, and implored their assistance. Their request was granted, and the states immediately wrote to the states of *Guelderland*; but the city of *Amsterdam*, and some other places, interposed, and refused to suffer the letter to pass in the name of the states of *Holland*, because their deputies had opposed the contents<sup>b</sup>.

*He has great  
influence in  
Guelderland.*

AFTER this transaction *Maurice* went to the states of *Guelderland*, informed them of what he had done at *Nimeguen*, and received their thanks and applause. Here his influence carried every thing; he exhorted the states to assist him in supporting the authority of the states general against the encroachments of the provincial states, and curbing the insolence of the city-magistrates, who had the presumption to raise troops, and act in a military capacity, in defiance of the laws, and to the destruction of all liberty. Accordingly, the states of *Guelderland* charged their deputies to the states general, to represent the prince's resolution to support their authority; but it appears that neither *Maurice*, nor the states, entertained a just idea of the nature of the government, or understood the laws of their country. The power assumed, in quality of governor, was by no means consistent with the liberty of the cities, which, for time immemorial, had enjoyed the right of nominating their own magistrates, and levying guards for their defence; the deprivation of these privileges could not therefore but excite a ferment, and raise suspicions in the breast of every friend of liberty and his country. As to *Barneveldt*, he was so much affected with the public disturbances, so anxious and solicitous about the fate of the republic, and so diligent in opposing the ambitious purposes of prince *Maurice*, that he was seized with a fever, which had almost deprived *Holland* of her most faithful and able minister. On his return to the states, perceiving he could not stem the torrent, and that the prince would one day reek his whole vengeance upon his head, he desired leave to resign the office of pensionary, and retire into private life, where he might at least freely deplore the unhappy fate of a country, that, after foiling the whole power of the *Spanish* monarchy to enslave her, was now on the eve of falling a prey to civil faction, and the ambition of her own children.

A. D. 1614.

THE great point now in debate was, whether a national synod should be held? *Maurice* attended the states at *Overyssel*, and there strongly recommended a measure which alone, he said, could terminate the disputes of the clergy: his speech, however, was regarded as a snare; he now appeared in a military capacity, in which it is allowable to ruin your enemy either by stratagem or open force. Of this the deputies of *Haerlem* spoke freely, at the next assembly of the states of *Holland*. They were the first who ventured to declare their suspicions, and their resolution to support the states against all enemies. To this effect they delivered a memorial to the states of *Holland*, to which their deputies demanded an immediate answer. The only point about which any difficulty occurred, was, the adjusting the contingents for supporting the expence of the government for the current year. *Haarlem* demanded that all the cities in arrear should make up their accounts before demands were made on those who had already advanced their proportions. At length those new disputes were wholly terminated by the prudence, the equity, and ability of *Barneveldt*. Something was likewise due to the spirit and good sense of *Maurier*, the *French* ambassador, who, by order of the king, demanded an audience. Among a variety of other topics, *Maurier* told the states, that, in his opinion, there remained only three methods of re-establishing the public tranquillity of the provinces; either open force, a general decision of their differences, or a compromise, in which both sides must relax. As to the first, no man, he urged, of understanding and honesty would recommend it; the second was attended with a thousand difficulties, which must arise in course of debate, where both sides were too much heated and enflamed to reason dispassionately; the last, in his opinion, was the only probable measure: a general toleration, until some better expedient could be found, would in the mean time disarm faction, and frustrate the schemes of those men whose ambition would be gratified at the price of public felicity and liberty.

THOUGH the disputes in the states of *Holland* yielded to the remedies applied by *Barneveldt* and *Maurier*, it was otherwise with the provinces in general. *Maurice* remained firm in his sentiments, was too powerful to be openly charged, and too artful to disclose his purposes. He secured the *English* minister in his interest, and, with all the contra-monstrants, demanded a national synod, as the only effectual application to a disease which must soon destroy the constitution. Upon *Barneveldt's* opposing this measure, libels, more bitter than any of the former, were every day published; and that great man was forced to have recourse to the justification of a conduct which merited the highest applause and deepest gratitude from his country. He published a remonstrance, in which he recited the

<sup>b</sup> BRANDT. *ibid.* Contin. de REIDAN. lib. xxvi.



a particulars of his birth, services, and education; the cause of the present disorders, and the only means which appeared to him adequate to the removal of that malignity which affected the whole mass of humours. Corrosive applications, he said, were unadvisable; they irritated and enflamed the habit, without answering any of the indications, or touching the seat of the disease: such were the infamous libels, propagated to blight the fairest characters, and ruin those persons in the opinion of the people, who alone were capable of saving the commonwealth. He desired it might be considered, that the excessive malice and rancour contained in those writings could not be altogether levelled against him; they must have a deeper design; that of destroying the other faithful servants of the public, overthrowing the rights and privileges of the cities in particular, of the country in general, and annihilating the very shadow of liberty, and a republican government. The virulence, the calumny, and bare-faced falshood of the writers, evidently demonstrated by what religion they were animated. They did not even endeavour to conceal their sentiments, respecting the establishment, and made no scruple of avowing the violation offered to the liberties of certain cities, under pretence there was a necessity to use compulsion in choosing the magistrates. Were their professions of zeal for religion, and their country, sincere, they might have pursued methods more honourable, and consistent with the true spirit of devotion and patriotism; but it was much easier to propagate calumnies, than to prove facts; bold assertions were sufficient evidence to the vulgar; and, provided their passions were influenced, it was not necessary to convince their judgment. He concluded with again recommending christian toleration to all who remained attached to the reformed religion, and disputed only about speculative points unessential to religion. He laid before the states, an account of the public expence, besought them to contribute unanimously to the supplies wanted for the ensuing year; and then addressing himself to the deputies of certain provinces in arrear for their contingents, exhorted them to use their utmost efforts with their constituents, to remove every obstruction to the peace, and restore the unanimity and felicity of the commonwealth<sup>a</sup>. A. D. 1615?

AN air of simplicity and candour, of good sense, and public zeal, of deep penetration, profound judgment, and extensive knowledge, powerfully recommended this performance to every sincere patriot: it was, however, attacked with all possible marks of inveterate rancour, the author was loaded with abuse and obloquy, and even the states attacked with a degree of malignancy, which could not pass unnoticed. Accordingly they offered a reward for the discovery of the author, or printer of the libel, and took *Berneveldt* under their immediate protection. They were supported by the towns of *Haerlem*, *Leyden*, *Rotterdam*, the *Brille*, *Schoonhoven*, &c. By these instructions were given to their deputies, to represent at the next assembly of the states, the necessity of taking measures for preserving the freedom of electors, and the liberties of the cities, promising to indemnify the deputies, and support them with all their strength and influence. In consequence the states remonstrated with prince *Maurice*, on the present situation of affairs; they represented, that certain persons, meaning himself and the *Orange* faction, had, contrary to justice, and the mutual obligations into which they had entered, violated the rights and privileges of the province of *Holland*; that his highness was perfectly well acquainted with the duties of a stadtholder, which chiefly consisted in maintaining the sovereignty of the province, and protecting the general liberties of the cities and inhabitants; that the states were bound, in consequence of their oath, to preserve the government, and of their respect for the house of *Orange*, to support the magistrates and people, in the due exertion of their authority, against all oppression. They exhorted him therefore to assist their laudable endeavours; to use his influence with the other provinces; to protect and aid the authority of the states in ecclesiastical matters; to join with them in the most efficacious methods of terminating those obstacles, which occasioned so much grief to every sincere patriot; to protect in particular the province of *Holland*, against the encroachments of the other provinces, excited by the machinations of certain turbulent divines; to desist from demanding a national synod, so contrary to the express meaning of the treaty of *Utrecht*; to prevent the courts of justice from receiving orders and directions, contrary to the resolutions of the states; to oblige them to confine themselves within the limits of their instructions, without encroaching on the privileges of the states or cities; not to oppose the antient right of the cities, to provide for their own security by levying guards and garrisons, when the forces of the state were insufficient; to oblige the officers of the army to obey the orders of the states; the council of war, and the magistrates of those towns where they should happen to be quartered. They likewise requested that his highness would not attempt to garrison towns, or interfere in the elections of magistrates, with-

<sup>a</sup> GROT. Apol. cap xx,



out the consent of the states and council of war; that he would bestow no military preferments, and neither augment nor diminish the garrisons, without previously acquainting them; and lastly, they earnestly intreated, that he would give no ear to evil counsellors, who sought to aggrandize themselves at the expence of their country, and only regarded the republic and the *Orange* family, as the means of their own elevation; but always rely on the advice of the states, who regarded his honour and interest of their country. This method his father, the late prince of *Orange* of glorious memory, always followed, and he constantly met with the warmest returns of gratitude; secured the liberties of the provinces, and raised them from an oppressed, insulted, despicable people, to a powerful, formidable, and free republic. The measures here pointed out, were no less necessary, they said, to the good of the public, than for the security of individuals. They could not by any means allow the smallest violation of their liberties, which they were obliged by oath to defend with their lives and fortunes. Better it was, they said, to die honourably, than to survive the loss of those blessings which their ancestors and themselves purchased at the exorbitant price of their blood. In a word, they asserted, that if they were properly assisted by the influence and power of the stadtholder, they would undertake speedily to subdue all controversies which affected the public tranquillity, close up those wounds, which by habit would become incurable, restore order, discipline, and regularity to the state, and prevail on all the provinces to contribute their several proportions, for the support of the government and common cause<sup>b</sup>.

HISTORY does not inform us what reply *Maurice* made to this remonstrance; we are only told that he was greatly shocked, but not moved to the purposes of the states, or convinced by their arguments. On the contrary, he assembled a great number of divines of his own faction, at *Amsterdam*, to assist the magistrates in drawing up reasons, to convince the states of the necessity of a national synod. This with another writing were presented, and clearly refuted by *Grotius*, who was too close, clear, and learned for his antagonists. It was at length proposed by the council of state, that three theologians from each province, should meet to adjust the conditions of a mutual toleration; and that if they could come to no agreement in the space of a month, the protestant clergy of *Germany*, *France*, *England*, and *Switzerland*, should be invited to their assistance. The proposal was approved by a majority of voices in the states; but *Amsterdam*, and the deputies of some other cities, opposed the resolution, and started a variety of objections. They were eager for a national synod, in which they were strongly supported by the provinces of *Zealand*, *Groningen*, *Friseland*, the *Ommelans*, and prince *Maurice*. This division among the cities, the powerful faction in favour of the contra-remonstrants, and the terror of *Maurice* in his military capacity, entirely destroyed the authority of the states of *Holland*, and rendered them incapable of prosecuting their moderate designs. Still, however, the council of state continued to urge their propositions, declaring null and void all that had been transacted in favour of a national synod. The council became now more than ever affected to the states, from the affront given them by the prince's departure to the *Brille*, without their consent or knowledge. The breach with the council of state considerably diminished the interest of *Maurice*; but it did not retard any of his projects. Backed by four provinces, besides a variety of cities and towns, he expected to surmount all opposition, and to effect such alterations in the constitution, as would infallibly raise him to the sovereignty of the provinces. He made no scruple of declaring that augmenting the garrisons, suppressing tumults by a military force, in a word, levying troops for the protection of the cities, without the authority of the governor, were in themselves acts of rebellion. The truth was, this guard was an obstruction to his design of changing the magistrates. The city of *Utrecht* insisted upon an exertion of this privilege handed down for time immemorial; but to avoid altercation, the magistrates first sent deputies to confer with the prince and the states-general. *Barneveldt*, in the name of the states of *Holland*, had an audience upon the same subject; but all his arguments could not prevail with *Maurice*, to suffer the garrisons to be under the direction of the magistrates, or to relinquish his project for retrenching the privileges of the cities<sup>c</sup>.

Soon after these conferences, *Maurice* repaired to *Utrecht*, attended by three deputies from the states-general. He was received with great marks of distinction, and the burghers were ordered to appear under arms. The magistrates and clergy waited upon him with compliments; and to the latter he said, that his intention was to restore the public tranquillity, by assembling a national synod, when all the controverted points should be canvassed, and their disputes finally decided. The reply was, that nothing could be expected from such an ecclesiastical court, where the parties were to sit in judgment, but

<sup>b</sup> GROTI. Apol. cap. xx.<sup>c</sup> LE CLERC, lib. ix.



a altercation, debate, and confusion; they therefore intreated him to lay aside the project, as dangerous, and at all events inadequate. Notwithstanding this repulse from the clergy, *Maurice* proposed to the provincial states of *Utrecht*, the disbanding of the new levied garrisons, and the convocation of a general synod. The proposition being communicated to the deputies of *Holland*, they waited on the prince, and exhorted him to contribute to the repose of the provinces, to support the privileges of the towns, and to protect the public tranquillity, taking not the smallest notice of their suspicions, that he was labouring to overthrow the constitution, and execute designs very opposite to their request. *Maurice* was more sincere: he plainly gave the deputies to understand, that their arrival in *Utrecht* was by no means agreeable. However, they held conferences with the states; after which  
b the prince was told, that the guards raised by the magistrates were perfectly constitutional; and with respect to religion, that a national synod could not be convoked without detriment to the privileges of the provincial states, who were supreme within the jurisdiction of a province. After several fruitless negotiations, held upon the supposition the prince  
c did not venture upon any alterations without authority, at last his design was discovered, and the states, unable to oppose, determined to connive at his measures. His authority was great in the army, and his influence general over the minds of the people, who regarded him as the bulwark of liberty, and the hero who had rescued the provinces from the tyranny of the *Spaniards*. Before the blow was struck, the members of the states, with *Ledemberg* the secretary, quitted the city, and repaired with all diligence to the  
d *Hague*, there to expect the issue. Already *Maurice* had occupied the principal avenues leading to *Utrecht*, which he lined with soldiers. When he had assembled a sufficient force, he ordered the new levies raised by the magistrates to appear, upon which he released them from the oath taken, obliged them to lay down their arms, and disbanded the whole garrison. *Grotius* affirms, he had no authority for this proceeding, that the power was entirely in the provincial states, and that *Maurice* had considered their silence, their inability to appease him, and their abrupt departure, into an assent of his measures. Afterwards he went to the town-house, where he loudly complained of the injury done to his honour by those new levies, which deeply reflected on his integrity and patriotism. This was all the apology he offered for the grossest violation of the privileges of the city and province. He would pass himself for the protector of the church and state; and indeed his conduct was so specious, that it gained the affections of the vulgar, who strenuously pressed him to assume the sovereignty.

e Next he procured a few of the burghers to accuse the present magistrates of abusing their office. This was sufficient reason for deposing them, and substituting in their room the friends of *Maurice*, and the contra-remonstrants. Accordingly the prince proceeded to the election, or rather nomination of new magistrates, and to appoint a perpetual, instead of an annual council. All the remonstrants were turned out of their places. *Ledemberg*, secretary to the states, was forced to resign, and his office was immediately filled up by a creature of the house of *Orange*, after he had for thirty years served the  
f public with unblemished integrity. A variety of alterations were besides made in the other several departments of the state; even the clergy were deprived of their stipends, and forced to evacuate the city, and many of them the province of *Utrecht*. The contra-remonstrants, encouraged by these favourable changes, demanded the cathedral church then possessed by the remonstrants. *Taurin* the minister, refused to comply: but he was soon obliged to take sanctuary under the wing of *Ledemberg*, with whom he retired to the *Hague*. Upon the secretary's being arrested a few days afterwards, *Taurin* escaped to *Antwerp*, to avoid the same fate <sup>a</sup>.

*Maurice offers violence to the privileges of Utrecht.*

g ABOUT this time, by order of his master the *French* king, *Maurier* the *French* ambassador demanded an audience of the states-general. He represented in lively colours, the approaching dissolution of the government, owing to the violence of faction, at a time when the expiration of the truce with *Spain* ought to make every part of the state unanimous. He threw out some reflections on the violence offered to the liberties of the cities, and said, that the provinces had wantonly lavished seas of blood, in resisting the tyranny of the house of *Austria*, if they were now to be enslaved by a faction of their own subjects. He recommended harmony in church and state, and exhorted the states-general to exert with vigour the power lodged in their hands by the constitution. The states, conscious of their inability, but ashamed to acknowledge their weakness, seemed embarrassed for an answer. Having no other reply, they thanked the king, told the ambassador the danger was not so great as he apprehended, and that they would take the most effectual measures to restore peace, concord, and regularity.

<sup>a</sup> BRANDT. lib. xxix. GROTI. Apol. cap. 20.



A. D. 1618.

PRINCE *Maurice* having terminated matters to his wish at *Utrecht*, set out for the *Hague*, where he made report of the late transaction, and received the thanks of the deputies of the four provinces in his interest. The deputies of *Holland* were likewise exhorted to prevail on the cities to disband the new levied guards; but it was obvious from their answer, that they looked upon the prince's conduct as an infraction of the privileges of the provinces. They perceived that the least tumult would furnish a pretext for similar trespasses in the constitution, and the means of procuring a majority in the states-general, by rendering himself absolute in the cities, and of consequence in the provincial states. They concluded with saying, they would report the prince's request to their constituents, as the matter was of too great importance for them to determine of their own authority. They demanded, that, in the mean time, the cities of *Holland* might be left in the full exertion of their privileges; but they were served in a similar manner with those of *Utrecht*; and even the cities in the prince's interest were not exempted from a variety of changes, introduced probably to shew his impartiality. It was not possible indeed to ward off the blow, because the stadtholder had the army at command, and the states of *Holland* were wholly disarmed. Besides, he took his measures with such prudence and art, as seemed even to have deceived *Barneveldt* himself. At the very time *Maurice* was projecting this fall, he was loading his relations with favours, and preferring them to very considerable employments. The pensioner's son was created master of the dykes and forests, a lucrative and honourable office. To the younger son of *Barneveldt*, he gave the government of *Bergen-op-zoom*, by which he placed in his hands one of the keys of the *United Provinces*. At last, the artifice, the power, and address of *Maurice*, rendered his party every where superior. He gained over to his interest *Francis Aersens*, son of *Cornelius Aersens* secretary of state, and long ambassador at the court of *France*. The violence, the ability, and vigour of *Aersens*, quickened the measures of the prince. His aspiring ambition scrupled no action which could promote his interest; perniciously bold, and detestably eloquent, he converted the noblest qualities to the worst purposes, ruined his country, oppressed innocence, and sacrificed patriotism, at the shrine of those ill fated virtues, which might have proved the bulwark of liberty, and strongest barrier of the commonwealth. *Aersens* stimulated *Maurice* to what he was before inclined. To his counsel may be attributed the solemn synod assembled in the month of *November* at *Dordrecht*, to which the states general, the provincial states of the *Seven Provinces*, the kings of *England* and *France*, the elector palatine, the landgrave of *Hesse*, the cities of *Bremen*, *Verden*, *Geneva*, and the protestant cantons of *Switzerland*, dispatched their ambassadors and deputies. Thither the *Arminian* party was cited, to explain the principal points in which they dissented from the established church.

*BARNEVELDT* and the remonstrants had long avoided this blow, under pretence that a general synod was a trespass on the privileges of the provincial states. They knew the intention was to render them little in the opinion of the people if they appeared; and if they refused to obey the citations, to expose them as public incendiaries, the friends of *Spain*, popery and slavery. The remonstrants refused to attend the synod; at last they published a long writing, in which they explained the chief points of their doctrine, protested against the synod, and exhibited their reasons for refusing to appear in their own defence, before judges who were actually parties in the dispute. Accordingly their opinions were solemnly condemned, and the remonstrants were stigmatized as calumniators, who vilified the established religion, and attributed to the *Belgian* church other sentiments than those it really professed. *Aersens* wrote several pieces against *Barneveldt*, in which he boldly charged him with these designs. He was a spirited, artful, and fluent writer; his works were bought with avidity, they made a deep impression on the minds of the people, and so far influenced their passions, that *Maurice* resolved, before the public ardour cooled, to seize upon *Barneveldt*, *Grotius*, *Hoogenberts*, and other leaders of the *Arminian* party, whom he imprisoned in the castle of *Louvestein*, whence that faction has ever since borrowed the appellation (A). The advanced age, the long services, the moderation and patriotism of *Barneveldt*, now little availed him; even his writings, which clearly refuted all the allega-

The leaders  
of the Armi-  
nians impris-  
oned.

(A) In this confinement the learned *Grotius* remained for several years, when at length he made his escape, through the courage, the affection, and address of his wife *Reigersberg*. This lady had obtained leave to send large boxes of books to her husband, and to visit him in prison, which furnished her with a hint for his escape. She persuaded him to lie in one of the boxes, to be returned to his house. He was carried out by the

guards, without suspicion, though they complained of the uncommon weight of their burthen; he escaped to the *Spanish Netherlands*, passed from thence into *France*, where he was well received by the king. At last he was employed by *Christina* queen of *Sweden*, that liberal protectress of merit, and died at *Rosbach*, in the duchy of *Mecklenburgh*, in the year 1645 (1).

(1) See his life.

tions



a tions of his enemies, were either neglected, or read with a partiality and prejudice injurious to his reputation. *Maurice* procured an order of the states-general for his imprisonment. His practices and intrigues had obtained a majority in the states; notwithstanding which, this order was signed only by eight members, particularly attached to the prince's interest. *Barneveldt* was accused of being the author of the disturbances at *Utrecht*, and of harbouring designs destructive of public liberty. He was tried by judges appointed by the states-general, condemned to death by the most iniquitous sentence, and deprived of his life on a public scaffold, by the same blow which ruined the character of prince *Maurice*, and withered with the ardour of ambition those laurels acquired by long and important services (B). He lost his popularity and the affections of the people, when he hoped to obtain the sovereignty. Instead of being adored as a hero, he was detested as a tyrant. As he passed through the cities, nothing but murmurs and the name of *Barneveldt* could be heard, where formerly *Maurice* was received as the guardian and protector of his country. In a word, the death of *Barneveldt* laid the foundation of a conspiracy against the life of the prince, which was discovered only a few hours before the time appointed for its execution. The design was projected by *Stanlemburgh*, governor of *Bergen-op-zoom*, who, with his accomplices, fell a sacrifice to patriotism and filial duty<sup>c</sup>.

*Barneveldt*  
condemned and  
executed.  
A.D. 1619.

<sup>c</sup> LE CLERC, lib. ix. tom. i. GROT. Apol. p. 59.

(B) This terrible tragedy was acted in the castle of the *Hague*, on the 13th day of *May*, A. D. 1619, when *Barneveldt* was seventy-two years of age, fifty of which he had spent with equal integrity and ability, in the different employments of ambassador to the courts of *France* and *England*, and pensionary of the states of *Holland*. A medal was struck in honour of his memory.

All his virtues now, when too late, were approved in their full lustre. He was called a martyr to his country, the protector of liberty, the father, the friend, and the advocate of the provinces; in a word, his memory is held in veneration to this day, and his death regarded as the deepest stain upon the house of *Orange*.



## S E C T. VIII.

*Containing the commercial affairs of the republic during the truce, the renewal of the war with Albert, the death of prince Maurice, the proposals of peace made by Isabella frustrated by the French ministry, the treaty with France against Spain, &c.*

*The state of commerce at the expiration of the truce.*

**D**URING the truce with the archduke, the *United Provinces* had paid the most assiduous attention to trade and navigation, which were astonishingly improved and extended by voyages to *Asia*, *Africa*, and *America*, in all of which this indefatigable people had erected colonies, and founded settlements. The returns made by the *East-India* company alone were sufficient to aggrandize the state, and raise this infant republic to a degree of naval power, scarcely to be paralleled in history. Vast fleets, equal in strength to hostile armaments, returned with the richest treasures and spices of the *Indies*, the *Baltic* swarmed with *Dutch* ships, the flag of the republic became even well known in the *Levant*, and her shipping traded to the *Spanish West-Indies*, with as much security as if the provinces were still under the protection of the *Spanish* monarchy. *Venice*, a republic the first in opulence and power in the world, gladly solicited the friendship of this new commonwealth, and was forced to make court to a people, whose industry was the ruin of her commerce, and the chief cause of her decline. The foundation was laid of an empire at *Batavia*, infinitely superior in wealth, power, and grandeur, to the republic of the *United Provinces*, where the providence of the *Dutch* seemed to secure a retreat, in case by any fatal accident their liberties should be destroyed in *Europe*<sup>a</sup>.

*Negotiations for a new treaty.*

SUCH was the situation of this republic at the expiration of the truce with *Albert*, a prince who, from his pacific and moderate sentiments, justly merited the appellation of *Pious*. It was the archduke's sincere intention to have passed his life in tranquillity, and end his days in perfect harmony with the *United Provinces*. He admired the spirit of liberty, the independency, and the industry of men, whom he otherways regarded as rebels and heretics; experience convinced him of the impossibility of subduing them, and he was taught by the dictates of sound policy, to put up with the loss of seven provinces, rather than hazard the ruin of the remaining ten; which formed all his dominions. But the court of *Spain* entertained different sentiments. Losses, defeats, and mortifications, had not yet subdued the haughty spirit of the house of *Austria*; and *Philip* could not support the thoughts of seeing so precious a jewel torn from his diadem. Thus the long cessation of hostilities which it was hoped would calm passion, compose resentment, and open the way to a durable solid pacification, had no other effect, than enabling the parties to resume the war with redoubled vigour.

*A. D. 1621. Renewal of the war.*

PREVIOUS, however, to the renewal of hostilities, *Albert* sent *Peckius*, chancellor of *Brabant*, to the *Hague*, either to conclude a new treaty, or procure an audience of the prince. The superb equipage in which he appeared, gave offence to the frugal *Dutchmen*; it prejudiced them against whatever he could offer: but the extravagance of his propositions, which were dictated by the court of *Madrid*, were not even deemed worthy of a reply by the states-general. The populace insulted the ambassador, and he returned highly irritated to *Brussels*. *Albert* beheld with uneasiness the obstinacy of the *Spanish* ministry; he endeavoured to palliate their demands, and grant a truce upon the same footing as the preceding. For this purpose secret agents were employed in *Holland*; but as *Philip* publicly insisted, that the provinces should enter into their former subjection, all the negotiations vanished in smoke. *Spinola* took the field with an army of fifteen thousand foot, and four thousand horse, with which he penetrated into the country of *Juliers*, ordering the count *de Berg*, with a strong detachment, to invest the city of *Juliers*, garrisoned by *Dutch* forces since the death of the duke of *Cleves*. He was well acquainted with the divisions in the provinces, and weak condition of the army under prince *Maurice*. *Berg* invested *Juliers*; but finding the garrison numerous and resolute, he converted the siege to a blockade, by which he reduced the place to the necessity of surrendering, in despite of the utmost efforts of the prince to throw in succours<sup>b</sup>.

NOTWITHSTANDING this advantage, and the great superiority of his forces, the archduke was still desirous of an accommodation: he was on the point of renewing the negotiations, when he was seized with a disorder which carried him off, and deprived the *Netherlands* of all hope of an issue to their calamities. It was expected that the death of

<sup>a</sup> BASNAGE, p. 6. LE CLERC, tom. ii. p. 73.

<sup>b</sup> MEM. de Fred. Hen. P. d'Orange, p. 12, 13.



a *Philip III.* which fell out about this time, and the minority that ensued, would have accelerated a peace; but the *Spanish* ministry, as well as the counsellors about the arch-duchess, found their advantage in the continuance of the war. It is likewise said, that *Spinola*, animated with his success before *Juliers*, with the distraction of the provinces, and the strength of his army, promised to force the *Dutch* in a few campaigns to absolute subjection. In pursuance of this design, he assembled his whole army with intention to invest *Bergen-op-zoom*, the strongest fortress in *Dutch Brabant*. *Maurice* penetrated his meaning, and took care to provide the garrison with liberal reinforcements of men, ammunition, and provisions. The prince had his head-quarters at *Emmeric*, whence he detached colonel *Henderson*, a *Scotchman*, with seven hundred men, who threw themselves into the town, b in defiance of the vigilance of *Spinola*. Soon after the colonel sallied out with a numerous party, on the quarter of the besiegers camp, commanded by *Baglioni*, general of the *Italian* forces. Here, after an obstinate conflict, he was wounded, just as he was on the point of grasping victory; his party, finding themselves unsupported, retired with some precipitation, and the colonel died the day following, deeply regretted by prince *Maurice*. Now the siege was pushed with great vigour, and the resistance was such as might be expected from a brave garrison, animated in defence of liberty, and assisted by strong fortifications. However, the prince, who was too weak to offer battle to *Spinola*, formed an enterprize on *Boisleduc*, which, he thought, would necessarily draw off the attention of the enemy, and interrupt, if it could not wholly suspend, the operations against *Bergen-op-zoom*. c But he was soon obliged to abandon the design from a variety of untoward accidents. As yet he was not reinforced by the *German* protestants under count *Mansveldt*, and the duke of *Brunswic*. These auxiliaries were arrived at *Sedan*; but before they could proceed, it was necessary to fight *Gonzales* with a strong detachment. Upon this the count determined, and accordingly attacked the *Spaniard*, who received his charge with great intrepidity. After an obstinate and bloody action, in which the duke of *Brunswic* was dangerously wounded, victory declared for *Mansveldt*; the enemy retreated, and he was left to pursue his march unmolested.

A. D. 1622:

*SPINOLA* had prosecuted the siege with the utmost vigour, and performed every thing which could be expected from an officer of experience and ability. All those expedients d which he had practised with success at *Ostend* were now repeated, and every stratagem of the military art exhausted; but the length of the siege occasioned great desertion in his camp; his army was exceedingly diminished, and the besieged encouraged to a more spirited defence by the late advantage gained by *Mansveldt*, which they hoped would enable prince *Maurice* to give battle to the *Spaniards*. *Mansveldt* had brought a reinforcement of four thousand horse and three thousand foot; and the prince had besides ordered his brother prince *Henry* to join him with his whole army. He was now at *Emmeric* with a body of eight thousand foot and fifteen hundred horse, opposing the designs of the count *de Berg*. Upon the union of all the different corps, the main army exceeded twenty thousand infantry and seven thousand cavalry, a force more than sufficient to compel the exhausted, e dispirited *Spaniards* to relinquish the siege of *Bergen-op-zoom*. Accordingly *Spinola* broke up his camp on the approach of the prince of *Orange*, and retired in so good order, that *Maurice*, who well knew his capacity, apprehended that this motion was a feint, only to lull him and the garrison into security. It proved otherwise, and *Spinola* had the mortification to see himself baffled, for the first time, in a siege which had cost him the lives of ten thousand soldiers, of the flower of his army. On the fourth day of *October* prince *Maurice* entered *Bergen-op-zoom* with thirty troops of horse, and next day he was followed by prince *Henry*, count *Ernest de Nassau*, and other officers, with whom he concerted the plan of their future operations.

*Spinola raises the siege of Bergen-op-zoom.*

SOMETIME before *Bergen-op-zoom* was invested, the governor of *Antwerp* laid siege to f *Sluys* with ten thousand men, by express order of the arch-duchess; but the strength of the place, the valour of the garrison, and the dreadful inundation in which they overwhelmed the country, by breaking their dykes, and opening the sluices, rendered the enterprize fruitless, and obliged *Ignatio de Borgia* to decamp with great loss and precipitation. Nor was this the only attempt in which the *Spaniards* failed, during the tedious siege of *Bergen-op-zoom*. They laid siege to *Hasselt*, an inconsiderable town in *Overysse*, and would have reduced the place but for the vigorous and gallant conduct of the burghers of *Haerlem*, led on by the captains *Olican* and *Vander Camer*, who pierced through the enemy's camp, entered the town, made a brisk sally, and obliged the *Spaniards* to retreat with great slaughter, and the loss of their artillery.

PRINCE *Maurice*, having accomplished his purpose at *Bergen-op-zoom*, retired to *Rosendal*, and sent a detachment to invest *Steenberg*, which capitulated before the batteries were erected.



erected. *Spinola* too had retreated towards *Antwerp*, where he was joined by six thousand men just arrived from *Spain*, and the corps under the count *de Berg*. With this reinforcement he was superior to the *Hollanders*; accordingly he advanced within three leagues of the prince's camp, and offered battle, which the prince declined, saying, *He had come to relieve Bergen-op-zoom, and reduce Steenberg; he had accomplished both designs, and was satisfied.* Upon receiving this answer, *Spinola* turned off towards *Brussels*, and *Maurice* marched to *Breda*. The enemy resumed their operations, and the count *de Berg* was detached to lay siege to *Pfaffenmütz*, while prince *Maurice* was contriving the means of getting rid of his troublesome ally, count *Mansveldt*, who with his undisciplined troops, accustomed to violence and rapine, was desolating the provinces with all the fury of a barbarous enemy. At last the *Germans* crossed the *Rhine*, and passed into *Westphalia*; when *Maurice* was in hopes that *Mansveldt* would have attempted the relief of *Pfaffenmütz*, the brave garrison of which, after a most gallant defence, and suffering extreme hardships, was forced to capitulate. The count *de Berg* repaired the fortifications, put a strong garrison into the place, and changed the name to that of *Fort Isabella*; but the works were soon after destroyed, in consequence of a petition presented to the emperor and diet at *Ratisbon*, by the magistrates of *Cologne*.

Maurice is disappointed in his designs on Antwerp.

A.D. 1623.

A conspiracy against his life discovered.

At the time prince *Maurice* declined the challenge sent by *Spinola*, he was meditating an attempt upon the most considerable city in the *Netherlands*. *Antwerp* was the great object of his designs, and he took every precaution to draw off the enemy's attention from this city. The scheme was so well laid, that, on taking leave of the states at the *Hague*, he said, *That God only could prevent the success of the enterprize.* However, it miscarried, through a train of unavoidable accidents, which human sagacity could not foresee. The fleet assembled at the *Brille* was locked up by a sudden frost; some of the vessels which had put to sea were lost in a storm; two regiments were shipwrecked; and thus the finest project that had been concerted during the war vanished into smoke. *Flanders* and *Brabant* must have followed the fate of *Antwerp*, the loss of which would have been a mortal blow to the *Spanish* affairs. Disappointed in a scheme upon which he had set his heart, *Maurice* returned, greatly chagrined, to *Ryswic*, where a conspiracy against his life was discovered. The author was *William Barneveldt*, grandson of the pensioner, who determined to revenge the ignominious death of that celebrated patriot. He communicated his design of assassinating the prince to his elder brother, the sieur *Barneveldt* of *Groenveldt*, exhorting him to join in his resentment, to assist in avenging the indignity done the family, and in ridding the provinces of a tyrant, whose sole aim was to acquire the sovereignty of the country, and subject the *United Provinces* to a more cruel slavery than they had suffered under the dominion of *Spain*. But *Groenveldt* received the proposal with horror, and used every argument in his power to prevail upon *William* to drop an attempt which must terminate in the ruin and disgrace of the conspirators. His remonstrance produced no effect; *William* was obstinate and implacable; his violent spirit knew no bounds, and he resolved to pursue his vengeance at the hazard of his own destruction. He engaged in the plot a number of *Arminians*, actuated by the same aversion to *Maurice*, and desire of rescuing their country from bondage, as himself. It was determined to shoot the prince on his way from *Ryswic* to the *Hague*, and the conspirators had all their proper parts assigned them, the arms were purchased, and the day for execution fixed. Two of his associates, struck with remorse, discovered the conspiracy; the prince returned to the *Hague*, doubled his guards, and *Barneveldt* escaped to *Antwerp*, where he died some years after. Four of the conspirators were seized, tried, condemned, and solemnly executed. *Groenveldt* likewise was taken into custody, and condemned as a party, because he had not discovered his brother's intentions. It was not sufficient that he had endeavoured to dissuade him from the attempt; he was beheaded, and considered by the people as a martyr to fraternal affection, and an innocent victim offered to appease the resentment of prince *Maurice*.

The persecution renewed against the Arminians.

This opportunity was favourable to the *Gomarists*, and they did not fail to embrace it to renew their persecutions against the *Arminian* party. They gave out that the whole sect was engaged in the conspiracy; notwithstanding the edict of the states, which had forbid the revival of all religious disputes, they began publishing bitter invectives against the *Arminians*; and even accused a little society, formed for the support of poor sectarists, of a design against the government. It was affirmed, that the *Arminian* ministers, banished the provinces, had returned in disguise, and were exerting their utmost influence to excite the people to rebellion. In a word, they carried their violences to so great a length, and were so powerfully supported by the prince of *Orange*, that, by an ordonnance published



a in the month of *February*, in the name of *Maurice* and the states of *Utrecht*, the *Arminians* were declared rebels and enemies to their country; they were proscribed afresh, and a reward of six hundred livres offered to whoever should accuse any of them of crimes and misdemeanors against the government, or designs upon the prince of *Orange*; nor was the reward limited to conviction: the accuser had his pay upon lodging the heads of his accusation in some public court; and by this a door was opened for corruption, perjury, and persecution. Armed with legislative power, the *Gomarists* kept no bounds; they not only abused the *Arminians* from the pulpit, reviling them with opprobrious names of traitors and parricides, but they proceeded to persecute individuals, and to establish courts as iniquitous and oppressive as those inquisitions which had originally occasioned the de-  
b fection of the *Seven Provinces*. The *Arminians* presented a petition, craving the protection of the states general against such unprecedented cruelty. They solemnly disavowed all knowledge of the horrid conspiracy with which they were charged; they remonstrated on the injustice of persecuting a whole body of people for the crimes of certain guilty members; they declared their having no relation, connection, or interest in the fate of the conspirators, whom they detested and abhorred; they urged their services to the states, and pressed that they might be tried by the laws of their country in the usual form, and not dragged before courts determined upon finding them criminal. The famous *Grotius* supported this petition with an apology for the *Arminians*, founded on the common rights of humanity, and the laws of the provinces; but this masterly piece, instead of convincing, served only to irritate the minds of the *Gomarists*. The states did not care to interpose, as the prince of *Orange*, and the province of *Utrecht*, had given sanction to the persecution. And thus the unfortunate *Arminians* were left a prey to the most implacable of all enemies, as they were actuated by the spirit of political and theological rancour.

c It must indeed be confessed that the *Gomarists* had some appearance of reason for their persecutions; and that the prince of *Orange*, in particular, had cause for that implacable hatred he bore to the *Arminian* faction, who had long wished to see the influence of his family retrenched. All the accomplices in the late conspiracy were of this party; and *Status* an *Arminian* preacher of *Bliswick*, now in custody, and actually engaged in the plot, had  
d confessed on the rack, that all the principal persons of his persuasion were accessaries to the design of assassinating *Maurice*, and subverting the government. This evidence was extorted from him by the violence of the torture, and the hope given him of pardon; however, it left suspicions injurious to the *Arminians* in the minds of several men extremely moderate in their sentiments; though, when his declaration came to be read, it appeared a mere tissue of malevolence and calumny. He was therefore condemned to death; and a libel he had published the preceding year against the prince of *Orange*, ordered to be burned by the ignominious hands of the executioner<sup>d</sup>. Several other persons were beheaded at the *Hague* and *Leyden*, only because they were *Arminians*, and consequently supposed favourers of the violent measures upon which some turbulent, headstrong, and bi-  
gotted persons of the same faction had entered. The rigour of these proceedings was  
e generally condemned; it was thought injurious to liberty, that attempts against the life of the prince of *Orange* should be deemed equivalent to designs formed against the government, which was actually acknowledging that he was the head of the republic, and in a manner the sovereign of the *United Provinces*.

f In this manner was *Holland* torn with civil faction, while at the same time oppressed with an expensive, bloody war, against the whole power of the *Spanish* monarchy; and her commerce disturbed by the piracies of the *Barbary* corsairs, especially those of *Tunis* and *Algiers*. The states complained, by their ambassadors, to the courts of *Fez* and *Constantinople*, under whose protection the *Barbary* states screen themselves; but they could obtain no redress, because several of these claim a kind of independency, under the dominion of their deys, and prove extremely useful auxiliaries to the grand signior, and the emperor of *Morocco*. In order, therefore, to get rid of such troublesome foes, the states entered into a kind of composition with the maritime cities of *Barbary*, whereby it was declared, that the enemies of either should be regarded as the enemies of both. This agreement was purchased by a sum of money; and, to render it more valid, a treaty was struck up between the *United Provinces*, and the joint empire of *Fez* and *Morocco*. In consequence, they committed hostilities against the *Spaniards*, in which they were assisted by the *Dutch* and *Germans*; although the latter were waging an actual land-war with the states; for the emperor, without declaring openly against the *Hollanders*, maintained two

<sup>d</sup> NUVILLE, tom. i. lib. v.



formidable armies to assist their enemies, and, if possible, to reduce the *Netherlands* once more under the dominion of the house of *Austria*. One was distinguished by the name of the *German* catholics; it had been employed against the protestants of *Bohemia*, commanded by count *Tilly*, and was now ordered to advance into *Friseland*. The other, conducted by *Gonzales de Cordova*, acted along the *Lower Rhine* in the duchies of *Juliers* and *Gueldres*, and was composed chiefly of *Spaniards*, under the direction of the emperor. It was proposed to join these to *Spinola's* army, in order to form such a body of forces as should, at one blow, crush the rebellious *Hollanders*.

A. D. 1624. SENSIBLE of what was transacting among the enemy, the states endeavoured to ward off the impending stroke, by an artifice that succeeded. They again employed *Mansveldt*, and the bishop of *Halberstadt*, to make a diversion; furnishing them with money to begin new levies. With these auxiliaries it was resolved to carry the war into *Liege*, *Cologne*, and the catholic part of *Westphalia*, in order to draw the attention of *Tilly* and *Gonzales* from the *United Provinces*. They likewise entered into an alliance with *Betlem Gabor*, prince of *Transylvania*, in open rebellion against the emperor, with a view to employ the imperial army in *Hungary*; and by attacking the court of *Vienna* in so many parts, distract her councils, and divide her forces. *Mansveldt* began his expeditions, or rather his depredations, in *East Friseland* and *Westphalia*. He ravaged, pillaged, and desolated with the cruelty of a barbarian; respecting neither age nor sex, and robbing without distinction the indigent and wealthy. Encouraged by his success, the *Dutch* garrison in the little town of *Lippe* made irruptions into *Westphalia*, levied prodigious contributions, and inspired the states with a high opinion of the scheme concerted to divert the enemy, and an inclination to augment the irregular auxiliaries. With respect to the bishop of *Halberstadt*, the *Spaniards* opposed his crossing the *Weser*, and placed strong garrisons in *Hoxter*, *Hamelen*, *Rintelen Wecht*; but count *Stirum*, a few days after, took this last place by assault, and put the whole garrison to the sword. These hostilities, and others, committed in *Lower Saxony*, produced an assembly of the princes, where a league was concluded for the defence of the circle. The bishop of *Halberstadt* was chosen captain-general of the forces of the circle, by which the powers in alliance thought to detach him from the interest of *Mansveldt* and the *United Provinces*. His brother, the duke of *Brunswic*, engaged to the emperor for his honour; and, in consequence, *Tilly* had instructions not to penetrate into *Lower Saxony*. To these promises made by the duke the ambitious prelate paid little regard. He saw himself at the head of a fine army of nineteen thousand foot, and five thousand six hundred horse; he despised the emperor's pardon, and drew upon himself the indignation of the court of *Vienna*, the allied powers of *Lower Saxony*, and the whole weight of count *Tilly's* forces. In consequence, he was defeated at *Statlo*, and his army entirely destroyed, except six thousand of the scattered remains, picked up, and retained in their service, by the *Hollanders*.

Victory obtained by count Tilly.

UPON the bishop's defeat, *Mansveldt* retired to *East Friseland*, a province at that time disturbed by civil dissensions. In the city of *Embsen* alone were no less than three parties; one declared for the natural sovereign, one for the emperor, and a third for the *United Provinces*. *Tilly*, who knew the ill treatment which the inhabitants received from *Mansveldt*, thought to profit by the aversion they entertained for that general and the friends of the bishop of *Halberstadt*, and for that purpose to enter the territory of *Embsen* in conjunction with *Gonzales*. The *United Provinces* were apprised of his design soon enough to prevent it, by sending prince *Henry* and count *Ernest Casimir* of *Nassau*, with a body of forces, towards the city. A garrison of twelve complete companies was left in the town and citadel; the harbour was put into a state of defence, and the whole party for the emperor banished. This precaution destroyed all *Tilly's* schemes, and obliged him to retire to *Westphalia*, where he revenged the disappointment on the towns held in that country by the *Hollanders*. *Sparemberg*, and several places of less consideration, felt the effects of his resentment; after which he marched to invest *Lippe*, or *Lipstat*, the only remaining town the *Hollanders* possessed in *Westphalia*, and a place of the utmost consequence. The garrison, composed of *French* and *Dutch* soldiers, was numerous, and well provided. *Tilly* made regular approaches, battered the walls with great fury, gave the assault, and was vigorously repulsed; but finding that *Mansveldt* did not care to hazard a battle, the garrison at last surrendered the place upon honourable conditions. As the winter approached, the armies of both sides retired into quarters; and fruitless negotiations were renewed in this, as in every other preceding season. Before we resume the military operations by land, it will be necessary to give a short view of the naval transactions of the *United Provinces*.

\* Id. ibid.

Soon



a Soon after the treaty with the states of *Barbary*, the provinces experienced how little *Naval trans-*  
 confidence ought to be placed in the faith of pirates, who judge of right by power and the *actions.*  
 sword. Four *Dutch* ships were attacked on the coast of *Genoa* by the corsairs of *Algiers*,  
 and three were taken after a long and bloody engagement. The fourth, determined not  
 to fall into the hands of so cruel and perfidious an enemy, fought desperately; and the  
 crew, finding all endeavours vain, set fire to the powder-room, and blew themselves up,  
 with seventy of the barbarians, who had boarded the vessel. Nor was this the only loss  
 sustained this year; another of more importance happened, in consequence of a well con-  
 certed plan of the court of *Madrid*, whereby upwards of an hundred sail of *Dutch* ships  
 were seized in the harbours of *Spain* and *Portugal* (A).

b But those losses, considerable as they appeared, were amply recompensed by the pro-  
 digious success of the *East India* company. The trade was extended, the settlements  
 established on the most secure footing, the enemy's colonies miserably harassed, and their  
 shipping entirely destroyed. Above sixty rich vessels were taken or sunk, and the booty  
 amounted to upwards of two millions sterling, a remittance now made to *Europe*, to  
 enable the provinces to support the war with vigour, and extricate themselves with ho-  
 nour out of a quarrel of which *Spain* grew heartily tired<sup>f</sup>.

The naval operations of *Holland* were not confined to *Europe* and *Asia*, a strong fleet *Successes of the*  
 was sent to *America* under admiral *Hermit*, with instructions to penetrate to the source of *Dutch in*  
 those vast treasures, which the *Spaniards* drew from *Peru*, and their settlements on the sou- *South Ame-*  
 c thern continent of *America*. *Willekens* had been detached with a squadron to *Brasil* about *rica.*  
 four months before. When the viceroy of *Lima* understood that a *Dutch* fleet was upon  
 the coast, he immediately equipped a powerful armament, which he drew up in the port of  
*Callao*, on which he doubted not the *Hollanders* would make their first attack. *Hermit* was  
 not discouraged by the superiority of the enemy; they were more than double his force,  
 but he boldly crowded sail for the harbour, and greatly astonished the *Spaniards* at his bold-  
 ness, who were then preparing to give him chase, not expecting he would presume to offer  
 battle. The engagement was begun by the two admirals, whose example was followed  
 by the vice-admirals, and the conflict maintained with great obstinacy, until the *Spanish*  
 admiral's ship, with eight hundred men on board, was sunk, and the vice admiral's burned.  
 d The loss of these two ships was succeeded by the destruction of nine more, six of which  
 were sunk, and three burned. The enemy retired under the cannon of the town; *Hermit*  
 pursued, and the action was renewed with redoubled fury. In the space of an hour eleven  
*Spanish* men of war were sunk, taken, and destroyed; and the consternation was so great  
 in *Lima*, that had the admiral pursued his blow he must infallibly have taken the town,  
 and gained possession of the immense treasures lodged in the citadel. But he wanted to  
 refresh his men, in order to attack the place with more vigour next day; by which time  
 the viceroy had assembled a numerous army that rendered an attempt impractica-  
 ble.

ADMIRAL *Willekens* arrived in *All-Saints* bay on the eighth day of *May*, next day cast  
 e anchor before the town of *St. Salvador*, the capital of the country, and the residence of  
 the *Portuguese* viceroy. His squadron consisted of nine large ships, manned with fifteen  
 hundred sailors and two thousand marines. All the soldiers were put on board the four  
 ships that composed the van, in order to persuade the enemy that the other ships were  
 equally crowded. *Willekens* landed with all his forces, drove the enemy from the shore,  
 and obliged them to hide themselves behind the walls of the city; the vice-admiral, in the  
 mean time, gaining possession of a strong battery that formed a kind of out-work, on a  
 projecting rock. Next day they found the town abandoned by the inhabitants, and the  
 gates set open; however, the garrison still continued in the castle, until finding that all  
 resistance would prove fruitless, they surrendered. The town was pillaged, and vast quan-  
 f tities of rich merchandize sent on board, for the use of the *West India* company; nor did

<sup>f</sup> Mod. Univ. Hist. vol. x.

(A) It must be remembered, that, through the whole course of this war, the *Dutch* traded to the *Spanish* ports, as if they had been in entire friendship with the crown; than which nothing can furnish a stronger idea of the attachment of the *Hollanders* to gain and commerce. It was no uncommon practice with them to supply towns, with provision, that were besieged

by their own armies; and to furnish the enemy with ammunition, and other necessaries; without which they could not continue the war. Their motive and their apology was, that they, by this means, kept in their own hands the profits with which other nations would be enriched.



the soldiers even spare the churches, from whence they carried vast quantities of plate, and other valuable moveables. Colonel *Van Dort* was appointed governor of the town, and a strong garrison left to support his government. His first act was, to publish a manifesto, in the name of the states, allowing liberty of conscience to all who would take an oath of fidelity to the republic of the *United Provinces*. He then hoisted the *Spanish* flag, in order to deceive the *Spanish* and *Portuguese* shipping, and had the good fortune to seize eight rich merchantmen by the stratagem. *Willekens* dispatched three men of war to *Europe*, with an account of the success of the expedition. On their voyage they took several valuable prizes, and their arrival in *Holland* gave the greatest satisfaction, as it was not doubted but the entire conquest of the *Brasil*s would be the consequence <sup>a</sup>.

The Spaniards miscarry in an expedition to the provinces.

WHILE the *United Provinces* were thus victorious in *America*, the court of *Spain* was making great preparations to oppress them in *Europe*, and bring to an end a war which had hitherto served only to draw the treasures of *Peru* and *Mexico* into *Holland*. The designs of the *Spaniards*, however, created less uneasiness to the states, than the conduct of their allies, whose rapacity became more troublesome than their services were useful. *Mansveldt*, destitute of money and provisions, in *East Friseland*, kept possession of several fortresses, which he offered to sell to the states general for three hundred thousand florins; a proposal that was accepted, though extremely unjust, because his troops were expressly hired for that service. By this means the *Dutch*, who were already in possession of *Embsen*, <sup>b</sup> formed a good barrier on that side against the incursions of the *Germans* and *Spaniards*. *Mansveldt* now resolved to penetrate into the bishopric of *Munster*; but, being defeated in several enterprizes he had formed, his troops deserted so fast, that he returned to *Holland* with a number of officers, who professed themselves entirely at his devotion, rivetted to his fortune. The severity and duration of the frost encouraged the *Spaniards* quartered in *Cleves* to undertake two expeditions upon the ice. They crossed the *Yssel*, entered *Velau*, and penetrated to the province of *Holland*, in which they had not before set foot for a number of years. By the other expedition it was proposed to invade the territory of *Drente*, and the province of *Groningen*. Prince *Maurice*, hearing of the preparations at *Antwerp*, frustrated the design, put the fortresses into the best posture of defence, and employed <sup>c</sup> several thousand men in breaking the ice at all the passages; yet could not all his vigilance prevent the count *de Berg* from crossing the *Yssel*, with forty troops of horse and ten thousand infantry, overwhelming *Dutch Guelderland* with consternation, and advancing to *Arnhem*, a place to which he laid siege. The garrison had been seasonably reinforced; it made a vigorous resistance; but the excessive inclemency of the weather gave greater obstruction to the count's progress, than the fire and sallies of the besieged. He therefore dropped the enterprize, and pushed forward to *Eede*, where he received advice that the prince of *Orange* was arrived at *Utrecht*, with all his forces, and forty pieces of cannon. This intelligence broke all his measures, and he began to think of an expeditious retreat, from an apprehension he should be shut up by the breaking of the frost, and exposed to <sup>d</sup> famine, and the hazard of a defeat. He retired with precipitation, and repassed the *Yssel*, abandoning all the great designs he had formed, with the loss of near half his army, which perished by cold, hunger, or the sword; the *Dutch* garrisons in *Arnhem*, *Zutphen*, and *Deventer*, sallying out upon his rear, and making prodigious slaughter. Nor was the other expedition very successful, though it bore the most promising aspect; it ended in burning some villages, and taking prisoners a number of peasants; the prince of *Orange*'s diligence entirely confounded the *Spaniards*, who thought to find the provinces defenceless, and lulled in profound security.

STILL the old quarrel continued between the elector of *Brandenburgh*, assisted by the *Dutch* and *German* protestants; and the duke of *Newburgh*, supported by the *Spaniards* <sup>e</sup> and catholic powers, about the succession to the duchy of *Juliers*. The wretched inhabitants of *Cleves*, *Juliers*, *la Marc*, *Ravensberg*, and *Ravestein*, were equally oppressed by both parties; each of which endeavoured to support their claims at the expence of the country. This gave birth to a negotiation between the elector and duke, whereby it was proposed to compromise a difference, that tended only to desolate the people whom both called their subjects. A treaty was signed, and the parties sent the articles to the *Hague* and *Brussels*, to receive the sanction of the states, and the archduchess. But neither the *Spaniards* nor the *Dutch* chose to resign the towns they possessed in the countries disputed; and thus the whole negotiation was rendered fruitless, and the inhabitants kept in a state <sup>g</sup> of grievous oppression.



a A STRICT regard to the several interests, was the only particular in which the archduchess and the states of the *United Provinces* agreed. While that princess joined issue with the *Dutch*, in rejecting a treaty which would have restored peace to the territories of *Juliers* and *Cleves*, she was taking measures to repair the losses lately sustained on the ocean, and recompense the miscarriage of the late expeditions into the provinces. With this view she had collected a considerable naval force at *Dunkirk*, consisting of nine large men of war, and a great number of small privateers, with which incredible damage was done to the *Dutch* commerce. Besides a variety of other vessels, fifty fishing busses, and an *English* man of war of fifty guns, were taken by the enemy; in a word, so formidable was this squadron, that the states offered a reward of ten thousand florins, and the benefit of the prize, to whoever should equip a force sufficient to take one of the larger vessels; the same reward was offered for each of the nine men of war, and a proportionable gratuity for single privateers. Excited by these promises, a number of adventurers soon appeared; and, among the rest, general *Lambert*; who, with a considerable force, gave chase to six men of war, as they quitted *Dunkirk*, came up with them, and maintained a bloody engagement for several hours. He was killed by a musket-ball in the heat of the action, a great number of his people perished, and the whole *Dutch* fleet was extremely shattered: but the enemy did not fare better; one of their ships, with the whole crew, went to the bottom; another was driven ashore, and destroyed; and the four remaining men of war sheered off in a wretched plight to the *English* coast. Though this engagement did not prove decisive, it however checked the ardour of the *Spaniards*, who now slackened greatly in their cruizes, and appeared with more caution out of their harbours. The *Dutch*, however, fully ballanced the losses sustained here, by other more fortunate cruizes on the coasts of *Spain*, *Portugal*, and *Barbary*. Among other valuable prizes, they took a ship laden with the plate, rich furniture, and money, of the count *de Lemos*, viceroy of *Sicily*, estimated at one hundred and fifty thousand pounds sterling<sup>a</sup>.

Naval transactions.

THESE, and other misfortunes obliged the *Spaniards* to have recourse to extraordinary methods to repair their marine; for which purpose several *French* ships were detained in their ports, and the crews and shipping employed in the king's service. *France* remonstrated upon this violence offered to the rights of nations, but could obtain no redress; and this furnished a pretext for a closer alliance between the *French* king and the provinces. Ambassadors were sent to *Paris*, and a treaty was concluded; whereby the states agreed, on their part, not to enter upon any negotiations of peace, or even a truce, without the consent of his most christian majesty; to associate the king's subjects in the trade to the *East Indies*; to allow the free exercise of their religion to the *French* ambassador, his domestics, and the king's troops serving in the provinces, provided this was done in so private a manner as to give no umbrage to the professors of the established religion of the provinces; and to revoke their treaties with the corsairs of *Barbary*. At the same time the states contracted an alliance with the crown of *England*, which never proved of any service, unless we except the opportunity with which it furnished the *Hollanders*, of gaining possession of some *English* settlements in the *East Indies*, by the most insidious and barbarous conduct, which *James* was too indolent and pusillanimous to resent<sup>b</sup>.

Treaty with France.

WHAT rendered the *Dutch* more eager to fortify themselves by alliances, were the vast preparations making by the *Spaniards* and the archduchess in the *Netherlands*, where it was reported an army of fifty thousand men would open the campaign. One division of this extraordinary force, was destined to act in *Brabant*, and to lay siege to *Breda*, under the conduct of *Spinola*. It consisted of twenty-six thousand infantry and five thousand cavalry. A second corps of nine thousand foot, and three thousand horse, under the count *de Berg*, it was proposed, should attack the places held by the *Dutch* and the elector of *Brandenburgh*, in the duchies of *Juliers* and *Cleves*; while a third body was to form a flying camp, and make inroads into the provinces, by means of the *Vaal* and *Meuse*. The command of this camp was assigned to *Juan Bravo de Lagunas*. All that the states could oppose to so formidable an army, was a corps consisting of thirteen thousand infantry and four thousand horse, under the immediate command of the prince of *Orange*, and another of six thousand foot, and eighteen troops of dragoons, conducted by prince *Henry*, but subject to the orders of *Maurice*. The former was destined to oppose *Spinola*, and the latter to cover the countries which the count *de Berg* was directed to invade. On the sixteenth day of *July*, *Spinola* quitted *Brussels*, and advanced with his whole army towards *Heusden*, which alarmed *Breda*, though he had taken every measure to conceal his real design upon

Preparations of the Spaniards.

<sup>a</sup> NUVILLE, Hist. tom. i. lib. v.

<sup>b</sup> Vid. vol. x. Mod. Univ. Hist.



that city. *Justin Nassau*, the natural son of *William* prince of *Orange*, was governor of *Breda*; he supplied the garrison in the most plentiful manner with provisions and ammunition, broke down the bridges and avenues to the city, ruined the surrounding mills, laid the adjacent country waste, and destroyed whatever could prove useful to the enemy, or any way assist their approaches. Prince *Henry* used the same precautions for the security of *Rees* and *Emmeric*, and armed the peasants to defend the passes. In the month of *August*, the count *de Berg* laid siege to *Mundeberg*, garrisoned by *Brandenburghers*, and obliged it to surrender. Thence he marched to *Cleves*, which so alarmed the garrison, that, retiring to the citadel, they left the city open to the *Spaniards*, upon which the magistrates presented the keys to the *Spanish* general, and put themselves under the protection of the archduchess. Soon after the citadel surrendered, after a feeble resistance; and the victorious *Spaniards* without regarding their promises to the magistrates, obliged the townsmen to purchase an exemption from being pillaged, at an enormous price. After taking an oath of fidelity to the archduchess from the inhabitants, the count formed several unsuccessful enterprises against *Ravestein*, leaving a strong garrison in *Cleves*. However he found means to reduce *Griet* and *Genep*, before he marched to join *Spinola*, who had by this time invested *Breda*.

*Siege of Breda.*

THIS city was among the strongest and most considerable places in the *Netherlands*, being fortified with the utmost caution and ability, by the late and present princes of *Orange*. The citadel, which formed the residence of the princes of that family, was surrounded by a ditch of prodigious depth and height filled with water, and a strong wall, defended by three great bastions. The arsenal was celebrated for its extent, and the vast quantities of arms and military stores it contained. As to *Spinola*, he was perfectly acquainted with the strength of the place, and thought he should expose his whole army to immediate destruction, should he attempt an assault, before he had regularly carried on his approaches. He even resolved upon reducing the city by famine, as the method attended with least danger to his army; and accordingly begun with drawing trenches round for the space of four miles, erecting forts and redoubts at certain distances. He established his head-quarters at *Ginneken*, count *Iffemberg* was posted at *Haggen*, the baron *de Balançon* at *Teteringen* and *Terbaden*, while *Baglioni* had his head-quarters at *Conniberg*, extending along the descent of the river *Marck*, over which he had formed a bridge of boats. The redoubts situated between the quarters of *Spinola* and *Iffemberg*, lying betwixt the rivers of *Marck* and *Aa*, were defended by the *Italians* and the *Lasquenets*; from thence to *Baglioni's* quarters, by the *German* and *Irish* auxiliaries; along to the quarters of *Balançon*, by the *Flemmings* and *Walloons*, and the remainder of the trenches quite to that of *Spinola*, were defended by the *Spaniards*. Such was the disposition of the besiegers; every thing was conducted with the utmost regularity, and the court of *Brussels* entertained the most sanguine hope of success.

A. D. 1625.

ON the other hand, the garrison, consisting of seven thousand infantry, and several troops of horse, composed of *English*, *French*, and *Dutch* soldiers, took the most vigorous measures for their own defence. The *English* were under the command of colonel *Morgan*, who had frequently distinguished his valour in the service of the states; the *French* directed by colonel *de Hauterive*, and the *Dutch* troops were subject to the immediate orders of colonel *Lobre*, though the whole received their instructions from *Justin Nassau*, the governor. The *French* were opposed to the quarters of *Spinola*, the *English* to those of *Baglioni* and *Balançon*, and the *Dutch* troops were posted in that part of the city which was fronted by the quarters of the count *de Iffemberg*. In this manner did this memorable siege commence. The first advantage was gained by *Baglioni*, who seized a large convoy of provisions and stores coming up the river, converting the boats into a bridge. This loss dispirited the besieged, and reduced them to a stated allowance of bread; however, they were encouraged by the return of the prince of *Orange* to the *Hague*, after having retaken *Cleves*, and obliged the *Spanish* garrison to surrender at discretion. He now advanced to *Werkam*, and was contriving the means of diverting *Spinola's* attention from the siege of *Breda*, by a second attempt on *Antwerp*, which likewise miscarried, just as it was on the point of execution, though planned with the utmost caution and ability. Already the *Dutch* cavalry had gained possession of all the avenues to the city, the ditch was filled with boats, and several ladders applied to the walls in the night, when a *Spanish* centinel discovered the design. Immediately the alarm spread, the garrison was under arms, and the governor had the address to order a number of trumpets and warlike instruments to be sounded in different parts of the city, to apprise the *Hollanders* that he stood on his defence. By this the prince's troops were seized with a panic, they conceived a whole army enclosed within, they abandoned their posts with great precipitation, and were deaf to



a all *Maurice's* intreaties and menaces, until they got beyond the reach of danger. About ten days after, the prince prevailed upon his troops to resume the enterprize; but it was then too late, and he perceived before he could approach the city, that the garrison was prepared. This obliged him to withdraw his army, after which he retired to the *Hague*, where care, chagrin, and disappointment, brought on a disorder that ended with his life, in the eighty-eighth year of his age, forty of which had been constantly employed in the service of his country. He was buried at *Delft*, in the tomb erected for his father, regretted as the preserver of his country, and admired as the greatest statesman and warrior of his age. Vigilant, indefatigable, penetrating, cautious, enterprizing and sagacious, he united all the virtues of a general and hero, with the knowledge of a scholar. Particularly learned b in the arts belonging to the cabinet and the field, he had also made great proficiency in those more properly within the sphere of the gentleman and the philosopher. He had also a taste for the fine arts, especially drawing and architecture; but his principal study was engineering, fortification, and those branches of the mathematics which relate to the military art. In these he was a master, having proved the speculative knowledge by long and assiduous practice. His camp was the school of great officers, where persons of the highest distinction, and the best soldiers in *France*, received the first principles of education. Ambition was his prevailing foible. This had led him into some violences inconsistent with the general tenor of his conduct, displeasing to his countrymen, and almost destructive of liberty. He gave birth to a faction, which had more than once endangered his life, that, to this day, c continues to divide the republic, and will probably, in the result, hasten the dissolution of the government, the subjection of the provinces to some foreign power, the total loss of freedom, and that natural liberty for which the *Hollanders* had so long and so strenuously struggled. His ambition, however, was the weakness of a great mind; it sometimes shaded, but never concealed his extraordinary merit, his generosity, and patriotism; like a cloud before the sun, it damped the ardour, but could not obscure the whole radiance of his glory (A).

Prince Maurice's death and character.

WHILE prince *Maurice* was busied before *Antwerp*, while he lay sick at the *Hague*, and during the general despondency that succeeded his death, *Spinola* prosecuted the siege of *Breda* with the utmost diligence and vigour. On his pushing his trenches near the bastions, the besieged began a terrible fire to retard his approaches, and sustained it with such vehemence and obstinacy, that *Spinola* was in hopes they must soon surrender for want of ammunition. But here he formed a false judgment of the prudence of *Justin Nassau*, who finding he could not accomplish his purpose, by the most terrible firing that ever was kept up, resolved to try the effect of water. With this view, he stopped up the course of the river *Marck*, and having formed a large basin of water, opened the sluices, swept away men, horses, and houses in an inundation, and overflowed the whole country. The chief force of the torrent fell upon *Spinola's* quarters, and he exerted his utmost ability to remove the consequences. He dug up large pits, and cut out ditches and canals to receive the water; but these being filled, and the whole ground covered over, so as to appear one uniform mass of water, served only to entrap his cavalry. The inundation was augmented by the rains which happened to fall, only the count of *Iffemberg's* quarters remained sufficiently dry for the infantry to encamp in; a mortality among the soldiers and horses ensued, and of his whole army *Spinola* had scarce twelve thousand men fit for service by the month of *December*. With these inconsiderable remains, lines of vast extent were to be defended, the works were to be advanced, the sallies from the garrison repulsed, provisions to be conveyed into the camp, and all this to be effected, while *Spinola*, who was the very soul of action, was confined to a sick-bed.

Operations of the siege of Breda.

IN the garrison, an epidemical disease and scarcity likewise prevailed; but the excellent regulations made, and strictly observed, enabled the town to hold out three or four months beyond the time expected. The magistrates bought corn, sold it to the bakers at a certain price, obliging them to sell the bread to the inhabitants and garrison at a price affixed,

(A) When prince *Maurice* returned to the *Hague*, he left his army at *Rosendal*, with orders that prince *Henry* should join it with his corps and auxiliaries expected from *France*. The instructions to *Henry* were to attempt raising the siege of *Breda*, on the junction of all his forces; but this he did not live to see accomplished, and the apprehensions he was under for this city, which composed a part of the family-estate, increased his malady, and accelerated his death. There were only three particulars respecting his military conduct, which he wished on his death-bed had been otherwise. He re-

pent of having fought the battle of *Newport*, which though it added to his glory, produced no advantage to the republic. He blamed himself for not following the counsel offered him when he reduced *Sluys*, of laying under water the towns possessed by the *Spaniards*, on the *Rhine* and *Meuse*; and he taxed himself severely, for not taking possession of *Spinola's* quarters before *Breda*, at the time the siege was forming. History cannot instance so few errors in the conduct of any man, who acted at the head of an army for the space of forty years.



and returning the overplus of their pay to the soldiers. A variety of other prudent regulations were established by the magistrates and governor, such as we do not find equalled by any instances recorded in history, upon a similar occasion, and all evincing the steadiness, sagacity, courage, and ability of *Justin Nassau*. A kind of rivalry appeared between him and *Spinola*, which should best fulfil their several duties. The *Spanish* general had himself carried about the works in a litter, he inspected and directed every thing, and displayed the activity of full health, at the time his life was in imminent danger from an acute malady. He ordered several breaches in the lines to be repaired, which the *Hollanders* had made by sap, with a view of introducing succours to the besieged, and drove piles into all the ditches and canals through which their boats could pass. He made drains to clear off the waters of the river *Marck*, succeeded in a great measure, and, by dint of perseverance, vigilance, and conduct, surmounted the greatest obstructions. He was now reinforced with a body of eight thousand foot, and fifteen hundred horse, many of the sick were perfectly recovered by his extreme care, and his army again was formidable, amounting to twenty five thousand infantry and eight thousand cavalry. Nor was prince *Henry* idle, who now succeeded to the titles and dominions of his brother, and was elected governor of *Holland*, *Zealand*, *Guelderland*, *Utrecht*, and *Overyssel*. He pressed *France* for assistance, and was joined by a body of cavalry under the conduct of the count *de Rouffi* and the marquis *de Rambures*. With this reinforcement, and a body of *German* infantry, he attacked the enemy's lines, and after an obstinate conflict was repulsed. He advanced a second time; but *Spinola*, who entertained a high opinion of his valour and conduct, did not chuse to wait for him in his lines; he marched out with the greater part of his army, seized upon a convenient post, and obliged the prince a second time to retire towards *Boisleduc*. Finding no prospect of being able to relieve the garrison, he sent a permission to the governor, to surrender on the best conditions he could obtain. This plan, which was signed with no name, fell into the hands of the besiegers, and *Spinola* sent it open, by a trumpet, to *Justin Nassau*, offering him an honourable capitulation; but that intrepid governor suspecting the letter was forged, because it was anonymous, replied civilly, that a permission was not an order to surrender; and that he should better follow the prince of *Orange's* intention, and shew his respect for *Spinola*, by continuing to defend to the last extremity.

By this time the garrison was diminished, by disease, fatigue, want, hardship, to half the number; but *Justin* put on such a countenance, as concealed his situation from *Spinola*. He frequently sallied out on *Baglioni's* quarters, where the *Italians* were perishing with cold and hunger, the whole subsistence of the besiegers depending on the contributions raised in the neighbouring territories. This produced a mutiny in the camp, that could not be appeased without applying violent remedies, and executing within sight of the whole army the chief ringleaders. One of the mutineers blew up *Spinola's* chief magazine, valued at two hundred thousand livres. Urged more by necessity than compassion for the besieged, *Spinola* sent a message to the governor, exhorting him not to force him to extremities, which might be attended with fatal consequences to a brave garrison; but *Justin* with equal art and dissimulation, answered, that *Spinola* was certainly ill served by his spies, as he appeared wholly unacquainted with the state of affairs in *Breda*, which which was fully provided for a siege of several months, and defended by soldiers who preferred death to the necessity of surrendering. At that time the besieged were not informed of the death of the prince of *Orange*, they flattered themselves with the hopes of speedy succour, and were entirely ignorant of prince *Henry's* late disappointment. They wrote to the army an account of their miserable condition; and *Henry* returned an answer, written with his own hand, and signed with his name, apprising them with the death of *Maurice*, the unsuccessful attempts made to raise the siege, and throw in succours, the great inferiority of his troops in point of numbers, the death of king *James*, whereby he was disappointed of a strong reinforcement: concluding, that he left the city entirely at the discretion of the governor, and other principal officers. The contents of this letter struck *Justin* like a thunder-clap. He had hitherto artfully concealed the total want of provision and ammunition from the enemy, and his own garrison, except a few officers, and other persons in whom he reposed confidence. The colonels *Hauterive* and *Morgan* would listen to no propositions, saying, that the honour of their several counties were concerned, and that they were responsible for the conduct of the *English* and *French* forces. They therefore required an express order from the prince of *Orange* to surrender, notwithstanding they pined under the united pressure of fatigue, scarcity, and disease. *Justin* acquainted the prince with their resolution, and he sent back an order to surrender, threatening with capital punishment whoever should disobey; but he requested that the garrison



a son would first acquaint him by a certain number of fires, lighted up in different parts of the city, how many days they should be able to hold out. Upon receipt of this order, eleven fires were kindled; but as the prince had sent a duplicate of the order by the other messenger, and this fell into the hands of the enemy, *Spinola* was now acquainted with the desperate circumstances of the besieged. By this he likewise discovered the mystery of the eleven fires: a council of war was assembled to deliberate whether they should stay the eleven days, and then oblige the garrison to surrender at discretion, or immediately offer conditions worthy of so brave a corps. The *Spanish* officers were of the former opinion; the count *de Berg* and *Spinola* supported the latter. At last the marquis, determined to pursue the dictates of his noble generosity, sent such terms as could not be refused. The count *de Berg* conducted the negotiation. Two separate capitulations were drawn up, one for the garrison, and the other for the city, and both the most honourable and advantageous that could be devised. They were accepted, and the garrison marched out on the sixth of *June*, after sustaining a siege for ten months, whereby they were diminished two-thirds of the number of troops with which they began the siege; nor was the loss inferior on the part of the inhabitants. *Spinola* drew up his army to salute them, and surrounded by his field-officers, paid particular compliments to the governor, the colonels *Morgan*, *Hauterive*, and *Lohre*. He distributed money among the soldiers, ordered the sick and wounded to be treated with the utmost tenderness, conveyed the rest in the manner most commodious for them to *Gertruydenburgh*, and displayed all the sentiments of a hero in the regard paid to the valour and merit of his enemies. In honour to the memory of prince *Maurice*, he resigned the command after this memorable siege, sufficiently contented with having set bounds to the conquests of that great general, upon whom fortune seemed to frown for the two last years of his life<sup>k</sup>.

*Breda surrenders, and Spinola resigns.*

THE surrender of *Breda* was matter of the highest satisfaction to the courts of *Madrid* and *Brussels*, rejoicings were made all over the *Spanish Netherlands*, and the archduchess, with her whole court, set out for the new conquest, into which she made her public entrance. She confirmed the privileges granted by *Spinola* to the inhabitants; and appointing *Balançon*, surnamed *Timber Leg*, because he had lost that limb at the siege of *Ostend*, governor, she returned to *Brussels*. Such a profusion of civilities were poured out on the inhabitants of *Breda* by *Spinola*, that the states general began to be alarmed at his conduct, suspecting he meant by his kindness to seduce other towns from their allegiance; but *Spinola* was actuated merely by motives of generosity. He admired and rewarded their constancy and fidelity, and simply followed the impulse of humanity, without a view to policy. However the states prohibited their subjects from all intercourse and commerce with *Breda*, which obliged the archduchess to renew former edicts, whereby all the *Spanish Netherlands* were strictly enjoined to maintain no correspondence, commerce, or connection with the *United Provinces*. The present edict differed only in one circumstance. In all former ordonnances, the *Dutch* were termed rebels and traitors; here they were simply called enemies.

WITH this siege ended the campaign in the *Netherlands*. The year was no less successful in naval transactions, than in military operations by land. Here the *Dutch* were more successful. After the affair of *Lima*, admiral *Hermit* pursued his course to the coast of *Chili*, with intention to amuse the enemy, to persuade them that he had dropt all further designs on *Peru*, and likewise to cruise for the plate-fleet, which he expected would set sail by the month of *December*. Being disappointed in this last project by the false information of a *Spanish* pilot, he returned to *Callao*, manned eighteen boats, entered the harbour, burned nineteen *Caracca* ships, a great number of frigates, and was on the point of taking a galleon, valued at two millions of pieces of eight, when he was discovered by the light of the fire from the ships. Above an hundred pieces of cannon were pointed against him, and plied with such fury that he was forced to retreat. A second attempt was made next day; but the strong reinforcement sent by the governor of *Lima* rendered it fruitless; and *Hermit* directed his course to *Guayaquil*, the most commodious harbour in *Peru*; where an immense treasure is always lodged, ready to be shipped on board the galleons. Here he embarked his troops, defeated the *Spanish* army, took the town, and seized the treasure; but, on his departure, unfortunately set fire to the place, which so incensed the inhabitants, that, in despair, they took arms, pursued the admiral, killed five hundred of his men, and obliged him to retreat with precipitation, the loss of his nephew, and great part of his booty. Determined, if possible, to revenge this disgrace, *Hermit* returned a third time to *Callao*, and planned such a scheme as must have inevitably

*Naval transactions.*

<sup>k</sup> LE CLERC, tom. i. NUVILLE, tom. i. passim. La vie de Prince Maurice, p. 56. Vie de Prince Henry, 4to. p. 22.

destroyed



destroyed the great galleon, which lay, like a floating castle, in the harbour; but his project was betrayed to the viceroy by two *Greeks*, who deserted to the enemy. Thus disappointed of the main object of his pursuit, though upon the whole extremely successful, the brave admiral fell into a fit of melancholy, and died with chagrin; upon which the command devolved on his vice-admiral *John Hugues*, who contented himself with cruising for the plate-ships between *Lima* and *Panama*, in which he proved extremely fortunate.

MATTERS went more untowardly in *Brazil*, where the *Dutch* fleet had been lately so successful. The reduction of *St. Salvador* was esteemed in *Holland* the most important acquisition made during the war, as it paved the way to the conquest of all *Brazil*; but as the *Spaniards* placed an equal value upon this town, they omitted nothing that could re-establish them in the possession. At the very time when admiral *Willekens* returned to *Europe*, imagining he had fully provided for the security of *St. Salvador*, by leaving a strong garrison of two thousand men, six men of war, several frigates, and great store of provision and ammunition; the *Spaniards* were equipping a squadron of fifty-six sail, under *Frederic de Toledo*, to drive the *Hollanders* out of *Brazil*. This fleet, manned with twelve thousand soldiers and mariners, arrived before the town about the close of the year, and laid siege in form; *Toledo*, debarking with the land-forces, while *Juan Faxardo* was left with the fleet to block up the harbour. The garrison made several brisk sallies to obstruct his approaches, but *Toledo* sustained them with vigour, watched every motion and opportunity diligently, plied his cannon with great spirit and ability; and at last effected a breach, just as *Faxardo* had destroyed several ships, and reduced the marine to such distress, that the sailors mutinied. In these circumstances *Van Dort* died of a fever, contracted from the excessive fatigue of the siege, and the heat of the climate. This increased the disorder in the fleet and the army. The *Dutch* sailors marched in a body to lay siege to the new governor, because he refused to surrender; which obliged him to capitulate, and march out of the town, without being allowed the honours of war; for *Toledo* had no idea of displaying the gallantry of *Spinola*. The garrison were transported to *Holland*, loaded with infamy, and the execrations of their countrymen, for having, by their own misconduct, occasioned the miscarriage of the most considerable enterprize formed by the *West India* company. All the soldiers and mariners were dismissed the service, and whipped out of the army; several of the officers were cashiered, rendered incapable of service, and suffered to live in disgrace and obscurity; and the new governor alone was promoted, for the perseverance and steadiness with which he adhered to his duty, under such embarrassing circumstances; but his name is not recorded<sup>1</sup>.

The states assist  
in oppressing  
the French  
protestants.

MEAN TIME the states concluded a treaty with the *French* king, whereby they agreed to assist him with a fleet to oppress his protestant subjects, and block up the sea-ports held by the *Hugonots*. The prince *de Soubize*, and his brother the duke of *Roban*, remonstrated to them on the iniquity of assisting a tyrant to oppress subjects of the same religion professed in the *United Provinces*, whose sole crime was, that that they would not sign articles against their conscience, and profess a mode of faith, which they deemed little better than idolatrous. The cities of *Roban*, the towns of *Montauban*, *Castres*, and a variety of other places, sent deputies to *Holland*, exhorting the states not to enter upon a measure so inconsistent with conscience, honour, charity, and every principal of humanity; they protested they would use their utmost endeavours to accommodate matters, and only requested that the states would refrain from hostilities, until the issue of the negotiations now on foot was decided. The catholic writers accuse the protestants of tergiversation; they allege, that the prince *de Soubize*, while the treaty was depending, and after the states general had consented to defer hostilities, set sail to attack the combined fleet of *France* and *Holland*. According to them, he pushed thro' the *French* line, and attacked the *Dutch* admiral in the rear; who, after defending himself with great valour, had the misfortune to be blown up<sup>m</sup>. The truth is, the states general were determined to gain the *French* king to their interest, by the most dishonourable concessions. He had consented to augment his army in the *Netherlands*; and they, in return, stipulated to employ their fleet against the *Hugonots*. They promised the protestant deputies every thing required, and had, at the same time, dispatched secret orders to their admiral to join the *sieur de Manty*, the king's admiral<sup>n</sup>. It was this junction, and certain motions made by the combined fleet, that alarmed the prince *de Soubize*, and occasioned the breach of the armistice of which he is accused. The states laboured to vindicate themselves, by throwing the blame on the *Robellers*; but time has not been able to wash out this stain on the reputation of a protestant republic, then waging a bloody war on account of religion.

<sup>1</sup> LE CLERC, *ibid.*

<sup>m</sup> MUNELLE, tom. ii. p. 18.

<sup>n</sup> Vide Remonst. de duc du Rohan.



NOR did this disgraceful treaty end in the single misfortune of a defeat. It was al- A. D. 1622,  
ways disliked by the populace in *Holland*, who generally push their notions of religion, ho-  
nour, and friendship, to a greater degree of enthusiasm than their superiors. The clergy  
in general, too, favoured the *Hugonots*. Some divines were so bold as to declaim from  
the pulpit, against the late treaty with *France*. In particular, the minister of the *French*  
church at *Amsterdam* distinguished his zeal, and so animated the people, that they ran in a  
tumultuous manner from church to the house of *Hautein*, the admiral, which they pillaged  
and destroyed. They next pointed their resentment against the friends of admiral *Bruck*,  
a commander in the late engagement; many of whom they insulted and beat in the streets.  
These disorders were not opposed by the states, who were therefore suspected by the *French*  
of conniving at them; though, in fact, they were prevented from exerting their authority,  
from an apprehension of a general insurrection.

THE loss of *Breda*, and the powerful army maintained by the *Spaniards* in the *Nether-*  
*lands*, rendered it necessary to divide their forces, and support *Manfveldt*, notwithstand-  
ing he proved so troublesome and expensive an ally. Perceiving that his forces were  
daily decreasing by numerous desertion, the states sent commissioners to *Emmeric* to re-  
view the remaining troops. They were found to amount to five thousand foot and twelve  
hundred irregular horse, which were to be augmented to a corps of eight thousand strong,  
to act, in conjunction with the troops of *Denmark*, against the imperial army in *Lower*  
*Saxony*. While *Manfveldt* was employed in making levies, the bishop of *Halberstadt*, with  
a detachment of four troops of horse and six hundred musketeers, made a feint motion to-  
wards *Brabant*, and, wheeling suddenly round, surprised the town of *Ordinguen*, which he  
sacked and pillaged. Soon after *Manfveldt*, having completed his corps, and received  
a reinforcement of two thousand *Hollanders*, traversed *Westphalia*, ravaged the bishopric of  
*Osnaburg*, and desolated the territories of the duke of *Lunenburgh*, because that prince had  
declined acceding to the league formed by the princes of *Lower Saxony*. Afterwards, in  
conjunction with *Halberstadt*, he cut in pieces a detachment of five hundred *Croats*. From  
this time, to the eve of the succeeding year, *Manfveldt* acted separate from the *Dutch* forces.  
He found means, however, by the remittances of the states, to augment his army to  
twelve thousand men, with a train of thirty pieces of cannon; with which force he pe-  
netrated into *Upper Saxony*, took *Zerbst* by escalade, and put the garrison to the sword. He  
then spread terror to the very heart of *Silesia*; but his infantry being cut in pieces by *Wal-*  
*lestein*, in an action near the bridge of *Dessau*, he marched with his cavalry to the marche of  
*Brandenburgh*, where he began to recruit his army. All this while the bishop of *Halberstadt*  
was making a powerful diversion on the *Wefer*, and harrassing count *Tilly*, the *Bavarian* ge-  
neral's army, that great general being himself confined by sickness. The bishop profited  
by the opportunity; he hovered continually on the skirts of the imperial army, destroyed  
their forage, cut off their convoys, skirmished with their detachments, and proved a very  
troublesome enemy; when he was seized with an ardent fever, of which he died at *Wol-*  
*fembuttel*, to the excessive joy of all the inhabitants of the surrounding countries, who re-  
garded the prelate as the scourge of the catholic religion, and a very Anti-Christ.

*Manfveldt's*  
*incursions,*

THE states were forced to act defensively during this whole year, which produced no-  
thing memorable. The civil divisions which again appeared in the provinces, obliged  
them to rely chiefly on the vigour of their partizan allies. Notwithstanding the people  
already tasted the sweets of prince *Henry's* gentle, moderate, and prudent government, the  
*Arminian* party, animated by the death of *Maurice*, formed a design of revenging their  
late sufferings; and by the exhortations of their banished brethren, began again to revive,  
and shew their implacable hatred to the house of *Orange*. The more moderate among  
them, however, endeavoured to prevail on the party to try the effects of more gentle mea-  
sures, by soothing the prince, and requesting that they might experience that favour which  
they had reason to expect from his repeated intimations. *Henry*, out of respect to his bro-  
ther's memory, and from an apprehension of disobliging the states, paid little regard to  
their remonstrances. He contented himself with general testimonies of esteem for *Hugo*  
*Grotius*, then at *Paris*, and with releasing from confinement *Hoogerbert*, pensionary of *Ley-*  
*den*. It is even supposed that he connived at the fresh persecution commenced in *Am-*  
*sterdam* and *Leyden* against this unhappy party. Here some persons of consideration in the  
government proposed, wholly to suppress *Arminianism*, and by prohibiting even the pri-  
vate exercise of the worship professed by the sect, and obliging them to subscribe to cer-  
tain articles drawn up by the national church, at one blow to crush a faction which had  
caused so much trouble to the republic. These measures were pushed with violence;

*Revival of*  
*religious dis-*  
*putes in Hol-*  
*land.*

• Vie du prince Henry.



they were opposed by all men of understanding, as equally unjust and impolitic; yet a possibly the debate might have given birth to a civil war, had not the general attention been seasonably diverted by a more important object.

THE great preparations of the *Spaniards* rendered it necessary, that the states should act with the utmost vigour and unanimity. The departure of *Spinola* from the *Netherlands*, gave the prince of *Orange* great hopes he should be able to retrieve the losses of the last campaign. He laboured diligently to put the army on the best footing, and had actually formed a corps of sixteen thousand foot and four thousand cavalry, which he commanded in person; together with another body of forces under the conduct of count *Ernest Casimir*, of twelve thousand soldiers. With this force the count invested *Oldenzeel*, which he reduced in the space of eight days, though defended by the famous *Monel *, a native of *Franche Comt *, in whom the archduchess had the utmost confidence, as he was the particular favourite of *Spinola*. On his side, the prince of *Orange* encamped near *Cronenburgh*, made a motion as if he proposed laying siege to *Wessel*, and erected a fort near *Iffselburgh*, to obstruct the works carried on by the *Spaniards*, to cut a canal from *Rhimberg* to *Venlo*. His great design was, to reduce fort *Rieldrecht*, on the frontiers of *Flanders*; for which purpose, leaving the main army under the direction of count *Stirum*, he embarked a considerable detachment in four hundred boats, collected on the *Vaal*, and set out on the enterprise, which was frustrated by the shallowness of the river, in consequence of a great drought. This expedition was succeeded by another against *Linghen*, in *Westphalia*, which likewise proved unfortunate. He now prepared to oppose with his whole army, the attempt to open a passage between the *Meuse* and the *Rhine*. During his absence, however, *Stirum* was attacked, defeated, and taken prisoner, by the count *de Berg*, who with an army covered the works. The conflict was bloody, and the chief advantage the enemy could boast was, that they made the *Dutch* general prisoner; and retired from the *Dutch* camp without being pursued, with about four pieces of cannon. So unexpected a blow could not fail of disconcerting the prince's measures; it likewise encouraged the *Spaniards* to form another project, little less important than the surprising count *Stirum's* camp. *Spinola*, who had not yet quitted the *Netherlands*, advised an attempt upon *Sluys*. Count *Horn*, with a choice body of troops, was detached upon this business, with orders to seize upon the harbour, the fate of which must determine that of the town; as cutting off all communication would effectually reduce the garrison to the necessity of surrendering; but the vigilance of the centinels disconcerted the whole scheme, just on the point of execution. The soldier, firing his piece on the approach of the *Spaniards*, alarmed the garrison; all flew to the ramparts; the count perceived he was discovered; but, determining to push his way, he approached quite to the draw-bridge, and was there saluted with such a volley of grape-shot as put his party in disorder, and obliged him to retreat with precipitation, his loss amounting to four hundred men, killed on the spot.

The Spaniards defeated in an attempt on Sluys.

AT this time *Spinola* was at *Dunkirk*, waiting the issue of the attempt on *Sluys*. He was greatly mortified to find it had miscarried, and spoke with resentment of the rashness of the count in exposing his men to certain death, after he was discovered. This made him advise the *Spaniards* to moderate their joy on account of the prince of *Orange's* late disappointments, which had miscarried through mere accident; their losses, he said, arose from misconduct<sup>p</sup>. It was here the court of *Spain* had erected an admiralty, of which *Spinola* was president. The new college, eager to distinguish its zeal, equipped a squadron, on occasion of the rupture with *England*, attacked the combined fleets of *England* and *Holland* destroyed four ships of war, and carried a great number of prizes into *Dunkirk*; but the *Dutch* soon repaired the loss and disgrace, by the defeat and capture of the large galleons, fitted out as men of war; and several advantages obtained over count *Philip de Mansveldt*.

THE more effectually to stop the courses of the *Dunkirkers*, the states provided a fleet of fifty cruisers in *Holland* and *Zealand*, to which *Lewis XIII.* joined seven large men of war, the finest ever built in *France*. *Spinola* endeavoured to provide for the security of all the ports which he feared might be insulted; and carefully concealing from the prince of *Orange* the scarcity of money, made such efforts as greatly exceeded expectation, and increased the reputation he already acquired for activity and address in the most difficult conjunctures. The troops which he ordered to file to the frontiers of the provinces, alarmed the states-general for *Bergen-op-zoom*, *Grave*, and *Flushing*, into which they put strong garrisons, supplying them with abundance of provision and military stores.

A. D. 1627.

As soon as the rigour of the season would permit, the prince of *Orange* advanced with his army between *Nimeguen* and *Arnheim*. This obliged the *Spaniards* to recal the prince of *Iffselburgh*, after he had been detached with two thousand men to join count *Tilly*, in



a *Lower Saxony*, against the forces of *Denmark* and the circle. It was supposed the prince would undertake the siege of *Wessel*; to prevent which the count *de Berg* approached to *Gueldres*. *Henry*, however, either had no design upon *Wessel*, or he dropped it, in order to invest *Groll*, a town the most conveniently situated for the obtaining a clear, undisputable frontier. Success in the enterprise would likewise deprive the *Spaniards* of a place extremely conveniently situated for laying the adjacent territories of *Overijssel*, *Drent*, *Twent*, *Groningen*, and *Friseland*, under contribution. Thirty years before *Groll* had been reduced by prince *Maurice*; was retaken by *Spinola* ten years after; and now was besieged by prince *Henry*, with an army composed of one hundred and sixty-eight companies of infantry, fifty-five troops of cavalry, and a fine train of artillery. All the passes were immediately blocked up, and the trenches were formed with the utmost vigour. The garrison consisted only of twelve hundred men; but it was augmented by a number of the inhabitants, who formed themselves into companies, and performed excellent service. Old *Dulken*, a soldier of great valour and experience, was governor; but age and infirmity confining him to his chamber, he devolved the chief care upon *Verreiken*, an officer who had already distinguished his capacity. The count *de Berg* hovered round with his army, greatly incommoded the besiegers, and closely watched every opportunity of succouring the garrison, who shewed they were determined to act with the utmost spirit, by a sharp sally made on the quarter of *Ernest of Nassau*, which he repulsed after an obstinate conflict, though supported only by fifteen companies of infantry. The trenches were opened on the twentieth of *July*; the siege continued to the eighteenth of *August*, when the garrison, perceiving that their repeated sallies answered no purpose but to weaken themselves, and that they could expect no assistance from the count *de Berg*, began to relax in their vigour. A wound which the governor received in the shoulder, the demolition of the principal works, the dismounting of almost all the artillery, and the great strength of prince *Henry's* lines, which were incapable of being forced, greatly disheartened the garrison. They saw the *English* and *French* auxiliaries pushing their operations to the foot of the wall, and colonel *Hauterive* ready to spring a mine, which would open a vast breach; this determined them to send a trumpet to the prince, requesting leave to give the count *de Berg* notice of their situation: this being refused, the brave garrison renewed hostilities, made a vigorous sally, and filled the trenches with carnage. Their attack was exceedingly brisk, and nothing but the great superiority of the besiegers, and the prodigious strength of prince *Henry's* works, could have prevented this little garrison from cutting their way through to the army. At last they capitulated upon the same honourable conditions that *Spinola* granted to the city of *Breda*. *Henry* indeed rivalled the humanity of that great commander, and poured out civilities on the soldiers and inhabitants. Count *Stirum* was appointed governor, the old fortifications were repaired, and a variety of new works added.

Prince Henry reduces Groll.

SEVERAL enterprises which the *Spaniards* formed against *Zealand* miscarried; *Groll* was reduced, and *Berg* now appeared as unfortunate as *Maurice* and *Henry* had been the three preceding years. The prince of *Orange* pursued his advantages, and by several spirited attacks, and judicious operations, dislodged the enemy from all the posts they had to secure the navigation of the *Scheld*. He likewise harrassed them in *Westphalia*, in *Brabant*, and on the *Wessel*. But in the midst of these successes a rupture with *England* was apprehended. The *English*, on account of the depredations of the *Dutch* in the *East-Indies*, had detained three *Dutch Indiamen*, which had put in by stress of weather into *Portsmouth*. To demand restitution, the states sent an ambassador to the court of *London*; and, to give weight to their negotiations, ordered a strong fleet to be speedily equipped, under the conduct of admiral *Orbel*. This produced the effect; a promise was given of making immediate restitution; and a plan projected for uniting the two nations by a more close and intimate connection. The intention was to secure themselves against the depredations of the *Dunkirkers*, who incredibly annoyed the commerce of the Channel. The allies agreed to fit out a joint fleet of an hundred cruisers; but the terrible storms that came on in the month of *October*, and continued for several weeks, prevented the fleet from putting to sea, damaged them in the harbours, and dissipated the whole scheme, from which so much was expected. The *French* king laboured to dissolve this union between the crown of *England* and the *United Provinces*, for he was then busied in reducing his protestant subjects, powerfully assisted by *Great-Britain*. The most expeditious method of effecting his purpose was, to renew the treaty whereby the states engaged not to unite themselves with the enemies of *France*; nor was it difficult to procure this point, as the *Dutch* had now effectually answered the intention of uniting with *England*, having had restitution made of the *East Indiamen*, and relinquished the project against the *Dunkirkers*. The king readily allowed that the states should not commit hostilities against the *English*, notwithstanding they were his enemies;

Treaties with France and England.



and they, in return, engaged not to afford them any assistance, and even to refrain from supplying the protestants of *France* with military stores. Soon after, however, the states-general, finding that their being restricted to conclude no peace, truce, or alliance, without the concurrence of *Lewis*, was injurious to their sovereignty, sent an embassy to procure an extensive and more honourable construction of that article of the treaty; which, after some difficulty, was granted.

Count Tilly  
advances to-  
wards the  
frontiers of the  
provinces.

WHILE *Spinola* remained at *Dunkirk*, he continued to direct the operations in the *Netherlands*. Already the *Dutch* had found the happy effects of his not executing his schemes in person; and now they entertained the most sanguine hope of a fortunate issue to the war, as that celebrated officer was recalled to *Spain*, and his authority distributed among a variety of persons, all unequal to him in point of genius and application. The government, and civil affairs, were entrusted to the cardinal *de Cueva* and don *Carlos Colonna*; the count *de Berg* had the command of the army. But while the states were felicitating themselves on the prospect this change presented, they were alarmed by disturbances from another quarter, and the approach of count *Tilly* to *East Friseland*, *Oldenburgh*, and the bishopric of *Munster*. Sensible of the inconveniencies that would result from the vicinity of so troublesome an enemy, the states directed that the chief posts on the frontiers should be well secured. To ward off the impending blow with greater certainty, a new army of twelve thousand foot and five thousand horse, was raised; with which count *Ernest* was sent to oppose the count of *Anhalt*, lieutenant-general of the imperial army, and commander in chief of the troops of *Cologne*; but all this diligence and vigour could not prevent the enemy from gaining some considerable advantages. The young count of *East Friseland*, in order to pay his court to the emperor, found means to introduce an imperial garrison into *Shikufen*, and some other places, where the states had formed considerable magazines. This success elated *Anhalt* to such a pitch, that he summoned all the towns of *West Friseland* to submit; he levied contributions in *Groningen*, and exhorted the people to receive the imperial army; he made an attempt to surprise *Emden*, in which the states kept a strong garrison, but was disappointed. Still more to alarm the states, *Tilly* marched another body of troops towards *Westphalia*, and the duchies of *Berg* and *Juliers*. The count *de Berg* availed himself of this favourable conjuncture, and threw in a strong reinforcement into *Linghen*, threatened with a siege by prince *Henry*.

THE states imagining that the imperial army had some other object than renewing the disputes about the duchies of *Juliers* and *Cleves*, ordered a part of the army to file towards the *Rhine*, for the security of *Rees* and *Emmeric*. While the count *de Berg* was employed in *Westphalia*, they likewise made an attempt to surprise *Strasburg* fort, built for the defence of the new canal at *Venlo*; but they met with so warm a reception from the *Spaniards*, that they retreated with precipitation. This enterprise, though unsuccessful, hurried the return of the count *de Berg* to *Guelderland*, where he applied with diligence to put the canal in such a posture of defence, by redoubts and forts, as would deter the enemy from any future attempts. He also began two other canals towards the extremities of *Brabant* and *Flanders*, in order to prevent the incursions of the *Hollanders*, and particularly of the garrison of *Bergen-op-zoom*, whose perpetual attacks greatly retarded the fortifications which the archduchess was erecting at *Saint Vliet*. But what chiefly incommoded the *Spaniards*, was the presence of the prince of *Orange*, who continually passed from *Lillo* to *Bergen-op-zoom*, to cut off the communication betwixt *Saint Vliet* and *Antwerp*. With this view *Henry* constructed three considerable forts beyond *Lillo*, whence he often set fire to the new fortifications, and destroyed several valuable convoys of provision coming by water from *Antwerp*.

The various  
fortune of  
war.

IN all these expeditions and operations the *Hollanders* were successful; but fortune seemed to abandon them in *Marstrand*, where their forces were defeated by the count *de Berg*; nor did they succeed better by sea, the *Dunkirk* cruisers having taken above forty rich prizes since the commencement of the season. At the *Hague* these losses were attributed to the wretched situation of the finances, which prevented the states from keeping on foot a sufficient land-force, and equipping the necessary number of cruisers. This obliged them to make certain exactions in *Juliers* and *Cleves*, under pretence of procuring payment of a sum of money due to them from the elector of *Brandenburgh*. On the other hand, the *Spaniards*, who supported the claim of the duke of *Newburgh*, oppressed the miserable inhabitants with heavy contributions, under the name of taxes and the usual revenue, which they had a right to receive, while the war was supported at their expence. The people, equally oppressed by their friends and enemies, had recourse to the emperor's protection; and the court of *Vienna* was delighted with this fair opportunity of keeping the whole succession in sequestration, and of using *Cleves* and *Juliers* as their own



a property, until one of the claimants should be reduced to cede his pretensions. Mandates were immediately published, declaring his imperial majesty's intention, forbidding all hostilities in the duchies, and requiring all foreign troops to quit the duchies of *Cleves*, *Juliers*, and *Berg*, with all their dependencies. This declaration was followed by instructions to count *Tilly* to advance with his army to support the emperor's intention. The first act of imperial authority exerted, was the banishing the *Dutch* protestant ministers out of *Dortmonde*, and restoring the catholic religion. The same was done in all the other places possessed by the states, in trust for the elector of *Brandenburgh*, where the imperialists found themselves superior in power. *Ravensberg* alone held out against the imperial commissaries, and protested against their authority, the magistrates declaring they would stand the consequences of a siege rather than submit. *Tilly*, perceiving their resolution, retired without attempting any thing against a little place which had shewn so obstinate an attachment to liberty. *Emmeric* and *Rees* were summoned, *Tilly* threatening them with all the horrors of war unless the catholic religion was immediately restored; but the garrison set him at defiance, and laughed at his menaces, perceiving that the prince of *Orange* and *Stirum* were both ready to succour them on the first motion of the imperialists. To shew the equity of their proceedings, the commissaries did not exempt the places in possession of the *Spaniards* from their visitations. Wherever there were protestant magistrates they were deposed, without regard to the capitulation with *Spinola*; the catholic schools and preachers were restored; and the utmost violences committed in *Wessel* before the people could be brought to submission. The duke of *Newburgh* lent his authority to those measures; but he perceived they were pushed too far, and that the people were more oppressed by the imperialists than they before were by the *Hollanders* and *Brandenburghers*. He complained to the court of *Vienna*, but obtained no satisfaction; and protestants and papists were left to bleed under the scourge of the most cruel tyranny.

*Fresh differences about Cleves and Juliers.*

THE elector of *Brandenburgh* equally suspected the designs of the court of *Vienna*, and represented her proceedings. To prevent therefore the troublesome and dangerous consequences of a sequestration in the hands of an ambitious grasping power, the competitors entered into a provisional agreement for twenty-one years; whereby they stipulated jointly to oppose all who, under the mask of friendship, violated their rights; and to stand by the partition that was made at the last negotiation. But, sensible that they could not force the *Dutch* and *Spanish* garrisons out of the towns they possessed, ambassadors were sent by both princes to *Brussels* and the *Hague*, requesting that the archduchess and the states would withdraw their troops, which would cut off all shadow of excuse from the emperor for continuing his oppressions. The states and the archduchess had too long tasted the sweets of those possessions, to renounce them merely from a principle of equity; they therefore returned equivocal answers, and thus, a second time, frustrated the effects of a treaty between the candidates, and deprived the inhabitants of the felicity they had reason to expect from so reasonable a partition.

A. D. 1628.

WHILE this affair was in agitation, the governors of *Groll*, *Breford*, *Rees*, *Emmeric*, and *Soest*, entered *la Mark* with a body of troops, to oppose the joint forces of the emperor and the king of *Spain*. Having thrown succours into *Ravensberg*, they attempted to surprise *Ham*, relying upon a correspondence which they maintained with some of the inhabitants; but a reinforcement expected from *Stirum* not arriving at the place of rendezvous, the scheme fell to the ground, and their friends in the town a prey to the enemy, who put them to the torture, and, on their confession, had them hanged, drawn, and quartered, as traitors. The garrison of *Groll* had better fortune; they surprised *Rattingen*, pillaged the town, and carried off some prisoners of distinction, and considerable booty. The garrison of *Grave* likewise seized upon a large convoy going from *Brussels* to *Maastricht*, in which were rich presents from the archduchess to the duke of *Modena*. Several other garrisons, encouraged by the example and success of *Groll* and *Grave*, made inroads into the *Spanish* territories, levied heavy contributions, and returned laden with plunder. A detachment from *Emmeric* fell into an ambuscade laid by the count *de Berg*; but determined to perish rather than surrender, the soldiers fought with the utmost fury, and, after an obstinate conflict, totally defeated and dispersed the *Spaniards*. The states had licensed these depredations; the scarcity of money obliging them to declare all the plunder the legal property of the captors; yet they could not avoid giving ear to the duke of *Modena's* complaints for the loss of his valuable presents. It was ordered that all which belonged to the duke should be restored; and to gratify the garrison, the sum of twenty-seven thousand florins was given them, as an equivalent.

*Several advantages obtained by the Dutch garrisons.*

\* NUVILLE, lib. vi. cap. 12.



Dunkirk  
blocked up.

MEAN TIME the new admiralty at *Dunkirk*, strictly observing the directions given by *Spinola*, became every day more formidable to *Holland*. The harbour was filled with rich prizes, and every day produced bankruptcies in *Amsterdam*. Their losses drove the *Dutch* merchants and seamen to despair; which made them enter into a league never to strike, but, if they found themselves overpowered, to blow up their vessels. To oppose the descents of the *Dunkirkers*, the states ordered all the coasts of *Zealand* and *Holland* to be carefully defended, for which purpose the boors were armed. Four thousand seamen were taken into the service, and all the natives of the provinces prohibited, under severe penalties, to enter into foreign fleets. A squadron of thirty ships was equipped, with orders to cruise along the *French* coast, and block up the harbour, while general *Van Dort* laid siege to the town of *Dunkirk*. A division of eight ships from this fleet having fallen in with a squadron of six *Dunkirkers*, a bloody engagement began; and, after an obstinate conflict, the *Hollanders* obtained a complete victory. One ship of the enemy was taken, and the rest so miserably shattered, that with the utmost difficulty they escaped. This success cleared the way for a fleet of rich homeward-bound *Indiamen*, which otherwise would probably have been taken. The siege of *Dunkirk*, however, went on but slowly; and it was at last proposed to block up the harbour by a chain of vessels faced with stone, and thereby made as strong as a wall; but, on trial, the project failed, and the projector was rewarded with ridicule. The *East India* company, however, lent their assistance to the government, to check the presumption of the *Dunkirkers*; and joined to the fleet already stationed before that harbour, a squadron of twelve fine men of war, which did not diminish the number of ships sent the following year to *Asia*; from whence we may judge of the great opulence of the company at this period.

Naval affairs.

THE measures of the *West India* company were not less vigorous, and they proved more fortunate. They had taken a great number of rich *Spanish* and *Portuguese* single merchantmen; they had destroyed whole fleets in the ports of *Lisbon*, *Corunna*, and *Cadiz*; and now their admiral, *Peter Adrien*, with a squadron of twelve ships, fell in with a *Spanish* fleet in the gulph of *Honduras*. He attacked the enemy with irresistible impetuosity, drove their ships upon the sand-banks, and, after obliging them to strike, took out their valuable cargoes and the prisoners, set fire to the prizes, and arrived safe with his booty in *Holland*, to the great joy and emolument of the company. But the instrument destined by providence to remove the great disorders in the finances, to enable the states to prosecute the war with redoubled vigour, and to raise the *West India* company to a rivalship with the company trading to the *East Indies*, was admiral *Peter Heine*. This bold and active officer defeated and destroyed a fleet of *Spanish* merchantmen and men of war in the bay of *All-Saints*, bringing home so prodigious a cargo of sugar as lessened the price of that commodity at every market in *Europe*. Encouraged by this success, the company equipped a squadron of thirty one ships, with design to intercept the plate-fleet. *Heine* was appointed the commander in chief; nor did his good fortune once desert him through the whole course of the expedition. In the month of *May* he set sail for *Mexico*, desolating, as he went along, the coasts of *Spain* and *Portugal*. He arrived at the *Havannah*, in the island of *Cuba*; where he expected to fall in with the flota, part of which was driven off by a storm to the coast of *Florida*, just as the ships were ready to put in to the *Havannah*. As to the flota from *New Spain*, it fell intirely into the hands of the *Dutch* admiral, after a faint resistance, and was valued worth fifteen millions of livres, in chests of silver and rich merchandize. This was the richest prize ever made by the *Hollanders*; the admiral therefore thought he could not be too cautious in an affair which so nearly concerned the republic; for this reason he set sail directly for *Europe*, arrived in *Holland* with the loss only of one prize, and two of his own ships, that foundered in a storm, which rose just as he had entered the chops of the channel. *Heine* was received with as much honour as the princes of *Orange* had been after the most signal victories. Bonfires were kindled in every town throughout the seven provinces, and the people flocked from all quarters to behold him as a prodigy. Nothing was to be heard but the ringing of bells, the roar of cannon, and the shouts of the multitude. *Peter Heine* was publicky entertained by the prince of *Orange*, in company with the king of *Bobemia*, the elector palatine, and the ambassadors of crowned heads. He had the honour of knighthood conferred on him; a civic crown, in gold, was wrought by the hands of the magistrates of *Amsterdam* to adorn his temples; and he was raised to the dignity of admiral of *Holland*, in the room of *William* of *Nassau*, killed at the siege of *Groll*, and with fuller powers than any of his predecessors had ever enjoyed.

The Spanish  
flota taken.

WHEN the whole wealth of the flota was landed, an infinity of persons of fashion crowded to see the curiosity; which proved fatal to the prince palatine, and had almost been so to the elector, the barge in which they were being overset, and the young prince drowned.



a drowned. After a minute calculation of the value of the cargo, the directors of the company divided fifty *per cent.* among the proprietors; a measure that was most bitterly censured by all judicious persons, who wished well to the establishment. The money would have been better employed, as they thought, in establishing such a head-colony in *America*, as the *East India* company possessed at *Batavia*; and this was the more necessary, as the society was now engaged in a bloody war with the *Spaniards* and *Portuguese*, without enjoying a foot of land in the *Brazils*, since the loss of *St. Salvador*.

The public rejoicings, which continued at *Amsterdam* during the whole month of *January*, were at last interrupted by a tumult that arose, because certain burghers refused to obey the magistrates who happened to be *Arminians*. The prince of *Orange*, who perceived the consequences to the state of keeping up the old fac-

A. D. 1629.  
Civil commo-  
tions at Am-  
sterdam.

b tions, resolved to abolish all party distinction, by supporting merit indiscriminately in the pursuit of public offices; it was supposed that by his interest the present magistrates had gained their election. This gave great umbrage to the *Gomarists*, who resented to see a proscribed set of men, the old and implacable enemies of the prince's family, now taken into his favour, and placed upon an equality with those who had always supported his interest. The whole mob of *Amsterdam* assembled to espouse the cause of the citizens who had refused to obey the *Arminian* magistrates; and *Henry* detached a party of twelve hundred soldiers to quell the tumult, and take the chief mutineers into custody. At the next assembly of the states an ordonnance passed, whereby the people were required to

c obey the magistrates, of whatever sect or religion they happened to profess themselves. The most riotous in the late tumult were confined, or mulcted in proportion to the degree of their guilt; and this severity so irritated the *Gomarists*, that great numbers retired to *Zealand*. *William Bogwert*, one of the most eminent, a person who was the tool of the *Gomarist* clergy, going out of the city, to execute the sentence of the exile passed upon him, was met by six thousand people, weeping and tearing their hair, all pouring out their benedictions, and regarding him as a martyr to religion. On his approaching *Haerlem*, crowds of people went out to meet him as another *Stephen*, and a saint who had suffered for his faith; without reflecting that no true mode of religion can be contrary to the dictates of nature and moral virtue, which enjoin order, and a strict regard to the laws

d of society. This sedition was scarcely appeased, when another, of a more dangerous nature arose among the seamen who had served under admiral *Heine* to the *West Indies*. They complained that the company had not only refused to augment their wages, but to admit them to any share of the immense wealth brought to the state by their courage. Filled with resentment at this usage, they began forcing and pillaging the company's warehouses, in which all the rich merchandize was lodged. A party of soldiers was immediately sent against them, but this would have proved insufficient had they not been gratified with a considerable sum of money; after the division of which they retired quietly, and again offered their services to the company, to assist in manning the new squadron equipping for a fresh expedition. e This fleet was composed of sixty stout vessels, and destined to reduce *Peru*, *Mexico*, and the *Brazils*; in a word, all that was valuable of the *Spanish* and *Portuguese* possessions in *South America*. However, the great expences of this armament did not prevent the company from advancing a large sum to enable them to pursue the war with vigour, and raise an army with which the prince of *Orange* should be able to make head against the enemy.

f THERE could not be a more terrible stroke to the *Spaniards* than the loss of the fleet. Already their military operations were at a stand for want of money, and the troops in every quarter were ready to mutiny. It was an additional grievance to see the money, with which they hoped to be masters of all the *Netherlands*, now employed to their destruction. The vast preparations making in *Holland*, since the month of *February*, threw the court of *Brussels* into despair. Many lords, and other persons of distinction and influence, took this opportunity of expressing their dislike of the measures of the administration, and the methods in which the war had been conducted. They threw the whole blame of the present misfortunes upon the *Spaniards*. To their jealousy they attributed *Spinola's* resignation, though he was the chief bulwark of the state; they accused them of rapacity, profusion, ignorance, and cowardice. The country, they said, was oppressed depopulated, and enslaved; their bad policy excited the resentment of the natives, merited the contempt of the enemy, and would soon produce the loss of the *Netherlands*. They complained that all preferments were bestowed on foreigners; to them was committed the defence of the frontiers, and to them ought to be imputed the loss of *Groll*, and all insults received during the last campaign; by which the inhabitants were reduced to beggary, the country desolated, and the court disgraced. The *Spaniards*, they affirmed, refused to

State of the  
Spanish af-  
fairs.

\* *LE CLERC*, tom. ii. p. 162, 167.

† *Idem.* *ibid.*



Prince Henry  
invests Boisle-  
duc.

bbeey the prince of *Berg*, the only person of high condition among them, who was capable a of conducting an army. It was the business of the prince of *Orange* to profit by these divisions at the court of *Brussels*, and the difficulty of putting the troops in motion; nor did he let slip the opportunity. Marching his army towards the frontiers of *Brabant*, he reviewed his whole force at *Nimeguen*, including the troops of *France* and *England*; sent his artillery and baggage to the *Meuse*, and publicly confessed his design of laying siege to *Boisleduc*. His army amounted to 32,000 men, divided into forty-three battalions, and three large brigades, besides a reinforcement of 6000 men, sent afterwards by the states, with a train of sixty pieces of cannon. The town was invested in the night of the 30th of *April*; though the governor *Anthony Schets* could not be persuaded till the next morning, that the enemy b would be so rash as to attack a place of such strength and importance. *Boisleduc*, called the *Maid of Brabant*, because it had never surrendered, though often besieged, was so regularly fortified as to be deemed impregnable. It was scarce accessible on account of the dykes and marshes with which it was surrounded, and required a large army completely to invest the vast extent of walls, fortified with seven strong bastions, defended by an immense wet ditch with canals and sluices, by means of which the water might be admitted or excluded at pleasure, and the whole country, if necessary, laid under water. A variety of strong out-works obstructed the approach of an enemy; and nothing was wanting, that art or nature c could give, to render this the most impregnable town in the *Netherlands*. Prince *Henry* fixed his quarters opposite to the center of the town, at the village of *Vucht*, behind fort *Isabella*. Under him served immediately the *French*, and part of the *English* forces. Count *Ernest Casimir* was posted to the north-east, at the village of *Hintem*; count *William* of *Nassau* had his quarters on the north side; the baron *Brederode* directed the siege to the south-east; count *Solms* was situated at the village of *Ingelen*, with the stores of provision and ammunition; while general *Pinsen* presided at the operations carrying on to the westward of *Boisleduc*.<sup>u</sup>

ALL *Brabant* was overwhelmed with consternation, and the court of *Brussels* in the utmost perturbation, upon advice that prince *Henry* had begun his approaches. The most pressing messages were dispatched to *Spain* for money, ammunition, and the requisites for putting the troops in motion. *Schets*, though labouring under a thousand discouraging circumstances, destitute of officers, and a sufficient garrison, determined to make d a vigorous defence; well knowing the importance of his trust. With the prince of *Orange*'s permission, he sent away all the women, children, and others, who served only to consume provisions; and placed his whole confidence in a garrison not exceeding two thousand three hundred infantry, and six troops of cavalry; notwithstanding several companies of burghers had formed themselves under his banners. He omitted practising nothing which long experience had taught him was necessary for his defence, resolving to maintain the great reputation he had acquired by a series of faithful, and important services. A seasonable reinforcement of eight hundred men, from *Breda*, slipped in with much address, on the fifth night of the siege, greatly animated the garrison and governor. The prince laboured to deprive them of all future succours, and pushed his works with e the utmost vigour, assisted by the peasants in the neighbourhood. In ten days his camp was surrounded by a deep ditch, which received the waters of three rivers, whereby the troops were supplied with all manner of provisions with ease and security. He began to build a great number of forts and batteries, in order to cut off the enemy from any communication with the river, in which he succeeded beyond expectation; turning the waters, intended for the defence of the town, to the great inconvenience of the garrison. For fifteen days had the besieged regarded the progress of these works without giving any considerable annoyance, from an apprehension of exhausting their ammunition. Great quantities of powder had been damaged by the influx of the waters into the town; so that the first sallies were made sword-in-hand, without the use of firelocks. The governor, f to prevent the soldiers from being dispirited, pretended that this was matter of choice, carefully concealing his great want of ammunition; and the troops, glad of an opportunity of shewing their valour, always behaved with the utmost gallantry (A). The batteries and trenches being finished, prince *Henry* played with fury against the forts *Isabella* and *St. Antonio*. The marechal *Chatillon*, at the head of the *French*, drove the garrison

<sup>u</sup> NUVILLE, tom. ii. lib. vi. cap. 14.

(A) We are credibly informed that the gallant marshal *Keith* made use of the same stratagem to conceal his want of ammunition, in that unfortunate action in which he was slain, in the service of his *Prussian* majesty; and that it was attended with singular success.

When the sword or bayonet are used, the soldier naturally imagines he has a better opportunity of distinguishing his address and courage, than when the whole depends upon levelling a musket.



- a from their out-works, on the first day of *June*, and pursued them quite to the gates of the town. Another body of *French*, commanded by *Hauterive*, lodged themselves in the counterescarp of fort *Isabella*, and were attacking the horn-work. The viscount *Turenne*, who was nephew to the prince of *Orange*, served at this siege, commanded a company of foot, and signalized himself in so extraordinary a manner as attracted the attention of the whole army. In every desperate attack, in every difficult situation, there the young warrior presented himself, with all the calmness of a philosopher. To him it was owing that another corps of six hundred men, from *Breda*, had not entered *Boisseduc*; with a party of three hundred men he totally defeated the enemy, and continued the pursuit, notwithstanding two painful wounds he had received. The *French* and *English* were rivals  
b on this occasion; the officers, and even the private men, being animated with a desire of particularly distinguishing themselves; yet, as no breach could be effected, no other opportunity offered than when the enemy sallied.

At last fatigue and repeated sallies had greatly diminished the number of the garrison, when their spirits were suddenly revived by the approach of count *Henry de Berg*, with an army of twenty-five thousand men. The count attacked the entrenchments of the besiegers, and met with a warm reception. In three successive attempts upon the camp he was foiled, and driven back with great slaughter; upon which he retired to join *Montecuculi*, who had entered *Cleves* with an army of fourteen thousand foot and three thousand horse. *Henry* found by intercepted letters, that the design was to make a considerable diversion; for this reason he ordered *Grave* to be put in a state of defence, and directed the  
c states to secure all the passes and avenues to the provinces. He then pushed his operations with so much spirit, that fort *Isabella* surrendered on the eighteenth of *July*, and fort *Antonio* the succeeding day, after the besieged had made two desperate sallies, in which the trenches were filled with carnage. The garrison, having done every thing that valour and conduct could effect, retired in good order to the town, and there seconded the endeavours of the brave governor. By the surrender of these two forts, reduced to heaps of ashes, they were at liberty to approach the town, and to point their cannon directly against the walls. *Schets*, who wanted men, powder, and provision, laboured to destroy his works. The most vigorous sallies were made, but to little purpose; the great superiority of the  
d besiegers repulsing every attempt\*.

MEANTIME count *Stirum* was detached with four thousand foot and twelve hundred horse, to oppose count *Berg*, who was meditating an invasion of the provinces. He crossed the *Yssel* without resistance, but was vigorously attacked in the rear by *Stirum*. Not long after *Stirum* was reinforced by three thousand men, from the camp before *Boisseduc*, with which he ventured to give battle, on the banks of the *Yssel*, to a corps of ten thousand *Spaniards*, under the conduct of *Dulkens*, late governor of *Groll*. The action was bloody and obstinate for the space of ten hours, when, most of the *Dutch* officers being wounded, the count was obliged to retire with great loss. He had, however, the precaution to break down the dykes behind him, by which means he obstructed the enemy's march into the provinces, overwhelmed with the terror of an invasion. On advice of *Stirum's* defeat, the prince of *Orange* quitted the camp with more than half his army, and was soon joined by several corps of auxiliaries, troops drawn from the garrisons, and new-levied forces; so that his army amounted to twenty-two thousand men, besides the troops left to carry on the siege. The enemy made excursions almost to the gates of *Amsterdam*; but they were soon thrown into despondency by the reduction of *Wesel*, which was surprised by the governor of *Emmeric*, and the garrison put to the sword, all except the governor, *Lozzane*, who was set at liberty, and soon after beheaded at *Brussels*, by order of the archduchess, for having, by his remissness, occasioned the loss of so valuable a city. The reduction of *Wesel*, in which the enemy had all their magazines, obliged  
f them to raise the siege of *Hattem*, abandon *Amersford*, evacuate the territory of *Velaw*, and repass the *Yssel* with precipitation; joined to the divisions among the general officers, it rendered fruitless the vast expence of raising an army of thirty thousand men, the last effort of *Spain* against the *United Provinces*, and enabled prince *Henry* to push the siege of *Boisseduc* without interruption.

STILL the garrison of this place, though cut off from all hope of relief, continued to make a vigorous defence; but the burghers and clergy, terrified with the effects of bombs and mines, besought the magistrates, with tears in their eyes, to avoid being pillaged, by requiring a capitulation. Moved with their distress, the magistrates resolved to grant their request, should the governor remain obstinate in refusing honourable conditions.  
g *Schets* paid little regard to the safety of the town; his whole aim was to gain reputation, and make such a defence as should deserve to be recorded to future ages. Though he had

\* Vie de prince Henry, p. 142.



Boisleduc  
surrenders.

powder but for a few rounds, notwithstanding his garrison was quite spent, emaciated, and diminished to a third of the number, he would have stood the consequences of an assault, after some practicable breaches had been made, were not the magistrates resolute to surrender the city. This obliged him to accept the advantageous proposals, and the military honours offered by the prince. Accordingly the garrison marched out, and was conducted to *Diest*; and as to the inhabitants, they were confirmed in all their privileges, and liberty of conscience was permitted. Thus ended the siege of *Boisleduc*, by which the reputation of prince *Henry* was raised to an equality with that of prince *Maurice*, and of the first generals of the age. His camp was filled with volunteers of the highest distinction; by whom his perseverance, steadiness, prudence, valour, and conduct, were published in every quarter of *Europe*. The conquest cost the states an immense sum of money; but the advantages flowing from it were so great, as to absorb every other consideration.

PRINCE *Henry* was no sooner in possession of *Boisleduc*, than he detached count *Ernest Casimir*, with a hundred and fifty companies of foot, and thirty troops of horse, to oppose count *John de Nassau* and *Dulkens*; who, in consequence of a reinforcement from *Tilly*, were preparing to make a fresh irruption into the provinces. *Ernest* acquitted himself with such diligence, that, having thrown a bridge over the *Yffel*, he was encamped on the opposite side, before the enemy had an idea they should meet with any obstruction. Reinforcing the garrisons of *Doesburg* and *Keppel*, he cut off the enemy's convoys, and their communication with count *Tilly's* army; insomuch that, to avoid perishing by famine, they were forced to retire precipitately to the bishopric of *Munster*, and petition *Ernest* for a safe-conduct. Colonel *Hauterive* likewise passed the *Rhine* with forty companies of infantry and fourteen troops of dragoons; and, laying siege to the strong fortress of *Ringelburgh*, took it by assault, in the space of ten hours, putting the garrison to the sword. Thence he marched to *Yffelburgh*, which he reduced in four days. With the same rapidity he subdued all the towns and forts which, from their situation, proved extremely troublesome to the *Dutch* garrison in *Wesel*, and filled the whole country with terror and desolation. The new garrison of *Wesel* were no less eager to distinguish their zeal and valour. Dividing themselves into three corps, one of which remained for the defence of the town, they sallied out in quest of plunder and glory. One division attacked *Rhimberg*, and was roughly handled by the *Spanish* garrison. The other was more fortunate. Having attacked *Duisburgh* in the night, it surrendered before the morning to the *Hollanders*. All the other places possessed by the *Spaniards* on the hither side the *Rhine*, and in the duchy of *Cleves*, soon yielded to the good fortune of this little party. In a word, the *Spaniards* were every where defeated, dispirited, desponding; since the sieges of *Boisleduc* and *Wesel*, they scarce ventured to hold up their heads, face the enemy in the field, or refuse complying with a summons, though secured behind walls. It was matter of surprize to see the strong fortress of *Roeborte*, defended by a garrison more numerous than the besiegers, surrendering at discretion; after having exchanged a few shot. This could only be accounted for the universal panic that prevailed \*.

William of  
Nassau's ex-  
peditions,

COUNT *William* of *Nassau* was the soul of these spirited expeditions. On advice that the elector of *Cologne*, and the bishops of *Munster* and *Paderborn*, were taking measures to assist the enemy, he sent them a peremptory order to desist from these designs, otherwise they would oblige him to lay their territories desolate. This menace produced the desired effect; they dropped their project, and suffered the count to go on with his expeditions without interruption. He reduced *Berg*, attacked *Solingen*, and carried the place sword-in-hand, giving the town up to be pillaged by his soldiers. A variety of other places submitted to him; he was weakened with leaving garrisons in his conquests; but this did not prevent his reducing the town of *Ongermunde*, the magistrates of which capitulated. *William's* soldiers, insolent with success, and excited by their late plunder to desire more, fell a pillaging the town without regard to the capitulation; which so incensed the burghers, that they took arms, attacked the *Hollanders*, and were on the point of driving the conquerors out of the town, when count *William* arrived with the troops encamped without the walls, and put an end to the combat, by obliging both parties to submit to the capitulation. In consequence of those conquests, the whole duchy of *Fuliers* was in a manner depopulated; the people deserting their habitations in the country, and flocking in crowds to all the fortified cities. *Cologne*, *Munster*, *Cleves*, and *Berg*, were much in the same situation. But the *Hollanders* published an edict, whereby they declared their sole intention was to oblige the *Spaniards* to evacuate the succession of *Fuliers*, and promising the natives all the protection in their power. This declaration restored, in some measure, the peace of the country; the people returned to their usual occupations, and were not

\* *NUVILLE*, tom. ii. p. 64.

alarmed



a alarmed at the progress of the *Dutch* conquests, considering they could not suffer by a mere change of masters, the *Spaniards* having treated them with great insolence and tyranny.

To this rapid course of good fortune in the *Netherlands*, the *Dutch* added a variety of *Naval affairs*: successes in *Asia* and *America*. Notwithstanding the *East-India* company were engaged in a bloody war with the emperor of *Java*, during which *Batavia* was twice besieged, their returns were immense<sup>r</sup>. This induced them to rival the generosity and public spirit of the *West India* company, by making the government a present of five hundred thousand pounds weight of salt-petre. The last-mentioned company, determining to pursue their late good fortune, and to establish a head-settlement in *South America*, which might vie with *Batavia*, b sent a powerful squadron to those seas, under the conduct of admiral *Loncke*, the companion and the friend of *Heine* in all his expeditions. In the month of *February* he arrived on the coast of *Fernambuco*, the largest division of *Brasil*, and detached *Vardenburch* with sixteen men of war and three thousand land-forces, to invest *Olinda*, the capital; but the resistance made by the out-forts obliged the fleet to reunite, and determined the admiral to attack the city with his whole strength. *Vardenburch* retained the command of the army, which was immediately debarked in three divisions, under the conduct of the generals *Elts*, *Honcks*, and *Steincallefeld*, who repulsed the *Portuguese* in three successive attacks they made to obstruct their landing. The *Hollanders* began their approaches towards the Jesuits quarter of the city, and soon took their college by assault, though strongly fortified. In consequence, *Olinda* surrendered; and the reduction of the capital was followed d by the submission of the whole district of *Fernambuco*, quite to cape *St. Augustine*. The *West India* company acquired great reputation by this expedition; and they were already considered as in possession of all *Brasil*, as general *Vardenburch* had in his letters extolled the great advantages of the reduction of *Olinda*, which, he said, gave the *Hollanders* such a footing, that the whole country might be reduced at a small expence. The public hope was augmented by the further successes of the armament. Leaving a strong garrison in *Olinda*, the admiral repassed the line, fell upon the town of *St. Martha*, and pillaged the inhabitants. Soon after he engaged *Frederic de Toledo*, sent with a strong squadron and five thousand troops, to the succour of the *Spanish* settlements; whom he defeated, c after an obstinate and exceeding bloody conflict, in which the *Spanish* admiral was, for several months, supposed to have perished. His ship being separated from the rest of the squadron in the engagement, foundered at sea; and *Toledo* with a few of his crew were saved by a miracle. Such a flow of success encouraged the company to fit out another fleet, which set sail, towards the close of the year, to complete their conquests.

A. D. 1630.

As soon as the season permitted, *William* of *Nassau* renewed his expeditions against the *Spaniards*, who still possessed some considerable places on the frontiers of the succession of *Juliers*. He defeated divers parties of the enemy, took their convoys, and was attended with all the good fortune of the preceding campaign. The first project that failed was one he formed against *Dusseldorp*. A party of soldiers was sent in the habits of women, e to seize upon that town, but they were discovered and disappointed. Next he failed in an attempt to surprise *Mulheim*, garrisoned by a body of Imperialists. The detachment of five thousand men, which he had sent upon that business, was surprised and repulsed by two thousand of the enemy. Indeed all the count's schemes were so refined and ideal, as well as dangerous, that to succeed they required the utmost good fortune and address. They were so connected with each other, that the failure of one occasioned a general disappointment; though it proved otherwise in the present case, for *William* was successful on the opposite side of the *Rhine*, though all his projects against *Dusseldorp* and *Mulheim* had been baffled. The town of *Sichtelen*, and a variety of other places held by *Spanish* or *Austrian* garrisons, submitted to the *Hollanders*. These rapid victories, and so long a series f of prosperity, however, raised a powerful confederacy against the count of *Nassau*. All the catholic princes on the frontiers of the provinces were alarmed. They gave out that the *Dutch* wanted to penetrate as far as *Frankfort*, and to throw themselves into the *Palatinate*, there to revive all the horrors of a war which had for ages desolated that country. It was affirmed their intention was to restore *Frederic V.* despoiled of his electorate and dignities; a project which the emperor thought himself particularly interested to obstruct. The elector of *Cologne* and the bishops of *Munster* and *Paderborn*, though over-awed by *William* of *Nassau*, privately solicited the emperor to oppose the states of the *United Provinces*, and protect the catholic religion and the dignity of the empire, which suffered extremely by permitting a handful of rebellious heretics to pursue unmolested, a course g of the most cruel tyranny and oppression. His imperial majesty lent a willing ear to the suggestions of the catholic princes; and fearing that the count *de Hanau* would declare for

Farther operations in Juliers and Cleves.



the *Dutch*, because he refused admitting an imperial garrison into his city, he ordered all the avenues to be blocked up, and *Hanau* to be in a manner besieged by the imperial army. This obliged the count to admit the emperor's troops, who were a few months after driven out by the *Swedes*.

ALL this time the *Dutch* were employed in the entire reduction of the succession of *Juliers*. On advice that the *Spaniards* were building a new fort on the canal between the *Rhine* and the *Meuse*, the governor of *Wesel*, making draughts out of his own and the nearest garrisons, detached colonel *Iselstein* to disturb the works, and if possible ruin the fort. His detachment amounted to nine hundred men, with which he ventured to attack count *John of Nassau* with a body of fifteen hundred foot and horse, defeated and took him prisoner after an obstinate engagement. This and other advantages gained by the *Hollanders*, determined the duke of *Newburgh* to repair in person to the *Hague*, to solicit the consent of the states to the partition-treaty lately concluded between him and the elector of *Brandenburg*. The states, perceiving that the *Spaniards* refused to evacuate *Orsoy* and *Sittert*, could not be prevailed upon to surrender *Emmeric*, *Rees*, and *Wesel*, with their dependent towns and territories. At last the archduchess consented to withdraw her troops entirely from the duchies of *Cleves* and *Juliers*; upon which the states began to relax a little from their former rigour, condescending to cede all their conquests, except the three towns just mentioned<sup>a</sup>. With this concession the duke of *Newburgh* was forced to rest satisfied; accordingly he took his leave, and returned to *Germany*.

Proposals for  
a truce.

IT was immediately after this negotiation that the court of *Brussels* made proposals for a truce between the arch-duchess and the states, for the space of 34 years, upon the same conditions offered twenty-one years before. The remittances necessary for the support of the war were entirely stopped at *Madrid*, and the catholic king seemed to take little concern in the event of the war carried on in the *Netherlands*. A treaty of commerce between the catholic and protestant provinces, about this time, had somewhat diminished that implacable animosity which had for so long a time subsisted between them. This, with a variety of other circumstances, the archduchess hoped would dispose both parties to listen to the means of establishing the tranquillity of the seventeen provinces, after a bloody war of sixty years duration. It was well known at the *Hague* that necessity dictated the proposals to the archduchess; however, they did not chuse absolutely to reject propositions, which might turn out more to the advantage of the provinces than even a successful war. After the conferences held at *Rosendal*, for the exchange of prisoners, the archduchess's deputies proceeded to the *Hague*, because the *Dutch* deputies had no instructions to enter upon the business of a truce. Opinions were divided in the assembly of the states general. Some persuaded themselves that an accommodation with *Spain* would incur the resentment of *France*; they urged, that while the republic had nothing to fear, it was absurd to consent to a truce, which was only giving the enemy time to recover their exhausted strength and spirits; and that *Holland* being now opulent by the wealth of the *Indies*, and powerful by the reduction of *Boisseduc* and *Wesel*, the two ramparts of the *United Provinces*, ought in her turn to treat the *Spaniards* with that haughtiness and insolence, of which they were so profuse in their prosperity. Those of a contrary opinion supported their sentiments by a variety of arguments, tending to evince, that a suppliant humbled enemy ought not to be despised; that the chance of war was uncertain; and that those who were this year at the very pinnacle of fortune, might next season be reduced to the lowest abyss of distress. These general reflections they corroborated by the sentiments of the late excellent patriot, *Barneveldt*, who, with the consent of the *French* king, had urged pacific measures in 1609. They might possibly have carried their point, had not cardinal *Richlieu*, bent upon retrenching the power of the house of *Austria*, traversed the negotiation, by means of the sieur de *Bouguy*, sent in quality of ambassador to the *Hague*<sup>a</sup>. This artful minister practised so ingeniously on the temper of the states, that, instead of concluding a truce with *Spain*, they renewed the alliance with *France*, then at war with the catholic monarch. The treaty differed but little from that signed in 1627, but never ratified. Here, as in the former, the states consented to enter upon no truce, treaty of peace, engagement, or alliance, without the consent of his most christian majesty. They likewise promised to assist him with troops, ammunition, cannon, &c. as soon as his army should enter upon hostilities in *Artois*, *Hainault*, and the other countries belonging to the *Spaniards*; the king, on his part, stipulating to pay a considerable subsidy to the states, and to employ the same number of forces in the *Netherlands*, which he had hitherto maintained. All the measures taken by *Spain* and the court of *Brussels*, to promote a truce, were disconcerted. No regard was paid to the *Flemish* deputies at the *Hague*; they were treated with the utmost contempt, and in danger of being openly insulted. An answer to their proposals was published, under the title of the Anti-truce; in which the courts of *Spain* and *Brussels* were lashed with

Treaty with  
France.

<sup>a</sup> NUVILLE, *ibid*.

<sup>a</sup> *Id*, *ibid*. LE CLERC, tom. ii. *ibid*.



a great severity, and indeed very little decency. Yet did not this discourage the archduchess from proceeding in her pacific designs. She had recourse to the mediation of *England*, and hoped to gain an influence with the mediator, by procuring the restoration of the elector palatine, brother-in-law to *Charles*, and nephew to the prince of *Orange*. The states themselves were likewise interested in seeing this unhappy prince re-established in the electoral dignity and his dominions; however regard for the prince did not operate so powerfully as was expected. They suffered themselves to be solicited for the space of four months by the *British* ambassador, and at last returned for answer, that when they had any thoughts of concluding a truce, they would acquaint their ally the king of *Great Britain* with their intentions. This put an end to the negotiation, and obliged the *Spaniards* to make the best preparations in their power for the renewal of hostilities.

*Conferences for a truce broken off.*

WHILE the prince of *Orange* was employed in the siege of *Boisleduc*, the *Hollanders* supported a vigorous war against the new admiralty formed at *Dunkirk*, which had struck such terror since the reduction of *Breda*, and the excellent regulations made by *Spinola*. The losses sustained by the *Dutch* merchants obliged the states to encrease their marine, and send the merchant ships under strong convoys. Early this season a powerful squadron put to sea, under the conduct of the new admiral of *Holland*, *Peter Heine*, and next day fell in with three *Spanish* men of war on the coast of *Flanders*. An action ensued, and *Heine* was killed by a cannon-bullet at the first broad-side; but his lieutenant concealing his death carefully, the mariners continued to fight with spirit, and the three *Spanish* ships were taken, and carried into *Rotterdam*, where the admiral's death was first divulged (A). This last defeat gave a considerable check to the *Dunkirkers*, and diffused a spirit of discontent and mutiny through the *Spanish* army and garrisons; who could not but attribute to misconduct, that the wealth intended for their maintenance should be the means of their destruction; and those very sums destined for their pay, enriching their enemies, and purchasing them all the conveniencies of life, while they were pining under all the miseries of hunger and nakedness. Crouds of deserters came over every day from *Breda*, and the other *Spanish* garrisons. Even the officers in the count *de Berg's* army quitted the service, and enlisted with the states. The peasants were oppressed with contributions, and the nobility incensed at the insolence of the *Spaniards*, and the preference given to foreigners. Even the clergy murmured, and declaimed against the remissness of the government, and lamented the danger that threatened religion. All these disorders, all these grievances, were charged by the natives on the proud foreigners, who enjoyed every emolument arising from places, pensions, and preferments, without contributing at all to the relief, the ease, and the security of the people. The states of the clergy and nobility assembled, to deliberate on the present situation of affairs, and the means of applying remedies to oppressions altogether unsupportable. Many persons were for submitting to the *Hollanders*, without regard to the protestant religion, which they had established, and their declared opposition to the catholic faith; but others, touched with conscience, and strongly attached to the religion of their ancestors, proposed deputing the archbishop of *Mecklin* and the duke *d'Arfchot*, to the arch-duchess, to represent to her the grievances of which the people complained; all of which had their rise in the preference shewn to foreigners. They gave her to understand, that, on condition they were not saddled with the ministers and officers of the *Spanish* court, they would willingly give up all the assistance in troops, and remittances in money, expected from that kingdom; not doubting but they should be able to defend their religion and liberty, under the general authority of his catholic majesty and the archduchess. The good princess heard their complaints, felt for their misfortunes, and promised to do all in her power to redress them. With this view she sent the count *de Solre* into *Spain*; but the duke *de Olivarez* destroyed the effects of her remonstrances. Disappointed in this hope, the archduchess endeavoured to ease her subjects, by opening a free intercourse of trade between them and the states of the *United Provinces*<sup>b</sup>; and as the *Hollanders* and the prince of *Orange* shewed no dislike to this project, she mistook their attachment to commerce for an inclination to renew the conferences for a truce; but soon perceived that they were resolved to pursue their good fortune, until a proper barrier, and firmer security were procured for the republic.

*The miserable situation of the Spanish Netherlands.*

<sup>b</sup> NUVILLE, tom. ii. cap. 8.

(A) The admiral's remains were conducted with great solemnity to *Delft*, where they were interred with the utmost pomp and magnificence, in the great cemetery set aside for the monuments of illustrious persons, who have done their country important services. Deputies from the states general and the states of *Holland* and *Zeland*, the directors of the *East* and *West India* companies,

all the different corporations at *Amsterdam*, and a great number of persons of distinction, honoured the funeral with their presence. A superb monument, graced with the relation of his exploits, was erected at the public expence, and *Peter's* memory continues at this day to be admired, honoured, and esteemed.



Richlieu  
makes an at-  
tempt to seize  
upon the city of  
Orange.

SINCE the late treaty with *France*, cardinal *Richlieu* directed the counsels of the states general, and soon discovered that all his good offices towards the republic had their source in self-interest. While he was caressing the states, and cajolling the people with the hope of powerful succours from the *French* king, he was secretly contriving the means of seizing on the town of *Orange*, and the patrimony of prince *Henry*. For some time he had maintained a clandestine correspondence with the *sieur de Walkemburg*, governor of the city, who, notwithstanding he was the great favourite of the prince his master, could not avoid lending an ear to the bewitching solicitations of *Richlieu*, who of all men best understood the human heart, and most successfully employed the talent of seduction. *Walkemburg* consented to surrender the place to the cardinal for the sum of four hundred thousand livres in money, and an estate in *Provence* of twenty thousand livres in value; but insisting upon being put in possession of the whole, before he admitted a *French* garrison, the negotiation was protracted, and the prince had some intimation of his infidelity. The government of the town and citadel was triennial; but the prince, out of regard for *Walkemburg*, broke through the rule, and continued him in the government beyond the usual time. Immediately, on advice of his treachery, the office was bestowed on *Knuyth* a *Zealander*, who pursued his instructions with great address, assembled a body of troops with the utmost expedition and privacy, got possession of the city, blocked up *Walkemburg* in the house of a burgher where he had dined, killed him in a scuffle that ensued on his refusing to surrender, and then laid siege to the citadel, which the lieutenant-governor gave up, on being informed of *Walkemburg's* death, and *Knuyth's* commission. This laid the foundation of that rivetted aversion which the prince ever afterwards entertained for the cardinal, and opposition to the grandeur of the house of *Bourbon*, constantly shewn upon all occasions by the succeeding princes of the family of *Orange*.

The stadtholder-  
ship made  
hereditary.

THE prudence, the valour, and the great moderation of prince *Henry* had raised him to a higher degree of credit with the states and the people, than even his brother or father had acquired. Perceiving that he had no intention to abuse his authority, or encroach on the liberties of his country, they resolved to testify their gratitude, by rendering the stadtholdership hereditary in his family, and raising his son to the office of general of the cavalry, though then only in the fifth year of his age. These acts of acknowledgment were accompanied by particular demonstrations of the joy of the people; and a solemn deputation from the states general waited upon the prince with the strongest assurances of their esteem and gratitude. The young prince's commission was presented in a gold casket, and compliments were poured in daily from the states of all the provinces. But the attention required to these ceremonials did not divert *Henry* from the business of the state; he resolved to shew himself worthy of his new honours, by a double portion of diligence. Assembling his army near *Emmerick*, where he had formed vast magazines of corn imported from *Dantzick*, his great preparations alarmed the courts of *Brussels* and *Madrid*, as they still entertained remote hopes, that the truce might yet take place. The archduchess, sensible that it was vain to flatter herself longer with this prospect, exerted herself to put the army in a condition to take the field, and for that purpose laid additional taxes on the clergy and people. A proceeding so necessary when the treasury was quite exhausted, excited the clamours of the *Flemings*; and the ill-judged policy of the court of *Madrid* increased their discontent, by appointing the marquis *de Santa Cruz* to succeed *Spinola* in the command of the forces, an employment which the people hoped would be conferred upon a native of the *Netherlands*. To sweeten the draught, which it was well known would prove unpalatable to the *Flemings*, a report was spread, that the marquis was to serve under the cardinal *Ferdinand* of *Austria*, brother to the catholic king, and nephew to the archduchess, who was to succeed her in the government. Count *Henry de Berg* was made marechal-general of all the troops in *Flanders*, and *Carlo Colonna* was raised to the rank of camp-master-general. A corps of six thousand men was destined to cover *Antwerp* and *Mechlin*, under the conduct of *Zapeta*; the care of all the convoys was committed to *Lucas Cayro*, who had four thousand foot, and thirty troops of horse under his command. As to the count *de Berg*, he took post near *Rhimberg*, for the defence of the new canal, and of *Spanish Guelderland*, of which he was governor.

A. D. 1631.

SUCH were the measures taken by the enemy, while the prince of *Orange*, dividing his army into three corps, took post upon the *Rhine*, at *Boisleduc* and *Sluys*. Leaving count *Stirum* with a flying camp of ten thousand men at *Rees*, he embarked his troops at *Emmeric*, and attended by the duke of *Vendosme*, made a descent in the neighbourhood of *Bruges*, passed the rivers and canals on rope-bridges, constructed upon a new plan, surprised three *Spanish* forts, advanced to *Ghent*; but finding that a body of the enemy's cavalry was formed at the skirts of a wood in his way, he dropped his design, and returned, from an apprehen-



- a sion of falling into an ambuscade. The *Spanish* army multiplied daily; troops were pouring in from *Germany* and *Italy*, and already a body of twenty-nine thousand foot, with twenty seven companies of horse, had advanced to the canal between *Ghent* and *Bruges*, on a supposition that the prince formed designs upon one of these cities. The archduchess perceived that the vigilance of the prince of *Orange* would baffle all her endeavours in the usual method of carrying on the campaign; she therefore resumed a scheme which had been proposed two years before, of cutting off the communication between the provinces of *Holland* and *Zealand*. For this purpose a great number of barges and flat-bottomed boats had been constructed, but laid aside rather for the want of troops or money to carry the project into execution. At the persuasion of a capuchin, and the son of the advocate-general *Barneveldt*, who lived in banishment at *Brussels*, the boats were again taken into commission, a body of forces appointed to serve in the expedition, and the direction of the whole committed to *John* count *de Nassau*. The count set sail from *Antwerp* with a fleet of ninety boats, having on board five thousand land-forces, and thirteen hundred marines; but part of the priest's intelligence proving false, he was forced to alter the course prescribed, re-enter the *Scheld*, pass by *Remerswall*, and coast along the isle of *Tolen*, into which the prince of *Orange* had thrown a reinforcement of nine thousand men. The barks loaded with his ammunition, provision, and cannon, having run on the sandbanks, a whole tide was lost before they were got afloat, which afforded the *Hollanders* time to collect a small fleet of boats at *Bergen-op-zoom*; with these they attacked the enemy, and took several boats, and three hundred prisoners. At the same instant the fleet of *Zealand*, commanded by admiral *Hollart*, fell upon the *Spaniards* in the night. Count *John* sustained the attack with great intrepidity, and the capuchin performed wonders; but after an action of six hours, the *Spaniards* were totally defeated; and of the whole armament, only eleven officers escaped, in which number were count *John*, the baron *Balançon* governor of *Breda*, and the capuchin. Seventy-six boats and barks were taken, the rest had been either sunk or burned, and the number of prisoners exceeded five thousand men, most of whom enlisted in the prince's army, and were incorporated in different regiments. The victory was deemed in *Holland* among the most glorious with which it had pleased the Almighty to bless the arms of the republic; and indeed the consequences were very important, as they entirely broke the scheme planned at the court of *Brussels*, of seizing all the *Dutch* islands quite to the *Brille*, and *Dordrecht*, while the marquis *de Santa Cruz* should subdue the whole country along the *Meuse*, as far as *Gertruydenberg* <sup>a</sup>.

A grand expedition prepared by the Spaniards.

The Spaniards defeated.

- The defeat of this expedition threw the court of *Brussels* into consternation. Equipping the armament had cost the government large sums, which were now entirely lost, together with great part of the army. The archduchess supported the misfortune with infinite spirit and moderation, exerting her utmost influence to appease the clamours raised against the marquis *de Santa Cruz*, upon whom the blame of so ideal a project was thrown by the multitude, and even by the *Flemish* nobility. Something must be done to satisfy the people; accordingly the count offered the admiral *Jacob Janse* a victim to their discontent, and sent him prisoner to *Breda*; but *Janse* was an *Italian*, and this proceeding served only to encrease the public murmurs. Happily, however, a large fleet of *Dutchmen*, loaded with corn, seized by the *Dunkirkers*, brought the *Flemings* into better temper. Advice coming to the court of *Madrid* of the fate of the late expedition, the ministry had recourse to their usual artifices. They greatly diminished the loss, and magnified some petty advantages gained in the *East* and *West Indies*. They had little indeed to boast with respect to the latter, for the great armament destined for the recovery of *Olinda* was dispersed in a storm, and the greatest part of the troops died of a malignant fever. *D'Oquendo* at last set sail, with a numerous fleet, for *Brazil*, and in his voyage encountered the *Dutch* admiral *Pater*, with seventeen ships, ten of which sheered off before the engagement began. *Pater* was too far advanced to retire with safety or honour; he determined therefore to supply the want of numbers by courage, fell upon the enemy with irresistible impetuosity, sunk four and burned six of their ships, before he could be surrounded. After having long kept victory in suspense by dint of skill and intrepidity, he saw one of his finest vessels blown up, with the crew, consisting of three hundred men. The loss was succeeded by another accident, which all his prudence and valour could not remedy. The powder-room of his own ship took fire, the flames spread in despite of his utmost endeavours, and *Pater*, with above four hundred brave seamen, perished in the flames. Five ships now only remained, and they fought with redoubled vigour, determining to revenge the death of their valiant admiral. Nothing could exceed their fury; they cleared their decks, crowded with *Spaniards* who had boarded them, tinged the sea with blood, and covered it with floating carcases. At last, perceiving they must sink under the weight of numbers, they made

Naval transactions.

<sup>a</sup> LE CLERC, tom. ii. ubi supra.



one desperate push, broke through the enemy's line, and after having destroyed four ships, got clear, and steered their course unpursued to *Olinda*. The honour of victory remained with the *Spaniards*; but they had purchased it so dear, that *d'Oquendo* was disabled for that year from acting offensively. Returning to *Europe* some time after, he was attacked by four *Dutch* men of war, and defeated with the loss of seven hundred men, twenty two officers, three ships, and his vice-admiral. Such were the exploits of which the court of *Madrid* boasted; but a false relation of facts served for a time to blind the public, and appease the clamours of the people <sup>a</sup>.

A. D. 1632. WHILE *Spain* was busied in preparing for the defence of the *Netherlands*, and the recovery of her losses in *Brasil*, the eyes of all *Europe* were turned upon the king of *Sweden*, whose irruption into *Germany* threw the whole empire into consternation. In the space of one year he had conquered whole provinces, restored the dukes of *Mecklenburgh*, to the dominions of which they were despoiled by the victorious imperial general *Wallestein*, defeated the emperor's troops in divers rencounters, obtained the glorious victory of *Leipsic* over *Tilly*, the most celebrated commander of his age, crossed the *Rhine* and the *Danube*, reduced above sixty towns, fortresses, and cities, and was on the brink of overthrowing the whole power, and subjecting the grandeur of the antient house of *Austria*, which had long given law to *Christendom*. Covered with laurels, and hedged in by victory, this glorious monarch did not think the states of the *United Provinces* unworthy of alliance. They had long laboured in the same cause, and with equal perseverance and courage fought in defence of liberty and the protestant religion. With this view he sent his chancellor *Oxenstierna* to the *Hague*, where he was received with all the honours due to his own merit, and the minister of so great a prince and hero. A treaty was concluded between the king and the republic, whereby they stipulated to attack the *Spaniards* on the *Rhine*, with all their forces, and by this means divide the *Austrian* army. The pensionary *Pauw* was sent to the king, to adjust further particulars <sup>b</sup>.

Treaty with Sweden. c.

To fulfil the treaty with *Sweden*, the prince of *Orange* took the field at the head of two hundred and fifty-three companies of infantry, and fifty-eight troops of cavalry. Several detachments were sent out to reconnoitre the enemy; and the prince entering *Spanish Guelderland*, bent his course towards *Venlo*, seizing upon *Arsen*, a little fortress upon the *Meuse*. Next day he summoned the garrison of *Venlo*. The magistrates desired him to consult the count *de Berg*; but *Henry* marched his troops by two avenues, amidst the furious discharge of the artillery on the ramparts, and a sharp sally made by the garrison. Before morning, the trenches were advanced three hundred yards, notwithstanding the besieged gave all possible obstruction. A battery of six pieces of cannon was erected, which played so briskly with ignited balls, that one side of the town was set on fire. By the third of *June*, the inhabitants, seeing the enemy approach the ditch, desired to capitulate, on condition that their privileges were preserved, liberty of conscience permitted, and a church allowed for the public exercise of the catholic religion. The garrison, scrupling to submit on the same terms with the burghers, defended themselves for a day, and then capitulated, retiring to the city of *Juliers*. This siege, though the firing was extremely brisk, cost the besieged only two lives, which was attributed to the prudent conduct of prince *Henry*, imitating the example of his brother *Maurice*, in exposing his troops to danger, only in cases of extreme necessity <sup>d</sup>.

The Prince of Orange gains several advantages. e.

HENRY was no sooner in possession of *Venlo*, than he detached count *Ernest* with six thousand men, towards *Stralen* and *Ruremonde*, the former of which surrendered without resistance to the sieur *Truillieri*. *Ruremonde*, an episcopal town in *Guelderland*, was besieged by *Ernest* in person. Batteries were immediately erected, but before they began to play, the prince of *Orange* arrived in the camp. His presence wrought such an effect on the inhabitants, that they surrendered next day, the 10th of *June*, on the same conditions granted to the magistrates of *Venlo*. The prince's moderation contributed no less to the sudden reduction of towns, than his valour. He generally granted all their privileges, and liberty of conscience to the conquered, who experienced no other hardship than what is consequent on a mere change of masters and of government. The siege of *Ruremonde* proved however extremely unfortunate to the provinces of *Groningen* and *Friseland*, who by a musket-ball, the last shot fired by the garrison, lost their excellent governor, count *Ernest Casimir* of *Nassau*. He was succeeded in his dignities by his son *Henry Ernest*, and the states general acknowledged their esteem for the deceased, by making the stadtholdership of the two provinces hereditary in his family <sup>f</sup>.

In the mean time *William* of *Nassau* gained very considerable advantages over the enemy. He was detached with a corps of three thousand men, by the prince of *Orange*, to harass the enemy on the banks of the *Scheld*. Embarking his troops in a number of

<sup>a</sup> NUVILLE, tom. ii. cap. 10.<sup>c</sup> PUFFEND. Hist. Generale, tom. vi. lib. vi.



a small boats at *Ramekins*, he pushed up the river to *Lillo*, made himself master of the important post and dyke at *Cowesteyn*, and of two forts at the extremities of the dykes, from the *Scheld* to the territory of *Ryen*. Afterwards he took *Peckgat*, fort *St. Martin*, and all the works which covered *St. Vliet*. To oppose his progress, the *Spaniards* detached a body of five thousand men, composed of the garrison of *Antwerp*, and the militia of the country, under the generals *Colonna* and *Feria*. A battle was fought near *Callo*, in which both sides behaved with great valour; but the *Scotch* and *Irish* auxiliaries at last broke the enemy, defeated them, and took a great number of prisoners, killed four hundred men, among whom was the brave *Spinelli*, and obtained a compleat victory. So many advantages gained by the *Hollanders* determined the count *de Berg* to resign his commission, after he had faithfully served the court of *Spain* for a great number of years, notwithstanding he was nearly related to the prince of *Orange*, connected by strong ties with count *Stirum*, to whom he had given his daughter in marriage, attached to liberty, but so zealous a catholic, that his conscience would not suffer him to submit to the protestant government established in the *Seven Provinces*. He retired to *Liege*, under pretence that it was a neutral city, and that he was deserted, and denied a body of forces sufficient for the defence of *Guelderland*; but it was generally supposed, he had concerted matters with the prince of *Orange*, being disgusted with the preference shewn to foreigners. The sudden retreat of so important a personage alarmed the court of *Brussels*. The archduchess feared that so dangerous an example would be imitated by others of the nobility, dissatisfied with the conduct of the *Spanish* ministry, and ready to enter into a league for the expulsion of all foreigners out of the *Netherlands*. Filled with these apprehensions, she dispatched a letter to the count, written with her own hand, inviting him back to *Brussels*, and promising to redress all his grievances; but the count excused himself in an answer couched in the most respectful terms, for the princess. He was sensible of her goodness, but he knew her power was limited by *Olivarez*, and that her favour to himself would be discontent to all the *Spaniards*. He hoped, he said, that his faithful personal services of forty years, and the death of six brothers slain in the war, would give sufficient testimony of his zeal for the house of *Austria*, and the catholic religion. He touched upon the sufferings of the country, and the ruin of the catholic cause, from the pride, avarice, and that contempt which the *Spaniards* affected to entertain for the natives. He wrote, at the same time, a circular letter, in form of a manifesto, to the clergy, nobility, and towns of the *Ten Provinces*, to justify his conduct with respect to the marquis *de Leganez*, and other *Spaniards* with whom he was at variance. In the result, he entirely threw off the mask, declared his intention of levying an army for the defence of the country, against the opposition and tyranny of the *Spaniards*.

The count de Berg resigns.

ON the eighteenth of *June* the prince of *Orange* wrote a letter to the count *de Berg*, applauding his resolution, and declaring that he should not have seized upon the towns in *Spanish Guelderland*, of which he was governor, but that they were left defenceless, the magistrates refusing to furnish the *Spanish* garrisons with money, which he feared might produce tumults and the ruin of the places. He offered him all manner of assistance and consolation, in his own name, and that of the states general, and requested he would rely upon their friendship and protection, against all his enemies. With respect to the catholic religion, in which he was so zealous, he might rest satisfied, as the states were determined to permit liberty of conscience, and the free exercise of the *Romish* religion in all their conquests, as was obvious from their conduct at *Venlo*, *Stralen*, and *Ruremonde*. The states of *Liege*, apprehensive that the declaration published by the count *de Berg* might be regarded as a breach of their neutrality, published a protest of their having no share in the count's designs; while he, on his part, confirmed their asseveration by a solemn act, acquitting the chapter and states of all communication, interest, or connection, with his affairs, and the purport of his late declaration. Measures so deliberate and well laid, convinced the court of *Brussels*, that the count's resolution had not been formed in a sudden fit of disgust; the *Spaniards* insinuated to the archduchess, that the invasion of *Spanish Guelderland* was in consequence of secret intelligence between him and the prince of *Orange*. This first determined her to prevent the consequences of his desertion by letters wrote to the three estates of the provinces, and then, by a personal declaration against the count, with an order to seize his person. So vigorous a resolution terrified the count's party, and obliged him to return to *Aix*, in *Holland*, upon which he was declared a traitor by the court of *Brussels*, and condemned to lose his head upon a scaffold.

He declares against the Spaniards.

THE revolt, however of the count *de Berg* did not produce all the expected consequences. It was supposed that the *Flemish* troops would desert, by which means the archduchess would be deprived of her greatest strength, and disabled from opposing the conquests of the prince of *Orange*; but that princess had taken her measures so prudently, and was so universally beloved, that scarce any more than the usual desertion happened. It was not-



withstanding a terrible blow to the court of *Spain*, as she was now deprived of a general <sup>a</sup> to oppose prince *Henry*, and whose popularity in *Guelderland* might greatly assist the operations of the army. Four towns and three forts, situated on the *Meuse*, were reduced in the space of eight days. By the tenth of *June*, the *Dutch* had pushed their conquests quite to *Maestricht*, and penetrated to the farthest extremity of *Limburgh*. *Maestricht* itself, the most commodious passage of the *Meuse*, was now invested, after it had quietly remained in the hands of the *Spaniards* since the year one thousand five hundred and seventy-nine, when it was taken by the duke of *Parma*. The city was defended only by a garrison of two thousand five hundred men, under the command of the baron *de Leda*, nephew to the count *de Motery*, an officer of great experience, absent when the prince of *Orange* formed the siege. That prince carried on his approaches with his usual <sup>b</sup> caution, while the baron performed all that youth, fire, and an eager thirst of glory could inspire. With this only troop of cavalry, he reconnoitred the disposition of the *Dutch* trenches, maintained a sharp conflict, and returned with a number of prisoners superior to his whole party; a success which so elated the inhabitants, that the whole, without distinction, even the clergy and women, determined to second the vigorous efforts of their intrepid governor, and labour in repairing the fortifications. A sally was made to burn all the surrounding houses, which could any way assist the approach of the besieged; but the garrison was repulsed with great slaughter. All the batteries being finished by the fourteenth of *June*, the rest of the month was employed in battering the walls, and advancing the works, which the besieged endeavoured to obstruct by a great number of <sup>c</sup> brisk sallies. Sometimes they proved successful, and in one sally they destroyed two batteries, filled up part of the trenches, and made prodigious carnage<sup>a</sup>.

*Maestricht besieged.*

MEAN time the *Spaniards*, sensible that *Maestricht* was a town of the last importance, were collecting all their strength for its relief, and not satisfied with their own forces, had recourse to the assistance of their allies. *Gonzales de Cordova*, with a body of forces drawn from the *Palatinate*, presented himself before the trenches, upon which he played with twenty-four pieces of heavy cannon; but endeavouring to force his way into the town, was vigorously repulsed by the *French* and *English* auxiliaries. The *sieur d'Estiaux* particularly distinguished himself in this affair, pursuing the enemy across the river, with such impetuosity, that he penetrated the *Spanish* camp, threw it in great confusion, and retired with <sup>d</sup> a considerable number of prisoners. *Gonzales* collecting his dispersed troops, attempted to seize all the avenues leading to the *Dutch* camp, and thereby cut off their provisions; but the prince of *Orange* took such measures as effectually baffled the project of the *Spaniards*. Six weeks had now been consumed in this siege, during which a variety of sallies and assaults were made, which gave it so much reputation, that volunteers flocked from all quarters of *Europe*, to learn the art of war under prince *Henry*. On the twenty-second of *July*, the marquis *de Santa Cruz* arrived with his whole army before the trenches, and attempted to force a passage over the *Meuse* at *Stocken*; but his troops were so roughly handled, that he was forced to wait patiently for the arrival of his artillery, and the *German* auxiliaries under *Pappenheim*, one of the best officers in the emperor's service. When the prince of <sup>e</sup> *Orange* understood that this reinforcement had joined the *Spanish* general, he redoubled his vigilance, placed stronger guards at all the posts, and ordered *William* of *Nassau* to join the camp with the troops he had levied in the neighbourhood of *Nimeguen*. Nor had *Pappenheim* reason to be satisfied with the reception given him by the marquis *de Santa Cruz*, and the *Spanish* officers, who were jealous of his reputation, and afraid he would run away with the whole honour of relieving *Maestricht*. To prevent this, he sent the duke of *Newburgh*, with proposals to the prince of *Orange*, for changing hostilities into a negotiation. *Pappenheim*, incensed at the usage, declared by a trumpet, that he was come with the imperial army to oppose the *Dutch*, and immediately advanced to force the prince's intrenchments. The *Hollanders* sustained the attack with great firmness, and at last drove <sup>g</sup> back the imperialists with prodigious slaughter. *Pappenheim* then entrenched himself opposite to count *Stirum's* quarters, with intention to seize the first opportunity of throwing succours into the town. To second his design, the besieged made a brisk sally, furiously attacked the *English* quarters, and filled the trenches with blood. Above four hundred *British* soldiers perished in this action, the principal of whom were the lord *Oxford*, and colonel *Williams*<sup>c</sup>.

AFTER *Pappenheim* had fully examined the posts, the strength and situation of the besiegers, he disposed every thing for a second attack, on the eighteenth of *August*, planted his cannon, and drew up his army in order of battle. Two regiments of carbineers composed the van, followed by all the infantry, with fascines to fill up the trenches; the cavalry supported both wings. The attack was so impetuous, that notwithstanding the <sup>g</sup> trenches were choaked up with their dead, the *Germans* still pressed on, and obliged the

<sup>a</sup> NUVILLE, tom. ii cap. 14.

<sup>c</sup> Vie de prince Henry, p. 102.



- Dutch* to abandon their advanced works. The fight was obstinately maintained for three hours, when the prince of *Orange* arrived with fresh troops, conducted by the dukes *de Candale* and *Bouillon*, and a body of volunteers formed out of the flower of the *French* nobility. They attacked the *Germans* in flank, with irresistible fury: the scale of fortune was now changed, and the Imperialists in their turn put in disorder, defeated, and driven from the entrenchments. The brave Imperialist was shocked to see the *Spaniards* cool spectators of the slaughter of his troops; he complained to the marquis *de Santa Cruz*; but his application meeting only with ridicule, he determined once more to exert his valour, and demonstrate that he could finish his business without their assistance (A). A second time he returned to the charge; both sides of the *Dutch* camp were attacked, and he forced a footing for his cavalry within the trenches. He sustained the attack, from one till seven in the evening, the *Spaniards* all the while remaining quiet spectators of his extraordinary efforts of gallantry and conduct. The artillery, musketry, grenades, bombs, and carbines, continued an unremitting discharge, and the clouds of smoke obscured the light, and made it impossible for the combatants to distinguish each other. Prince *Henry*, the dukes *de Candale* and *Bouillon*, count *John Maurice* of *Nassau*, and the *French* volunteers, opposed their utmost vigour to the fury of *Pappenheim*, who performed every duty of a soldier and great general. Perceiving his troops gave way, he erected gibbets behind, and forced them in despair to return to the attack, to avoid a more ignominious death. The garrison finding such astonishing brave efforts made for their relief, resolved to contribute their endeavours, and sallying out vigorously upon the *English* quarters, made a considerable diversion, but were at last repulsed with loss, after an obstinate engagement. The *Germans* were discouraged by the defeat of the besieged. They had repeatedly come back to the charge, and were as often repulsed. Now they were fatigued, exhausted, and broken, while the *Dutch* poured in fresh to the attack, and relieved the troops that had suffered. After one furious unsuccessful attempt, *Pappenheim* retired in tolerable order, leaving two thousand killed on the field, and nine hundred wounded prisoners, among whom was lieutenant-general *Lindlock*, four colonels, and a great number of inferior officers, greatly chagrined at his defeat, and the conduct of the *Spaniards*, who regarded his disappointment as a real victory gained by themselves.
- d PRINCE *Henry* finding himself disengaged from so formidable an opponent as the imperial general, and having nothing to apprehend from the *Spaniards*, who seemed to lie encamped at a little distance, only to give testimony to his valiant exploits, his excellent conduct, and glorious triumph, pushed the siege with redoubled vigour. The *British* troops sprung a mine on the twentieth of *August*, which destroyed great part of the raveline; the garrison and burghers flew in crowds to the breach, where the baron *de Leda* fought in person with amazing intrepidity, and after a bloody action drove the besiegers back to their camp. Several women, mixed with the men, distinguished themselves, and extremely galled the assailants with their hand-grenades. Above three hundred *British* soldiers, and about eighty of the besieged, perished; several women likewise were slain and wounded.
- e But this success served only to protract the siege; it could not determine the fate of the garrison. The breach was stormed a second time, and carried sword in hand; which so alarmed the burghers, that in a body they besought the baron to save their lives and effects by a capitulation. After using some fruitless arguments to persuade them to continue their defence a few days longer, he signed a capitulation, and obtained the most honourable conditions; those respecting the town differing but little from the terms granted to the magistrates of *Venlo* and *Ruremonde*. Thus was the important city of *Maastricht*, in despite of the utmost efforts of three armies, that of *Spain*, under the marquis *de Santa Cruz*; of the *Palatinate*, commanded by *Cordova*; and the imperial army, led on by the brave and experienced *Pappenheim*, obliged to surrender. The states lost six thousand men in the siege;
- f but the importance and glory of the conquest obliterated every other consideration, and made the reduction of *Maastricht* be regarded as one of the most memorable events of a war abounding in battles and sieges<sup>f</sup>.

HENRY having bestowed the government of *Maastricht* on the duke *de Bouillon*, left a strong garrison in the town; and, secured from all attempts from the Imperialists on the side of the *Rhine*, sent seventy large barks filled with troops to the mouth of the *Scheld*, to spread terror along the coast of *Flanders*. *William* of *Nassau* advanced likewise with eight thousand men to *Lillo* and *Saffingen*, by which means the catholic provinces were beset by

<sup>f</sup> Vie de prince Henry, p. 94, 96. Ibid. p. 103, 104.

(A) *Nuville* reports, that when *Pappenheim* desired that the *Spaniards* might march to his assistance, the marquis answered that the king had employed four hundred thousand dollars to fill the ditch with German

carcasses. We must confess this raillery appears too indelicate for an officer of the marquis's merit and distinction.



sea and land. Count *Stirum* was likewise detached to reduce the few remaining towns of *Spanish Guelderland*, most of which submitted rather to the influence of the count *de Berg* than to the arms of the *Hollanders*. The archduchess apprehended that the prince would next point his vengeance against the few towns held by the *Spaniards* in the duchy of *Cleves*. Unable to protect them with her own forces, she wrote to *Pappenheim*, requesting he would claim them as imperial towns, or rather as places sequestered in the hands of the emperor. Glad of an opportunity of extending the influence of the court of *Vienna*, *Pappenheim* wrote to the prince of *Orange*, exhorting him to distinguish between the places in the duchy of *Cleves*, under the protection of the emperor, and those held by *Spain*; but *Henry*, perceiving the artifice, returned for answer, that, provided his imperial majesty would observe an exact neutrality, and prevail on the *Spaniards* to withdraw their garrisons, he was ready to comply. a

WHILE this affair was negotiating, prince *Henry* detached lieutenant-general *Stakembroek* and colonel *Pinsen*, to invest *Limburgh*, the capital of the duchy of that name. As the town was but indifferently fortified, it surrendered upon the first summons. *Stakembroek* then penetrated to *Namur*, and laid the whole surrounding country under contributions. Heavy contributions were likewise raised in the territories of the duke of *Newburgh* and the elector of *Cologne*, because they had violated the neutrality, in assisting *Pappenheim's* expedition to *Maastricht*. In the month of *October*, *Orsoy*, a town in the duchy of *Cleves*, was surprised by a *Dutch* party; but the avarice of the soldiers, and their eagerness after plunder, exposed them to the enemy, and occasioned the loss of their conquest. b

They were attacked, and driven out of the town, by a detachment of the garrison of *Rhinberg*. *William* of *Nassau*, however, soon after recovered the place; with which the campaign, so glorious to the prince of *Orange*, and advantageous to the republic, concluded. c



S E C T. IX.

*Containing Proposals for a Truce between Spain and Holland; Propositions concerning the Re-union of the Seventeen Provinces; the Siege of Breda; and a Variety of other military Operations, to the Death of the Prince of Orange, and the Treaty of Munster.*

- b** Confounded with the rapid conquests of prince *Henry*, and the progress of the *Dutch* conquests, the court of *Brussels* had no other resource than the renewal of their negotiations for a truce with the states general. Necessity rather than the love of peace dictated this measure. The *Spaniards* were not yet sufficiently humbled to grant what the *United Provinces* required; but they were forced to temporize, and gain a little respite, by establishing conferences, whose sole object was to procrastinate. It had been the policy of *Philip II.* to set negotiations on foot whenever he found his treasury exhausted, and his arms unfortunate, with no other view than to break them off as soon as the flota arrived from the *Indies*, and he had recovered himself; this policy was imitated by his successors. The archduchess now dispatched a deputation to *Maastricht*, with proposals to the prince of *Orange*, which he transmitted and referred to the states general. The states declared they could enter upon no conferences with the *Spanish* ministry; but that they were willing to begin a negotiation with the catholic provinces, on condition that they would detach themselves from the *Spaniards*. This proposal was accepted by the archduchess, who accordingly sent the archbishop of *Mechlin*, and the duke *d'Arscot*, to the *Hague*, to open the conferences: seven other deputies from *Brabant*, *Hainault*, and *Flanders*, assisted. They were acknowledged as the ambassadors of the court of *Brussels* by the states, and they declared they were come intirely in the name of the states of the catholic provinces. As the states general were bound by the treaties with *France* and *Sweden*, to enter upon no negotiations without the consent and participation of their allies, they drew up a scheme of preliminaries so unreasonable, that the deputies declared it exceeded their instructions to give any answer. It is, however, supposed, that had the proposals been more favourable, they must have made the same declaration: this at least is asserted by *Dutch* writers<sup>a</sup>. Upon this the deputies returned with more ample powers: and the prince of *Orange*, unwilling to be diverted from his military operations by conferences, the fruitless issue of which he foresaw, marched at the head of his army, and laid siege to *Rhimberg*. This town standing upon the *Rhine* between *Wessel* and *Orsoy*, was regarded as a place of great importance to the *Hollanders*. It commanded the whole navigation and commerce of the *Rhine*, was a key to the *Spaniards* into *Friseland*, and enabled them to levy contributions in the *Dutch* territories on the higher side the *Rhine*. This important town the prince of *Orange* invested on the 11th day of *May*, pitching his head-quarters towards the south-side. *Diesdorff*, an officer of reputation, commanded in the town, having under him a garrison of 2000 men. He defended himself with so much judgment, that, notwithstanding the prince carried on his approaches with the utmost vigour, only nine soldiers of the garrison were killed at the end of the month, but the fortifications were considerably damaged. His spirits were kept up by the prospect of relief from *Moncada*, who was marching to his assistance with an army of 20,000 men; hopes that were soon cut off by the judicious measures of prince *Henry*, who detached a body of horse and foot to oppose the enemy, to cut off their convoys, and harass them in their march. The duke *de Bouillon* and colonel *Pinsen* commanded this detachment, and effectually executed their commission; *Moncada* was unable to advance, and *Diesdorff*, destitute of all resource and expectation of relief, his garrison fatigued, and his provision and ammunition consumed, surrendered the town upon obtaining the honours of war, and certain favourable conditions for the inhabitants.

*Rhimberg taken by the prince of Orange.*

- f** The reduction of *Rhimberg* was the most important service that could have been performed, relative to the provinces of *Friseland* and *Groningen*, who were obliged, while this place remained in the hands of the *Spaniards*, to maintain large garrisons at a vast expence. It procured, likewise, another advantage to the *United Provinces*, by diminishing the duties upon all merchandize going up and down the river. In a word, the place was deemed of such consequence by the court of *Brussels*, that *Diesdorff* was sent prisoner to the citadel of *Antwerp*, and afterwards cashiered, for not having defended himself to the last extremity. *Henry's* expedition to *Cleves* diminished greatly the public expectation from the conferences, which still were pursued. Though the *Flemish* deputies continued at the *Hague*, the archduchess thought herself authorised, by the example of the states general,

<sup>a</sup> LE CLERC, tom. ii. p. 174.



Twelve thou-  
sand Swedes  
join the prince  
of Orange.

to continue her hostile preparations. Levies were accordingly made in all the territories a  
subject to the government; a considerable army took the field in three divisions; and  
every thing promised that the campaign would be conducted with the utmost vigour.  
The count *de Mittery*, with one division, marched into the district of *Liège*, to revenge  
the breach of the neutrality, and that partiality of the chapter and states, shewn for the  
*Hollanders* during the siege of *Maestricht*; but he was twice defeated by the duke *de Bou-*  
*illon*, and forced to abandon the enterprize. Prince *Henry* marched to *Brabant*, and en-  
camping at *Botel*, was joined by 12,000 *Swedes*, under general *Melander*. Now was the  
most formidable army in the field, which the states general had beheld since the origin of  
the republic; it was composed of 50,000 infantry and 10,000 cavalry. *Spanish Brabant* re- b  
garded itself as already conquered, and the terror of the allied army had spread to the re-  
mote extremities of the catholic *Netherlands*. After conferring with the *Dutch* deputies  
upon the operations of the campaign; after observing a strict fast, and offering solemn  
prayers for the prosperity of his arms, the prince of *Orange* began his march, at the  
head of all his forces; towards *Endybove*, in the month of *September*. A deluge of rain,  
which poured incessantly during the whole month, and the excellent disposition made by  
the *Spanish* general *Moncada*, frustrated, however, all his designs. The country was de-  
stitute of forage, the lands were overflowed, sickness appeared in the army, the peasants  
deserted their habitations, to avoid bringing provision to the *Dutch* troops, and every  
thing contributed to disappoint the great projects of the prince of *Orange*, and the vast ex-  
pectations of the states general from so formidable an army c. Unable to penetrate farther  
he retired, and distributed his troops in winter quarters.

THE naval armament under count *William* of *Nassau* was somewhat more fortunate, tho'  
greatly short of expectation in point of success. After alarming the *Spaniards* in different  
quarters, and keeping them in suspense where the stroke would fall, he at last made a de-  
scent on the coast of *Flanders*, near *Cadfan*, and took a little fort in the neighbourhood of  
*Sluys*, which he garrisoned. Perceiving that his progress was vigorously opposed by *Fon-*  
*taine*, governor of *Bruges*; he reembarked his troops, and fell suddenly upon fort *Philippine*,  
near *Sas de Gand*, where he found abundance of ammunition, provision, and several pieces  
of beautiful cannon. To the fortifications of this place he made vast additions, strength- d  
ening the counterscarp, in particular, with seven great bastions, and a variety of out-  
works, that rendered it almost impregnable, and formed a convenient inlet to the *Hollan-*  
*ders* into *Flanders*. While he was thus employed, his other conquest was lost, owing to the  
misconduct and cowardice of the garrison. They surrendered after a faint resistance, and  
upon their return to *Holland* were broke, and rendered incapable of farther service. Some  
of the officers were banished, and the name of *Cut Head* was given to the fort, because it  
proved fatal to a variety of governors, *Spanish* and *Dutch*, who lost their heads for not de-  
fending it with more vigour and obstinacy. The *Spaniards* perceiving the effects of losing  
fort *Philippine*, that, instead of laying waste the territories of the states, as usual, their  
own dominions were now subjected to contributions to the very gates of *Ghent*, exerted  
their utmost endeavours once more to gain possession of a place so important. The gover- e  
nor of *Antwerp* made draughts from his own and the neighbouring garrisons; *Colonna* joined  
him with a body of cavalry, and *Gonzales* with several companies of infantry. In a  
short time such a force was assembled, as extremely pressed *William de Nassau*, and obliged  
him to apply for a considerable reinforcement. However, by a stratagem, he forced the  
enemy to drop their design of attacking him, of retaking fort *Philippine*, and of returning  
the insults they had lately sustained. Ordering several boats, with a trumpeter in each, to  
land in the night, sounding their warlike instruments, he persuaded the enemy that a  
strong reinforcement was arrived, and obliged them to decamp with great precipitation,  
leaving behind their baggage, provisions, the utensils brought for carrying on the siege,  
and several pieces of artillery. f

WITH this transaction the campaign ended, upon which the negotiations for a truce  
were again resumed. The conferences at the *Hague* had been interrupted by hostilities  
committed in the field, and by a variety of difficulties started by the *Hollanders*, but not  
wholly broke off; for some of the deputies constantly resided in *Holland*, while others went  
to *Brussels* for farther instructions. It was the intention of the court of *Spain* and the states  
general both to amuse; the archduchess alone was serious in her endeavours to restore  
tranquillity and the blessings of repose to the *Netherlands*. Possibly she might have effected  
this sooner, had she not been curbed, traversed, and disappointed by the intrigues of *Oli-*  
*varez* and the *Spanish* ministry, who were too weak to execute their designs upon the *United*  
*Provinces*, and too proud to grant them peace on the only conditions they were resolved to g  
accept. Her wise conduct broke all the measures concerted by the *Hollanders* for procu-

\* Mem. de prince Henry, p. 179.



a ring the re-union of the *Seventeen Provinces*, upon such a footing as would entirely exclude the *Spaniards*. The count *de Berg*'s desertion first suggested the idea of this re-union, to which great numbers of the *Flemish* nobility seemed well disposed. Indeed the people in general were not averse to the scheme of a new republic, under the same laws and government, except in matters of religion, where perfect liberty of conscience should be tolerated. The design was noble, but it was too vast for practice; so many persons were interested to oppose it, that it was impossible it should ever be carried into execution. The archduchess was to be maintained in all her dignity and authority during her life, out of respect to her wisdom, and that general esteem which her sweet and amiable disposition attracted; but unfortunately she could not accept the offer, without betraying the confidence  
b reposed in her by the court of *Madrid*. Some writers ascribe the ruin of the project to the duke *d'Arfskot*, who betrayed the negotiation between the *Flemish* nobility and the count *de Berg*. The states general perceived, that it was not with the court of *Brussels* they had to treat, but with that of *Madrid*; they altered their tone, spoke a different language, seemed more indifferent about the truce, but, however, did not positively refuse to listen to the proposals, with which the deputies returned to the *Hague*. Cardinal *Richlieu* now interposed; and omitted nothing to keep open the breach between *Spain* and the *United Provinces*, so necessary to the designs he had formed. With this view he sent the baron *de Charnesse* to the *Hague*, who acquitted himself with so much address, promised so largely, and flattered the states with such agreeable prospects, that they precipitately broke off the conferences,  
c and intimated to the deputies the necessity of their immediate departure.

*Negotiations for a truce broke off.*

It must be confessed that this measure was by no means agreeable to the majority of the people, who ardently wished for a solid pacification, whereby they might be at full liberty to give their whole attention to commerce; but the states of *Zealand*, and the prince of *Orange* in particular, entered so warmly into the interests of the *French* ambassador, and represented so strongly the utility of continuing the war, that the states general declared in their favour, in despite of all the remonstrances made by *Holland* and *West Friseland*, the most concerned of all the provinces to bring about a respite of the enormous expences of supporting large fleets, armies, and numerous garrisons. *Charnesse* surmounted these difficulties by the gold which he promised to shower down from *France*, and the powerful diversion the king's troops would make, by an irruption into *Lorraine* and *Alsace*. The states  
d relied on the effects of these promises, the people were brought into good-humour, and all coincided in the resolution to prosecute the war with such vigour as should compel *Spain* to sue for peace, upon such terms as *France* and the republic should think fit to prescribe. This determination was scarce formed, when the *Netherlands* were deprived of their most excellent princess *Isabella-Clara-Eugenia*, archduchess of *Austria*, infant of *Spain*, daughter to *Philip II.* of *Spain*, grand-daughter of *Henry II.* of *France*, and still greater by her extraordinary  
e merit, than her elevated birth and connections. She died at *Brussels*, on the first day of *September*, lamented by all degrees of men; and equally esteemed by the *Spaniards*, *Flemings*, and *Dutch*, for her prudence, moderation, humanity, piety, and every other quality which could adorn her sex, and reflect lustre upon her high dignity. To a capacity and courage altogether masculine, she joined the softness, the tenderness, and amiable delicacy of the female; but it was her truly moral and rational piety that, of all her qualities, shone with the brightest radiance: in her religion even the *Hollanders*, the enemies of her faith and person, believed she was sincere; though the catholics blamed that moderation, which she recommended, and always observed, in regard to the reformed religion.

*Death of the archduchess.*

The death of *Isabella* was an irrecoverable loss to *Spain*; it furnished an opportunity of displaying those ideal strokes of policy which seldom succeed, on account of their excessive refinement. We have seen *Philip II.*'s views in marrying the princess to the cardinal archduke, brother to the emperor *Rodolph*. The *Netherlands* and *Franche-Comte* were her dowry; and the contract of marriage stipulated, that the elder male issue should succeed, and in case of failure of such issue, the oldest of the female line; but that the provinces on no account should be divided, or alienated. Now the whole scheme of *Philip* was frustrated, and the *Netherlands* again reverted to the *Spanish* monarchy, without producing any of the effects proposed. Among the papers in the cabinet of the archduchess, was found a commission, signed in 1630, appointing the archbishop of *Mechlin*, and the duke *d'Arfskot*, don *Carlo Colonna*, and the marquis *d'Ayetone*, regents, during the absence of *Ferdinand* of *Austria*, brother to the catholic king, destined to succeed the archduchess, not in the property, but in the government of the *Netherlands*. The death of some, the absence of others, and the contempt into which the duke *d'Arfskot* was fallen, so changed the regency, that the whole management devolved on the marquis *d'Ayetone*. As the cardinal  
g infant was deeply engaged in *Germany*, a new commission was granted to the marquis,

<sup>c</sup> NUVILLE, tom. ii. p. 17.

<sup>d</sup> Idem ibid.



Conduct of the  
marquis  
d'Ayestone,  
the new go-  
vernor of the  
Netherlands.

constituting him governor of the provinces, and captain-general of all the *Spanish* forces acting in the *Netherlands*. He began his government with seizing upon the persons of the nobility suspected of holding any correspondence with count *Henry de Berg*, and the states general of the *United Provinces*. The prince *de Barbançon* was committed prisoner to the citadel of *Antwerp*; the duke *de Bournonville*, called likewise count *Hennin*, and the prince *d'Espinoi*, saved themselves in *France*: an attempt was made to seize upon divers other noblemen; but they had notice of the intention of the governor, and made their escape. Some, however, were carried prisoners to *Antwerp*, while others took refuge in the *United Provinces* and *Brabant*, with the counts *de Berg* and *Warsujé*. As to the duke *d'Arfchot*, he fell under suspicion, and was detained prisoner at the court of *Madrid*. Sentence of death was pronounced against the count *de Berg*, which greatly alarmed all the *Flemish* nobility who had any way connived at his desertion. The consternation became so general, that, dreading a revolt and an immediate insurrection, the marquis *d'Ayestone* found himself obliged to quiet the fears of the people, by publishing an amnesty of all that passed before the sixteenth of *April*. He saw the consequences of the rigorous treatment of the duke of *Alva*, and that iron scourge which he held over the *Flemings*; a conduct to which may justly be attributed the loss of the *Seven United Provinces*, and the union that took place at *Utrecht*.

NEXT he visited the coasts of *Flanders*, reinforced the garrisons of the frontier towns, built several forts, to restrain the incursions of the *Hollanders*, and concluded a treaty, on the twelfth of *May*, with *Gaston de France*, duke of *Orleans*, and brother to *Lewis XIII.* in the name of his Catholic majesty; whereby the duke engaged to declare war against the *French* monarch. This treaty was opposed to the new alliance formed between the king and the republic, by which the king stipulated to augment his forces in the service of the states, to pay two millions yearly, and to declare war against the king of *Spain*, should he attack the *United Provinces*. After his negotiation with the duke of *Orleans*, the marquis *d'Ayestone* ordered his army to file towards the *Meuse*, leaving the counts *de Fontaine* and *Feria*, governors of *Bruges* and *Antwerp*, to oppose *William de Nassau's* designs upon *Flanders*; to effect which they had a corps of six thousand foot, besides a considerable body of cavalry. Immediately the duke *de Lerma* and the marquis *de Leda* were detached to lay siege to *Argentau*, a place of strength and importance, situated between *Maastricht* and *Liege*, and founded upon a rock washed by the waters of the *Meuse*. Notwithstanding its great strength, *Argentau* surrendered after the exchange of a few shot; the garrison, consisting of twenty-five soldiers, not chusing to wait for the expected succours from the prince of *Orange*. The governor, who was son to *Junius* the prince's secretary, was committed prisoner to *Maastricht*, by order of the states; but the chief blame fell on the prince of *Orange*, justly censured for leaving a fortress so important in a condition so defenceless.

Maastricht in  
vain besieged  
by the Spa-  
niards.

FROM *Argentau* the *Spaniards* marched to *Limburgh*, a city of which they made sure, in consequence of a secret treaty with the governor. He had agreed to admit the enemy upon receiving thirty thousand pistoles; but his treacherous design was discovered, and frustrated by the lieutenant-governor, who obliged him to take refuge among the *Spaniards*. The disappointment did not hinder the marquis from investing *Maastricht* in the month of *July*. This alarmed the prince of *Orange*, who had hitherto been seduced into a state of inactivity, by the negotiations carried on by the states with the *French* king, the *Swedish* queen, the *German* Protestants, the duke of *Newburgh*, and the malcontents in *Flanders*. Now he advanced to the frontiers of *Brabant* and *Guelderland*, in such a manner as to penetrate into either, as circumstances might require. The duke *de Bouillon*, governor of *Maastricht*, apprehending that *d'Ayestone* formed designs upon that city, threw himself with four thousand men into the place, and made so furious a sally on the besiegers, that they were constrained to convert the siege into a blockade. Upon receiving a strong reinforcement, the marquis again began to make his approaches. He battered the town with the utmost fury; but all his efforts gave no inquietude to the prince of *Orange*, who relied upon the courage of the garrison, and the intrepidity and skill of the duke *de Bouillon*. Perfectly secure in this well-reposed confidence, *Henry* did not quit the *Hague* before the month of *August*, contenting himself with sufficiently reinforcing the garrisons of *Ruremonde* and *Venlo*. Now indeed he resolved to invest *Breda*, rather to make a diversion in favour of *Maastricht*, than with hopes of succeeding in the reduction of so well-garrisoned and strong a city. It answered his expectation: he had scarce begun to work upon the trenches, when *d'Ayestone* raised the siege of *Maastricht*, and marched with all his forces to *Breda*, upon which the prince retired on the eighth of *September*, leading his army in good order along the *Meuse*, and closing the campaign with this transaction.



- a THOUGH the marquis *d'Ayotone* had been fairly over-reached by *Henry's* feint upon *Breda*, yet he assumed the airs of a conqueror, and entered the place in triumph, as if he had defeated the enemy, and delivered the city from the pressure of a close siege. This policy was necessary to quiet the minds of the people, who murmured at the expences fruitlessly bestowed on the siege of *Maastricht*. It answered *d'Ayotone's* purpose, the multitude being amused and dazzled with the public rejoicings, and bonfires kindled in *Breda*, to celebrate an imaginary victory. *Henry's* prudence had cut off all possibility of gaining any real advantage, the garrisons being all put in a state of defence, and the troops so judiciously cantoned, as effectually to cover the whole frontier. This security of the provinces was matter of great chagrin to *Ayotone*, who hoped to signalize his government by some very important blow; and his uneasiness was augmented by the motions of the
- b French army, under the *marechal de la Force*, on the side of *Luxemburgh*. The duke of *Orleans* likewise broke his engagements with the court of *Spain*, and was reconciled to the king his brother. All these circumstances involved the court of *Brussels* in the utmost confusion, when the cardinal infant *Albert* arrived, to take upon him the government, to dispel by his presence the gloom that overspread the face of affairs. At *Brussels* he was received as a conqueror, with all the pomp, magnificence, and honours, formerly shewn to *Charles V.* and *Philip II.* It was immediately published, that he meditated nothing less than the re-union of the seventeen provinces under his government, and the greatest hopes were entertained from a prince known to be of a warlike disposition, and confessed
- c by all to possess the talents of a sound politician.

The cardinal infant arrives in the Netherlands.

- THE cardinal's arrival announced to the states-general the necessity of keeping strict watch, and putting their troops and garrisons into the best posture. They beheld with disquiet and jealousy the compliments that were paid to the cardinal by the neighbouring states and princes; especially the king of *England*, and the elector of *Cologne*, who were the earliest in their congratulations. It was also matter of great offence that the duke of *Newburgh*, with whom they had lately been upon terms of friendship, should not be satisfied with meeting the cardinal upon his way, but must escort him with a numerous train to *Brussels*. Their resentment, however, against this prince was soon turned to compassion, when they saw his territories desolated, on the one hand, by the duke of *Luxemburgh*, as the ally of *Sweden*, and on the other, by the imperial general count *Manfeldt*. It was for this reason they sent him a deputation, exhorting him to continue firm in his neutrality, promising, in that case, to afford him all possible protection. This extraordinary change at the court of *Brussels* determined the states to send an embassy to the court of *France*, pressing the execution of the late treaty, and exhorting the king to declare war against the *Spaniards*. The consequence was, the renewal of the same treaty, with this addition, that an offensive alliance was now contracted between the king and the republic, from which the states expected nothing less than the entire conquest of the *Spanish Netherlands*. A scheme of partition was actually drawn up, whereby the towns were to preserve their privileges, and the people their religion. The duchy of *Luxemburgh*, the earldoms of *Namur*, *Hainault*, *Courtray*, *Artois*, and *Flanders*, as far as *Blakemberg*, *Damme*, and *Rupplemonde*, were assigned to *France*; while *Brabant*, *Guelderland*, the territory of *Waes*, the lordship of *Mecklin*, and all the rest of *Flanders*, should be annexed to the republic. We have since that period seen other unjust and unsuccessful partitions of the *Spanish* monarchy, in which *France* and *Holland* were to have been principal sharers. Providence, however, did not wholly abandon the *Spaniards*, or suffer the ambitious, iniquitous designs of their enemies to take effect. The vast projects and sanguine hopes of the allies were disappointed, chiefly by their own blunders, and by the jealousy which the *Hollanders* entertained of the growing power of *France*, and the vicinage of so powerful a monarch as *Lewis*. The prince of *Orange* likewise was greatly instrumental in defeating
- d the intention of the league. He could never forgive cardinal *Richlieu* the attempt made on the principality of *Orange*; and he sought his revenge by embracing every occasion to mortify that haughty prelate, and crafty minister.
- e
- f

A. D. 1635.

Feb. 8.  
An offensive alliance between France and Holland.

- g LEWIS XIII. now wanted a specious pretence for coming to a rupture with the court of *Spain*, and declaring war against the cardinal governor of the *Netherlands*, as the first step towards the execution of the treaty with *Holland*. The seizure of *Triers*, and the unjust detention of the elector, sent prisoner to *Brussels*, and thence to *Vienna*, afforded the opportunity he wished<sup>f</sup>. The elector was under his protection; he demanded his release; and not obtaining it, he solemnly denounced war, by the mouth of a herald sent to *Brussels*. It was concerted, that the prince of *Orange* should enter *Brabant* with his forces, while a *French* army, of twenty thousand foot and seven thousand horse, advanced to the frontiers of that province, to effect a junction; the combined army to be com-

<sup>f</sup> Mem. de Prince Henry, pag. 199. NUVILLE, tom. ii. lib. viii. cap. iii.



The Spaniards  
defeated.

manded in chief by the prince of *Orange*. It was the business of the cardinal infant to prevent this union: he accordingly detached prince *Thomas*, with the counts *Burget* and *Feria*, to give battle to the *French*. On the twentieth of *May* the two armies met near the village of *d'Avein* in *Luxembourg*. An engagement ensued, and the *Spaniards* were totally defeated, after an obstinate engagement that continued for five hours, and was sustained with astonishing intrepidity. They left four thousand dead upon the field, eight hundred prisoners were taken, and several pieces of cannon, with standards, colours, and other military trophies. The conquerors advanced to *Maestricht*, to join the prince of *Orange*, who lamented that he was deprived of a share in this glorious victory, and complained to the *sieur de Pontis*, that the *marechals de Brezè* and *Chatillon* should have presumed to give battle without the orders of the generalissimo<sup>a</sup>. This is the insinuation of *French* writers; we find not the least blame thrown upon the *marechals* in the prince's own relation of his campaigns; and it is certain he received them with great civility, and bestowed the highest encomiums on their valour, when they met at *Maestricht*. It must, however, be confessed that no great harmony subsisted, though this arose from motives more worthy of the prince of *Orange*: they related chiefly to his country; he seemed to penetrate into futurity, and clearly to predict all the consequences of suffering the *French* king to establish a footing in the *Netherlands*.<sup>b</sup>

Tillemont  
taken by the  
Dutch.

WHEN the armies of *France* and *Holland* were united before *Maestricht*, they exceeded fifty thousand men, commanded by the best officers in *Europe*, and generals who had drawn their first breath in the camp, and been nursed in the arms of *Bellona*. Such an armament was sufficient to swallow up the *Spanish Netherlands*, already under the utmost consternation, from the defeat at *d'Avein*. *Henry* passed the *Meuse* above and below *Maestricht*, on the first of *June*, and penetrated into *Brabant*, accompanied with a train composed of one hundred and fifty pieces of cannon. The cardinal infant encamped at *Demer*, having secured all the passes in the best method he could, by throwing up entrenchments, building redoubts, and cutting down great trees; but on the approach of the allies he was forced to retire with precipitation, to desert all his works, and leave a free passage. In consequence *St. Tron*, *Landen*, *Hallem*, and several inconsiderable places fell into their hands; and *Tillemont*, because the governor and garrison were intrepid enough to resist, experienced all the horrors which the brutal incensed soldiers could devise. It was summoned on the eighth of *June*, and *Francisco de Bargas*, with a garrison of eleven hundred men, replied, that he would endeavour to merit the prince's esteem by his conduct. He made the most vigorous defence, but the town was at last forced by escalade, the houses pillaged, the churches destroyed, and the priests murdered; a barbarity which is entirely attributed to the *Hollanders*, and even to the prince of *Orange*, who did not take sufficient precautions to restrain the fury of the soldiers. The *French* alledge, that the few who escaped owed their safety to a guard placed over them by the *marechal Brezè*; but the cruelty here charged upon the prince of *Orange* seems to be fully refuted by all his former conduct, which breathed nothing but humanity, and the most generous feelings for the unfortunate<sup>c</sup>.

The allies be-  
siege Louvain.

ON the tenth of *June* the two armies separated, the prince of *Orange* taking the route of *Brussels*, where the cardinal infant expected the succours which *Piccolomini* was bringing from *Germany*, and the *French* directing their march towards *Diest*, which surrendered at the first summons. They afterwards joined between *Louvain* and *Brussels*, and now that jealousy betwixt the prince and the *French* *marechals* which, say the *French* writers, had its origin in the victory at *d'Avein*, became more open and declared. Debates took place of action, and instead of profiting by the enemy's consternation, and besieging *Louvain* at the time proposed, several days were consumed in fruitless altercation, and the provision necessary for the execution of the design was exhausted. The garrison had time to repair the fortifications, and the cardinal to throw in a reinforcement of five thousand foot and two hundred horse. He entered the town in person, resolving to defend it to the last extremity; and to draw him to *Brussels*, the prince of *Orange* moved towards that capital, as if he intended to besiege it, which effectually answered his purpose. The cardinal, terrified for the seat of the wealth, the archives, and of all that was valuable in the *Netherlands*, flew to *Brussels*, leaving two thousand men in *Louvain* under the conduct of the baron *Groobendenck*, and the allies made a sudden turning, sat down before *Louvain*, and broke ground on the twenty-fifth of *June*. By next day their batteries played vigorously on different quarters of the town, and all the generals seemed unanimous that the governor would make but a short defence. He had, however, since the reduction of *Tillemont*, been preparing for a siege, and had amassed great store of ammunition and provision. The fate of that place determined him upon making the most obstinate resistance; and<sup>d</sup>

<sup>a</sup> Idem ibid.

<sup>b</sup> *NUVILLE*, tom. ii. pag. 8. cap. vi.



a his views were seconded by a brave veteran garrison, accustomed to all the hardships and fatigues of a siege, who were admired by *Henry* himself for the intrepidity exerted at *Boisseduc* and *Masstricht*. The skill and courage of the garrison, joined to a certain languor and inactivity in the allies, protracted the siege. *Henry* is accused of an intention to ruin the *French* army. Provisions grew short in the camp; several parties of foragers returned without being able to find grass or corn for their horses; whole convoys came back empty, or were interrupted by the enemy; dissensions arose; the *French* murmured, and soon complained openly that they were betrayed; disease swept off great numbers of the troops; *Piccolomini* was advancing to give battle with a fine army; and the result was the breaking up of a siege, which gave the first turn to the fortune of the allies, and laid the foundation of numberless disappointments. The armies now separated, and the *Dutch* went to *Brabant*, where they found abundance of refreshment; while the *French* unhappily quartered in the neighbourhood of *Ruremonde*, in which nothing but hunger, disease, and accumulated misfortunes offered. Above six thousand men died in the space of a few weeks, and the camp was in so wretched a situation, that it rather resembled an hospital than the army of a powerful monarch sent to extend his conquests<sup>i</sup>.

ALREADY the enemy's affairs began to assume a more benign aspect. Hitherto nothing but ruin and disgrace had succeeded the death of the archduchess; but the want of harmony in the confederate army afforded the cardinal the fairest opportunity, and the happiest prospects. One army was now wholly destroyed by sickness, and the other was too weak to face the powerful forces drawn from *Germany*, joined to the army already formed in the *Netherlands*, composed of *Spaniards*, and the best troops of the provinces. The reduction of the strong fortrefs of *Schenck* was the first fruits of this favourable change in the cardinal's situation. *Adolphus d'Embolt*, a lieutenant-colonel of the *Walloon* guards, formed a scheme to surprise the garrison, and succeeded by dint of vigilance, address, and intrepidity. He was rewarded with the government of the fort, a gold chain presented by the cardinal's own hands, and a present of fifty thousand livres. The states-general regarded fort *Schenck* as the key of the *United Provinces*: they were alarmed at the loss of a place so important, and immediately sent instructions to the prince of *Orange* to use his utmost art in recovering it. He obeyed the mandate, and thereby left all his conquests a prey to the enemy, who were at liberty now to pursue every method to obstruct the return of the allies. To succeed in the recovery of fort *Schenck*, it was thought necessary to re-unite the *French* and *Dutch* armies. Accordingly the prince of *Orange* pitched his quarters on the side of *Betau*, while the marechals *Brezè* and *Chatillon* encamped towards *Emmerick* and *Cleves*; however, the necessary preliminaries for conducting the siege could not be got ready before the month of *August*. To shorten matters, and abridge the expedition, prince *Henry* formed a plan to surprise the garrison; but the vigilance of the governor baffled the attempt, and obliged him to recur to the first scheme of operations. It was settled, that the *Dutch* should carry on the approaches, while the *French* should cover the siege, and oppose the enemy's succouring the garrison. This they performed with great intrepidity, obliging the cardinal, after a sharp action, to retire, notwithstanding their numbers were greatly diminished, and the army in general in a wretched condition (A), owing chiefly to the excessive heat and drought of the summer-season, and the deluges of rain that poured down for the whole autumn. So miserable indeed was their situation, that the marechals were forced to lead back the poor remains of the army to *France*, while the prince of *Orange* continued the siege with invincible perseverance, and in despite of all the rigours of a severe winter. The *Spaniards* were no less obstinate in the defence of *Schenck*; they exerted their utmost diligence to throw in succours, and the prince was equally vigilant to prevent them, and force the brave garrison to submission. At last the *Hollanders* took the

*The Spaniards surprise fort Schenck, which is retaken by the Dutch after a tedious siege.*

A. D. 1636.

<sup>i</sup> Mem. de prince Henry, p. 201.

(A) The picture drawn of this army by *Nuville* is extremely affecting. After the battle of *d'Aven* it was augmented to forty thousand men, all well clothed, vigorous, and eager for action: now, says he, by the artifices of the prince of *Orange*, it was reduced to a third of the number, naked, starving, and covered with sores, or emaciated by coughs and consumptions. Under pretence of feeling for their misfortunes, the prince assigned them quarters in *Holland*; but such as completed their misfortunes. Even the officers were forced to sell their cloaths for bread, and to beg their way back to *France*; insomuch that cardinal *Richlieu*, incensed at *Henry's* treachery, would have declared immediate war against the states-general, if he had not been deterred by the circumstances of the court, and other weighty considerations. But *M. Nuville* equally dis-

plays his gross partiality and ignorance. The mortality in the *French* army arose solely from the nature of the climate, which later experience has fully demonstrated will ever prove fatal to *French* soldiers. Scarcity of provision and bad cloathing likewise contributed; but this proceeded not from the treachery of *Henry*, but the poverty of the *French* court, unable to remit the sums necessary for supporting so numerous an army. This much we thought necessary in vindication of a prince vilely traduced, only because he first penetrated the ambitious views of *France*, and predicted the consequence of giving them a footing in the *Netherlands*. It is certain he opposed the late treaty; it is allowed he detested *Richlieu*; but it does not appear, from any authentic proofs, that he acted contrary to the duty of a great commander.

castle



castle of *Billand* by assault; they ruined all the outworks of the besieged, except the half-moon, which was defended with incredible intrepidity; the intrepid *Emholt* was slain by a musket-bullet; all communication between the fort and the *Spanish* territories was cut off; the garrison was greatly reduced and dispirited by the death of their leader, and every thing drawing to a crisis favourable to the besieged, when the cardinal determined to send baron *Groobendenck*, who had so successfully defended *Louvain*, to succeed *Emholt* in the government. The prince of *Orange* attended the business of the states at the *Hague*, leaving the conduct of the siege to *William of Nassau*, who performed all that could be expected from courage combined with conduct, and ardor tempered by prudence and judgment. He took his measures so well, that he greatly augmented his army, and obliged prince *Thomas*, detached with a strong body of forces to raise the siege at the hazard of a battle, to remain a tame spectator of his successful operations, giving a general assault, and becoming master of a place which cost so much blood and treasure, without granting a capitulation to the garrison<sup>a</sup>. He concluded the campaign with some other advantages obtained in the territory of *Cleves*; all of which, however, were insufficient to ballance the consequences of the retreat of the *French* army, and the number of soldiers lost by keeping the field for almost a whole rigorous winter.

THE remainder of this year passed in mutual expeditions into each other's territories, which produced nothing decisive. The *Spanish* arms were chiefly employed in *Picardy*, under the conduct of prince *Thomas* and *Piccolomini*. As to the *Hollanders*, they struck their most important blows on their own proper element, the ocean, having defeated a fleet of *Dunkirkers* in sight of *Dieppe*. In this engagement the *Dutch* were commanded by *Evertzen*, who began already to distinguish himself: the *Spaniards* had two ships sunk, one burnt, and two taken, with their admiral *Antonio Collardo* on board. In consequence of this victory, the commerce of the provinces was secured, and trade flourished extremely, notwithstanding it had suffered greatly by the enemy's piracies the succeeding year. The chief advantages, however, were obtained by the *East India* company, who extended their trade far beyond what it ever before attained, and made such returns as astonished *Europe*, and enriched the provinces. As to the *West India* company, it was less fortunate. All the attempts of the company had lately miscarried in *Brasil* and on the coast of *Africa*, where the *Portuguese* were greatly superior in numbers. Chagrined with disappointment, they resolved to commit their affairs to some general, whose established reputation, valour, prudence, and experience, might retrieve their losses, and extend their settlements in *Brasil* and the *West Indies*. No person appeared more likely to answer all their purposes than count *John Maurice de Nassau*, who had for many years faithfully and eminently served his country. The offer was made of appointing him governor-general and commander in chief of *Brasil* and *South America*; an employment which the count accepted, with the consent of the states-general and the prince of *Orange*. His authority was directly the same vested in the governor-general of *Batavia*; a fleet of thirty-two sail, twelve of which were men of war, with two thousand seven hundred land-forces on board, was equipped; and he quitted the *Texel* on the twenty-fifth day of *October*, having already conquered in imagination the whole *Portuguese Brasil*.

Maurice de  
Nassau made  
governor of  
Brasil.

OF the fourteen provinces into which *Brasil* was divided, four were subject to the *Hollanders*, *Fernambuco*, *Temeraca*, *Paraiba*, and *Rio Grande*. Since the year 1630 the court of *Spain* sustained incredible damage by the efforts which the *Dutch* made to establish settlements in *South America*. Of eight hundred ships fitted out by the king of *Spain* for that service, five hundred and forty-three fell into the hands of the enemy, were burnt or destroyed, the loss amounting to forty-five millions of florins. The *Dutch* had seized upon the island of *Curacao*, on the northern coast of *America*; they had pillaged the opulent town of *Truxillo* in the gulph of *Honduras*, with a variety of small settlements on the coast of *Mexico*; they had defeated in divers engagements the *Spanish* generals *Albuquerque*, *Bagniola*, and *Lewis de Rocca de Bergia*; they had by force and fraud gained over to their interest several nations, who ardently wished for the expulsion of the *Portuguese*; but at the time *Maurice* was appointed governor, their efforts had been faint and fruitless, and *Christopher Artichessi*, a *Polish* socinian, of all their officers, met with any degree of success. When the count arrived at *Brasil*, his first step was to relieve all the garrisons, and form his army of troops acquainted with the country, and seasoned to the climate. His little corps, amounting in all to three thousand seven hundred men, he led against *Porto de Calco*, the garrison of which had almost intirely cut off the communication betwixt the *Dutch* settlements. *Bagniola*, the *Portuguese* general, marched with a superior army to oppose him; a battle was fought, and the *Portuguese* totally defeated, *Bagniola* saving himself and a few troops with great difficulty in a city built on the river *Porto Calco*, and fortified in such a manner

<sup>a</sup> Idem. ibid.



a that it commanded all the adjacent country. *Maurice* pursued, and immediately invested the fortrefs. The *Portuguese* general defended himself bravely; but was in a few days forced, for want of provision, to surrender at discretion.

FLUSHED with conquest, the count marched against *Openada*, a town situated upon the same river, within six miles of its opening into the ocean. This place surrendered with little trouble: *Maurice* strengthened it by a citadel which he erected, and called after his own name. At the mouth of the river he built another fort, which obliged the *Spaniards* on both sides to take shelter in *Seregippa del Rei*, and abandon their habitations. Leaving the greater part of the army with *Artichoffi* for the defence of the frontiers, he returned to *Reciff*, to establish the government and religion of the *United Provinces* in all the country  
b subject to the republic, treating however with great moderation the natives and foreigners who had been bred in a different faith, and under a different policy. He also equipped two squadrons, one of which he sent southwards under admiral *Lichtbart*, beyond the bay of *All Saints*; the other sailed north-east to the coast of *Africa*, under colonel *Coine*, whose exploits and reduction of *St. George de la Mina* we have seen in a former volume <sup>1</sup>.

WHILE these conquests were making in *Africa* and *America*, the plan of a general pacification was laid in *Europe*. The pontiff, as the common father of all Christians, offered his mediation between *France*, *Spain*, and the empire. The states-general rejected an umpire whom they justly suspected of partiality to the court of *Spain*: however, he still continued to press the other powers to accommodate matters, sensible that the republic  
c would not long chuse to support a war singly against the power of the house of *Austria*. Cardinal *Richlieu* did not fail to make his advantage of the disposition of the states general, notwithstanding the grudge he bore the prince of *Orange*. He urged the states-general to continue the alliance with *France*, and his remonstrances were followed by a renewal of the treaty between the two powers. By this treaty *Lewis* engaged to supply the states with a yearly sum of five hundred thousand livres, over and above the usual subsidy of two millions, on account of the great expences of the former year, spent chiefly in the reduction of *Schenck*, and opposing the *Spaniards* in *Picardy*. Two days after the states-general renewed their ancient alliance with the elector of *Brandenburg*.

THE strong connections between *France* and *Holland* evinced cardinal *Richlieu* of the necessity of suppressing his own personal dislike to the prince of *Orange*, the better to promote the interests of his sovereign; he therefore laboured to gain the friendship of prince *Henry*. He knew his influence in the republic, and was sensible that the operations of the field could never prove successful, unless he concurred heartily with the views of the *French* court. For this reason it was that he directed *Charnosse*, the ambassador, always to bestow the title of *Highness* upon the prince, instead of that of *Excellence*, with which he had been formerly complimented. He perfectly understood the character of *Henry*; and that though he was superior to corruption, inviolable in his attachment to his country, and invariably fixed in the paths of virtue and honour, yet he was not insensible to the irresistible charms of ambition. He gained his point, and established a perfect harmony, to all appearance,  
e between the king and the states-general, and between himself and the prince of *Orange*. Both sides now prepared to execute their engagements with punctuality, and repair the losses consequent on the former discord that subsisted. *Henry* never lost sight of *Breda*, in the reduction of which he was especially concerned, though the conquest would likewise prove of the last consequence to the common cause, and to the republic in particular. He planned a scheme, which he hoped would greatly facilitate the siege. Near four thousand  
f boats of different burthens were collected in the port of *Flushing*; an armament which gave great disquiet to the *Spaniards*, who believed it was destined against *Bruges*, *Dunkirk*, or some of the maritime towns in *Flanders*. In this state of uncertainty, and not knowing where the storm would break, the cardinal infant assembled all his troops, and distributed them round the frontiers of *Flanders*, and in all the places which he thought most exposed. This was precisely what *Henry* desired, who immediately advanced to *Breda*, when the *Spanish* army was removed to a convenient distance. By the twenty-third of *July* the siege was formed, which happened to be the same day on which *Landreci* and *Hanau* surrendered to the *French*. *Omer Fourbin*, an officer who had signalized himself on every occasion, especially at the defence of *Schenck*, when the *Dutch* themselves admired his conduct and valour, was governor. He had a garrison of three thousand men, whom he so animated by his precepts and example, that they became rivals for glory, and every soldier cheerfully offered to lay down his life in the service of his country, and for the honour of his beloved commander. *Fourbin* possessed the hearts of all his inferiors by his complacency, generosity, liberality, and those other qualities of true greatness, which the most powerfully operate on the minds of the multitude, and in a particular manner on the soldiers. He punc-

A. D. 1637.

The prince of Orange and cardinal Richlieu reconciled.

The prince lays siege to Breda.

<sup>1</sup> Vide Hist. of the Coasts of Africa, vol. xvii. Un. Mod. Hist.



usually advanced the pay of the troops, carefully inspected their provision, saw them properly clothed, and, whenever remittances happened to fail, generously distributed his own money, coined his plate, and even sold his horses and apparel, to supply the wants of his garrison. 2

THE prince of *Orange*, accompanied by his son prince *William*, then but thirteen years of age, and the prince *Palatine*, afterwards elector, pushed the siege with all imaginable vigour, to finish their work before the cardinal should have time to assemble a sufficient army to give battle. That prince, however, had detached count *John* of *Nassau*, with a body of five thousand foot and two thousand horse, to throw himself into *Breda*. He had orders to attack that quarter of the camp commanded by his cousin count *William de Nassau*; but he found the works so exceedingly strong, that he dropped the attempt, and b wrote to the cardinal that the prince's camp was impregnable; at least, to force it would require the whole *Spanish* army. While he lay at some distance waiting the cardinal's orders, he met with an opportunity of throwing three hundred men with bags of corn into the city. The garrison had made a vigorous sally, and the count so well managed the occasion, that, in despite of the diligence and courage of the besieged, he introduced such succours as helped to protract the fate of *Breda*. The whole *Spanish* army advanced to *Rhimberg*; but every pass and post was so stoutly guarded, that, after fruitless attempts to draw the besiegers out of their lines, the cardinal was forced to retire, and confide solely in the valour of the besieged. However, he found means to reduce *Venlo* and *Ruremonde*, publishing at the same time a report that *Nimeguen* was taken by surprise, *Knotsemburg* by c assault, and that he had forced the prince of *Orange* to raise the siege of *Breda*. Rejoicings were made in every town in the *Spanish Netherlands*, which so astonished *Maurice*, that he sent a message to *Fourbin*, governor of *Breda*, desiring to know the foundation of these reports. *Fourbin's* answer became the sincerity and honour of a soldier. "He had rather, " he said, the reports had been true, and not published, than false, and reported with so " much ostentation."

*Breda surren-  
ders.*

*FOURBIN's* courage did not abandon him on the retreat of the *Spaniards*: he sustained the redoubled efforts of the enemy with his usual vigour. A variety of brisk sallies were made, in one of which fell, among other considerable personages on the side of the besiegers, the baron *Charnosse*, ambassador from the *French* king. The incessant fire d and perpetual attacks from the town, obliged the prince to alter his manner, and carry on his approaches under cover; which, though more slow and expensive, saved the lives of great numbers, and enabled him at last to arrive at the foot of the walls. This at length shook the constancy of the brave *Fourbin*, who saw himself destitute of powder and provision, without hope of succour; his garrison diminished to a third of their original number, and the remains broken, fatigued, and exhausted. He was besides teased with the clamours of the townsmen, oppressed with a malignant fever, that swept the people off by hundreds. All these circumstances determined him to propose a capitulation: he sent it to the prince of *Orange*, and it was immediately accepted, without alteration, though the prince's generosity and regard for the brave garrison occasioned loud clamours against his e conduct. The governor and soldiers were allowed all the honours of war, and the officers of the city placed on the same footing as in the year 1625, before it was reduced by *Spinola*. *Fourbin* paid his compliments, sealed in a letter to the prince: he was received graciously, loaded with praises and honours, and dismissed with valuable presents, which reflected equal credit on the generosity of the prince and the valour of the governor <sup>m</sup>.

THE conquest of *Breda* was attended by consequences the most important to the states-general. It secured commerce on the coasts of *Zealand*, and frontiers of *Holland*; it delivered the provinces from the incursions of the enemy, quite to the gates of *Bergen-op-zoom* and *Boisleduc*; it gained a valuable addition to the dominions of the republic; it depressed the spirits of the *Spaniards*, disconcerted their projects, gave fresh courage to the *Dutch*, f and greatly augmented prince *Henry's* reputation. To put so valuable an acquisition beyond all danger of being again lost, the prince laboured with diligence to repair and augment the fortifications; in which he so happily succeeded, that *Breda* might be deemed one of the strongest cities then in *Europe*; for as yet *Vauban* and *Coehorn* had not appeared to raise the art of defence and attack to its height of perfection.

THE rejoicings made for the reduction of *Breda* had almost proved fatal to *Rhimberg*. The *Spanish* garrison in the city of *Gueldres*, apprised of the vast consumption of powder at *Rhimberg*, in firing cannon and giving magnificent exhibitions, and imagining that amidst the joy and riot of public rejoicings the defence of the town might probably be neglected, formed a scheme to surprise the place, and introduce a body of *Spanish* forces. That part g of the walls where the enemy approached was guarded only by one centinel, who imme-

<sup>m</sup> Mem. de Prince Henry, p. 218.



a diately discharged his piece, and thereby alarmed the garrison. The governor was gone to the *Hague*, to be cured of the wounds he received at the siege of *Breda*, and *John Weeckens*, his deputy, had but a handful of soldiers. Resistance was vain, as the enemy had already applied ladders to the walls: he bethought him therefore of a stratagem, which was to desert with seventeen men to the enemy, in order to prevail upon them to defer the attack, until the orders he had given within could be executed, and the place put in a posture of defence. The project was wild, but it partly succeeded. *Weeckens* was well received; his story was plausible, and he related it with such discretion, and gave so strong reasons for deferring the attack, that several hours were lost: however, being at last discovered, he was forced to fight his way back, sustained the whole weight of the enemy, and  
b disappointed their design, by this equally bold and extraordinary measure. When they returned to the attack on *Rhinberg*, the garrison received them with so much bravery as obliged them to abandon the enterprize <sup>a</sup>.

As the *Spaniards* were not sufficiently strong on the *Meuse* to act openly, and lay siege to the towns lately taken by the *Dutch*, they made several attempts to surprise the garrisons. A deep design upon *Maestricht* was happily disappointed, on the point of execution: all the rest of their projects, most of which were extremely refined, had the same issue. At sea they were more fortunate. The *Dunkirkers* attacked a fleet of *Zealanders*, under convoy of a single man of war, which they took after an obstinate battle, during which the merchantmen escaped. Soon after they augmented their fleet to forty sail, and attacked a *Dutch*  
c squadron of forty sail, whereof five were men of war. A bloody battle was fought, and the victory decided by the loss of one *Dutch* man of war, all the rest having escaped safe to port. Towards the spring hostilities were renewed on shore. Prince *Henry* resolved now to make use of the large fleet, detained for the whole preceding autumn in the road of *Flushing* by adverse winds and the vigilance of the *Spaniards*. He meditated the reduction of *Antwerp*; and, to facilitate this scheme, advanced his cavalry to *Boisleduc*, *Bergen-op-zoom*, and *Lillo*, leaving *Henry de Nassau*, count of *Friseland*, with a small army in the neighbourhood of *Nimeguen*. The infantry was embarked in thirty transports, under count *William de Nassau*, who arrived on the twenty-third day of *June* before *Fort Perle*, which he reduced. With a force not exceeding six thousand men, he laid siege to *Fort St. Mary*, and  
d secured the whole country to *Fort Isabella*, which immediately communicates with the city of *Antwerp*; but the difficulty of breaking down the dykes, and other cross accidents, obliged him to content himself with blocking up *Fort St. Mary*, and directing his chief strength against *Fort de Verre Broeck*, about a league distant from *Calloo*. Mean time the cardinal arrived at *Antwerp*, and with a considerable body of horse and foot crossed the *Scheld*. The *Hollanders* were immediately drawn from their posts before *St. Mary*; and count *William* having taken *Verre Broeck*, and received a reinforcement from prince *Henry*,  
e assembled all his forces near *Calloo*, where he made a stand. Here he was attacked by the cardinal, with an army double his number; but he defended himself with so much intrepidity, that, after an engagement of eight hours, the enemy were forced to retreat. On both sides the loss was considerable; but the *Dutch* chiefly regretted the death of the young count *Maurice de Nassau*, who had in an extraordinary manner distinguished all the virtues of a long line of heroic ancestors.

THOUGH the *Spaniards* were repulsed in this attempt, they were neither defeated nor dispirited. A fresh attack was made in the count's quarters, before his troops had time to draw breath. The artillery at the same time played with fury, all the outworks were forced, and the *Dutch* in the utmost danger of being totally defeated, when the night seasonably interposed, under cover of which the count drew off his broken forces. He was  
f pursued; and his rear, composed intirely of *Scotch* regiments, cut off, after a brave resistance. Great numbers, endeavouring to gain the ships, plunged into the river, and were drowned; while the *Spaniards*, pursuing their victory, entered *Calloo*, and made prisoners the *Dutch* garrison. *Fort Verre Broeck* surrendered upon honourable conditions to the conquerors, the prince of *Orange's* whole scheme was defeated, and the states were extremely mortified at the severest blow they had received since the cardinal came to the government of the *Spanish Netherlands* <sup>a</sup>.

PRINCE *Henry* was posted at *Bergen-op-zoom*, exerting his utmost diligence in collecting the fugitive remains of the defeated army. *Sfondrato* was detached, with twenty-four troops of horse, to attack his intrenchments. He surprised the centinels, and threw the *Dutch* camp into confusion; but the prince poured out his troops with such impetuosity, as entirely disconcerted the *Spaniards*, and repulsed them with great loss, the prisoners  
g amounting to four hundred men, among whom were several officers of distinction. Two days after, when the *Dutch* imagined themselves in perfect security, their camp was a se-

A. D. 1638.

An unsuccessful attempt on Antwerp.

Dutch defeated.

<sup>a</sup> NUVILLE, tom. ii. lib. viii.

<sup>a</sup> Mem. de Prince Henry, ibid.



cond time attacked at *Worven*, with such vigour, that having forced the intrenchments, the *Spaniards* began pillaging. In this situation, the *Dutch* having rallied, returned to the charge, drove the enemy out of the camp, and obtained a complete victory. Being superior in forces, the *Spaniards* resolving to keep the prince in continual perturbation, a third time fell upon his cavalry near *St. Vliet*, the contest was warm, and the advantage disputed; certain it is, that near a thousand men fell upon each side. It was after these sharp actions, that the prince of *Orange* made an unsuccessful attempt on *Gueldres*, and that the *Spaniards* reduced *Kerpen*, with which transaction and some other less considerable losses on the side of the states, ended the campaign, in a manner more glorious to the cardinal than any of the preceding.

Affairs in  
South Ame-  
rica.

NOR were the *Dutch* more fortunate in *South America* than in *Europe*. A fever that brought the life of count *Maurice* into great danger, proved extremely detrimental to their affairs in *Brazil*. After the reduction of *Porto Cavallo*, the *Portuguese* general *Bagniola* had assembled a considerable army, with which he fell upon the *Dutch* conquests, and desolated the country, putting all the natives to the sword, who had acknowledged the sovereignty of the republic. Colonel *Schruppen* marched against him, checked his ravages, but could not bring him to a battle. As soon as count *Maurice* recovered, he took the command of the army, and laid siege to *St. Salvador*, for which purpose he received express orders from the directors of the company. He had first, by a variety of feints, diverted the enemy's strength to another quarter, and now carried on his approaches without any external molestation. But the vigorous conduct of the garrison, and their first sally, supported by four hundred men, boded an unfortunate issue to the enterprize. In this sharp skirmish the count lost near three hundred men, some of his best officers, and the only person who merited the appellation of an engineer in his whole army. Finding that his numbers were insufficient completely to block up the besieged, or prevent the enemy from throwing in succours, he broke up his camp, and retired with some precipitation, and great chagrin. This disappointment was succeeded by a fruitless attempt on the plate-fleet, made by admiral *Jol* in the gulph of *Honduras*. He attacked the enemy with great fury, but was deserted by his captains in the middle of the engagement, and left with three ships to encounter the whole force of the *Spaniards*. After extricating himself with great valour, he again collected his ships, punished some of the delinquents, animated the rest, and returned a second time to the attack; but with the same success. Just as victory was ready to declare for him, his cowardly officers, whom neither shame, honour, or interest, could influence, sheered off, and again left him deeply engaged in the midst of the enemy. Once more his conduct and intrepidity prevailed; he broke the enemy's line, and opened a way to join his own squadron. Apprehending that his former severity might have alienated the minds of his captains, *Jol* had now recourse to arguments and entreaties. He set before them the vast riches in view, the infamy consequent on their cowardice and disobedience, with every other topic that could move their passions, or convince their reason. A few were drawn back to their duty; and supported by these, *Jol* determined upon a third attack; but now the wind had shifted in favour of the *Spaniards*. In despite of all difficulties, the brave *Dutchman* bore down upon the enemy, engaged them with redoubled vigour, and was a third time defeated. Thus after the noblest exertions of courage he lost his prize, but acquired a reputation which will transmit his name to posterity, enrolled in the long list of heroes produced by the republic. All his present satisfaction consisted in punishing the cowardly, and after having them superseded, sending them home in irons to be tried by the martial laws of *Holland* for cowardice and mutiny <sup>p</sup>.

Bravery of  
admiral Jol.

A. D. 1639.

THE disgraces of the preceding campaign determined the states to make the most vigorous efforts to recover their losses. Early in the spring the prince of *Orange* was at the head of a formidable army, ready to oppose the cardinal's designs, and the vast projects entertained by the *Spaniards*, who were highly elated with their victory at *Calloo*, the reduction of *Kerpen*, and *Henry's* disappointment before *Gueldres*. Leaving a body of infantry at *Lillo*, and a few squadrons of horse at *Bergen-op-zoom*, the prince divided his army into two columns, one of which he embarked, to make a diversion in *Flanders*, and engage cardinal *Richlieu* to perform his part of the late treaty. Colonel *Alverdt* was left with seventeen companies of foot, to oppose the enemy on the *Scheld*; and the prince went in person to *Nimeguen*, where he was joined by four thousand *Hessians*, under general *Melancther*. With this force he proposed renewing the siege of *Gueldres*; he had even detached part of his forces to invest the city; but finding that the enemy had thrown in powerful succours, he dropped the design, and removed to *Venlo*.



a GREATER expectations were entertained from the fleet sent under *Martin Harpert Van Tromp*, lieutenant-admiral of *Holland*, and one of the best naval officers that *Holland*, fruitful in good seamen, ever produced. *Tromp* had accompanied the famous *Heine* in all his expeditions, was the great favourite of that admiral, and fought by his side at the time he was killed. In divers other actions he had so distinguished his intrepidity and conduct, that the states raised him to his present dignity under the prince of *Orange*, the highest officer in their navy. Having advice that a *Spanish* Squadron, composed of ten large men of war, four frigates, and several smaller vessels, had quitted the port of *Randyke* on the eighteenth of *February*, *Tromp* immediately went in pursuit, came up with the *Spanish* admiral off *Graveline*, joined battle, and defeated him, after a bloody conflict, which lasted six hours. The *Spanish* admiral, and three more great ships, were driven on the sands, and taken; and the vice-admiral's ship was burnt, to prevent her falling into the hands of the *Hollanders*. Four frigates were besides taken, and the *Spaniards* were reported to have lost near two thousand men, of whom seven hundred were made prisoners.

b THE most important consequence of *Tromp's* victory was, that four thousand men on board the *Spanish* Squadron were destined for a grand armament equipping at *Cadiz* and *Corunna*, the most formidable that had been seen since the armada prepared to invade *England*. All the maritime powers were attentive to the object of this vast fleet. *England* and *France* imagined the court of *Spain* intended, in conjunction with the king of *Denmark*, to attack *Sweden*; while the states-general trembled for the fate of the provinces. In fact, the Catholic king had his own immediate interest too strongly in view, to hearken to the suggestions of the king of *Denmark*. The armament was expressly equipped to annoy the provinces, and it set sail with twenty thousand land-forces on board, in the month of *July*, under the conduct of *Don Antonio d'Oquendo*, who had already experienced the valour and naval abilities of the *Hollanders*. To oppose this powerful fleet, amounting to eighty-seven sail, *Van Tromp* weighed anchor with no more than a Squadron of eighteen men of war. His first design was, merely to obstruct the passage of the *Spaniards*; but having fallen in with their van, on board which was all the money and four thousand troops, he attacked it in the night with such fury, that the enemy were wholly dispersed, every ship crowding all the sail she could make, to get out of the reach of *Tromp's* cannon. Next morning *Oquendo* came up with the rest of the fleet, and immediately engaged *Tromp* yard-arm-and-yard-arm. After a violent conflict the *Spaniard* was forced to shift his flag; his ship was soon after sunk, and four more were taken; but the *Dutch* were prevented from pursuing their advantage by a thick fog, which effectually concealed the enemy. Before the weather cleared up, *Tromp* was strongly reinforced, which enabled him to pursue the enemy to the *Downs*, where they had taken sanctuary under the wing of the *English* admiral. It is probable he would have destroyed the whole but for the partiality evidently shewn in favour of the *Spaniards*. *Tromp* remonstrated upon the king of *England's* conduct as a breach of the treaty subsisting with *Holland*. To the *English* admiral's conduct he ascribed the safety of the enemy; his intelligence had misled the *Dutch*, and his motions had covered the *Spaniards*; but no redress was obtained. At length another reinforcement arrived, which rendered *Tromp* so powerful, that he resolved to face the enemy in the *Downs*, and even to give battle to the *English* rather than be diverted from his purpose. It was upon this resolution, say the *Dutch* writers, that the king of *England* ordered his admiral to withdraw his protection from the *Spaniards*, perceiving that otherwise he must come to an open rupture with the *Hollanders*. Thus it was that *Tromp*, after having for a month blocked up *Oquendo*, obliged him at last to come to an engagement. Rather than stand an attack in his present situation, the *Spaniard* resolved running the hazard of crossing the Channel under cover of a fog; but *Tromp* kept so strict watch that it was impossible to escape. An action ensued, and both sides fought with desperate fury. For the space of eight hours the *Spaniards* made an obstinate resistance; at last they were totally defeated, with the loss of fourteen men of war, burnt, sunk, taken, or driven ashore, among which were the vice-admiral of *Spain*, the admiral of *Galicia*, and the great galleon of *Portugal*, fourteen hundred tons burthen, mounting eighty guns, and carrying eight hundred men, all of whom perished by the water or the sword. Twenty-one of the enemy's ships put back to the *Downs* in a wretched plight; fire-ships were sent to destroy them; but the *English* again interposed, contrary to their neutrality, and the express injunctions of the sovereign. That day thirteen ships more fell into the hands of the *Hollanders*, of which eleven only could be carried off, so miserably were they shattered. In a word, of this whole prodigious armament, only eight reached *Dunkirk*. *Oquendo's* own ship was so much damaged, that he owed his life to a frigate sent to his assistance by the generous *Van Tromp*. Eight thousand men were killed, four thousand wounded, and two thousand taken prisoners, and carried with the rest of the spoils in triumph to the *Texel*, *Brille*, and *Flushing*. All *Europe* admired the skill and intrepidity.



intrepidity of *Van Tromp*, and the naval power of *Holland*. The states decreed him the same honours conferred upon admiral *Heine*, and the *French* king sent him particular marks of his regard; among the rest a patent, whereby he was enrolled among the nobility of *France*<sup>a</sup>.

A. D. 1640.  
Prince Henry  
invades Flanders.

HAVING entirely ruined the maritime power of *Spain*, the most vigorous preparations were making to carry on the war by land with equal success. With this view prince *Henry* took the field at the head of a powerful army, with which, in the month of *May*, he entered the bishopric of *Bruges*. He encamped at *Maldegheem*, in order to gain the command of the two canals that lead to *Ghent*, and the neighbouring forts. This march a good deal alarmed the cardinal, notwithstanding all the passes were in possession of the *Spaniards*, and strictly guarded. It was his fear that made him throw himself into *Ghent*, in expectation that his presence would encourage the garrison, and deter the prince from making any attempt on that important town. The effects corresponded; every where the *Spaniards* seemed invincible, driving before them the *Hollanders*, and defeating them in every encounter. *Henry*, however, was not dispirited by the unfortunate issue of skirmishes, which produced nothing decisive. He was in hopes that the valour of the enemy was a last effort of despair, and therefore proceeded coolly in his designs, without suffering himself to be disconcerted by accidents, which necessarily eluded human foresight. He laid siege to *Damme*, and declined fortifying his camp in the usual manner, in hopes to draw the cardinal to a battle. But he could not succeed, nor did the reduction of the garrison prove a matter of so little difficulty as he imagined; the resistance within indeed was so obstinate, and the alarms from the cardinal's camp without so perpetual, that *Henry* abandoned the design, quitted *Flanders*, and disappointed the great expectations of the court of *France* and the states general. His retreat left the cardinal at liberty to penetrate into *Artois*, and take measures for succouring *Arras*, then besieged by the *French* army.

WHILE the cardinal was employed in *Artois*, the prince was endeavouring to profit by his absence, and cut off his return. With this view he formed an enterprize against *Hulst*, which he began with storming fort *Nassau*. This affair was happily and boldly executed by the *French* troops led on by the marquis de *Hauterive*. The surrender of the fort struck terror into *Hulst*, and even set the city of *Antwerp* upon arming the townsmen, and preparing against a siege. *Sfondrato* and *Cantelmo* with a body of troops flung themselves into the city, and the garrisons were withdrawn from all the adjacent fortresses, the better to secure *Antwerp*. *Henry's* object, however, was *Hulst*; to this place he laid siege, drew his lines, and gave the assault to fort *St. Anne*, during which his cavalry was attacked by a strong body of horse, under *Sfondrato*. After a sharp action the *Spanish* cavalry was defeated; but the infantry coming up, led on by *Saavedra*, sustained the fire with admirable constancy, and at last repulsed the *Hollanders* with the loss of the brave *Henry Ernest de Nassau*, governor of *Friseland*; a loss more regretted by the states general than the two hundred men who perished in this unfortunate action. This repulse evinced *Henry* that he had committed a fault in amusing himself by an attack on a little out-fort, when he ought to have employed all his attention in blocking up *Hulst*. By this means he afforded the cardinal leisure to draw his troops from *Artois*; but it was too late to remedy the error; the enemy had assembled a superior army, and there remained no alternative, but to run the hazard of being defeated, or immediately to break up the siege and retire. The latter was his choice, and his retreat put an end to the operations of the campaign<sup>c</sup>.

Affairs of the  
West-India  
company in  
Brasil, and on  
the coast of  
Africa.

FORTUNE, which seemed, upon the whole, to favour the *Spaniards* in the *Netherlands*, was less propitious to them in *America*. *Philip* had sent the count de *la Torre*, with a strong armament, the preceding year, to *Brasil*. On his arrival on the coast of *Africa*, the troops were seized with a pestilential disease, which swept off three thousand men before the fleet reached *St. Salvador*. The number that remained did not exceed two thousand soldiers, all of whom were too sickly to enter upon action. It was not doubted but the count de *la Torre* must have dispossessed the *Hollanders* of every foot of land they possessed in *Brasil*, as his fleet amounted to forty-six sail of large ships, twenty-seven of which were galleons double manned, and well provided with every necessary. Had this armament arrived safe, *Maurice* must necessarily have quitted the country; but the wretched situation of the land-forces and sailors, and the long stay made in *Ali Saints* bay for the recovery of the men, enabled the *Dutch* to make all possible preparations. In a short time their fleet amounted to forty one sail of armed ships of different dimensions and strength, while *la Torre* used such diligence, that he collected ninety-four ships, transports and men of war, having twelve thousand men on board, including the *Brasil* forces. His intention was, to fall upon the *Dutch* settlements; which count *Maurice*, and his admiral *William Looff*, used all their diligence to prevent. *Looff* came up with the enemy between the island *Tamaraca*

<sup>a</sup> La Vie de Tromp, p. 96. LE CLERC, tom. ii. NUVILLE, lib. ix. <sup>c</sup> La Vie de prince Henry, p. 222.



- a and the river *Gojana*, and engaged them from noon till night, when he was unluckily killed by a cannon bullet. His death animated his seamen with a desire of revenge; vice-admiral *Huygens* took the command, and renewed the battle next morning with the utmost intrepidity. He knew so well how to make advantage of the size and swiftness of his frigates, that he terribly galled the large unwieldy galleons, and raked them fore-and-aft, without receiving considerable damage, as they could only bring their chace-guns to bear. Before night several *Spanish* men of war floated like useless wrecks upon the water; but it was dangerous to attempt boarding them, on account of their being filled with soldiers. *Huygens*, however, kept close all night, and by day-break again began the engagement with more success, notwithstanding several of the enemies ships that had been the most damaged, were  
b towed away to the *Rio Grande*. For this whole day a running fight was maintained, the *Spanish* admiral making all the sail he could to the northward; but next day *Huygens* came to close quarters, and so admirably served his cannon, that a complete victory was obtained, with the loss, on his side, of scarce an hundred seamen and soldiers, while the enemy, by their own confession, had four thousand killed and wounded. Ten of their largest ships were driven upon the sands, where they perished with their whole crews. The rest of the fleet was prevented from putting into harbour to refresh, in consequence of which a pestilential disease appeared on board, and destroyed more than half the soldiers. Some of their straggling vessels were every day falling into the hands of the *Hollanders*, and before the end of the year only four galleons and three merchantmen remained of all this formidable  
c armament, which had once terrified count *Maurice* into the notion of evacuating the *Brasils*. Yet no important consequences resulted; *Maurice* contented himself with driving the *Spaniards* at a distance from the *Dutch* settlements, and desolating the country round the bay of *All Saints*. Admiral *Jol* cruised off the island of *Cuba* for the plate-fleet; but he had the misfortune of being terribly shattered in a storm, and reduced to the necessity of throwing himself upon the clemency of the *Spaniards*.

- THE signal revolution that now happened in *Portugal*, produced great alterations in the affairs of *Brasil*. The *Portuguese* having thrown off the *Castilian* yoke, count *Maurice* doubted not but all the natives of that country in *South America* would follow the example, separate themselves from the *Spaniards*, and conclude a truce with the *Hollanders*. Mean-  
d time he determined to seize the happy occasion which the quarrel between *Spain* and *Portugal* afforded. With this view he repaired the squadron under admiral *Jol*, with the utmost expedition, and resolved to push the *Dutch* conquests not only in *South America*, but on the coasts of *Africa*. While he was employed with the land-forces in reducing *Seregippa del Rey*, and the province of *Ceriji*, *Jol* was sent to the coast of *Angola*, to secure the negro trade to the *Dutch* company. His force consisted of twenty-one ships, nine hundred mariners, and two thousand two hundred soldiers, commanded by colonel *Henderson*, who likewise acted as vice-admiral. The colonel, with the land-forces, was landed on the island of *Loanda*, on the coast of the kingdom of *Congo*, and immediately he invested the capital, called *Santa Paolo*. The negroes flew to the assistance of the city, gave battle  
e at the foot of the mountains to the *Hollanders*, and were defeated. Nor was *Mencses*, the *Portuguese* governor, more successful. With a considerable body of *Europeans* he engaged *Henderson*, made an obstinate resistance, and disputed the victory until the greater part of his troops was cut in pieces. The city was abandoned to the conquerors; all had deserted it besides the aged and infirm; the booty was considerable, consisting of twenty-nine pieces of brass cannon, sixty-nine of cast iron, great quantity of warlike stores, and thirty ships lying in the harbour, many of them ready to sail with negroes to the settlements in *America* and the *West Indies*.

- ADMIRAL *Jol* no sooner found himself in possession of the capital, than he resolved to make it a place of strength, for which purpose he built one large citadel, and two upon a  
f more confined place, but all with regular fortifications. This conduct astonished the *Portuguese* governor, who hitherto imagined that the *Dutch* only wanted booty, and would directly quit the island as soon as that purpose was answered. Perceiving the admiral proposed gaining possession of the whole island, he alledged, that this intention was a violation of the treaty subsisting between *Portugal* and the republic; *Jol* denied his knowledge of any treaty, a second time defeated the governor, drove the *Portuguese* out of *Loanda*, and reduced the whole under the dominion of the states, which they kept, until it was surrendered to *Portugal* eleven years after. A. D. 1641.

- FROM *Loanda* admiral *Jol* directed his course to the island of *St. Thomas*, lying immediately under the equinoctial, which divides the capital. This island was before reduced by  
g the *Dutch* in 1610, but retaken soon after by the *Portuguese*. *Jol* debarked his troops near *Pavosan*, ordered them to march strait up to the walls of the citadel, but to commit no hostilities unless they were attacked, which soon happened. The negroes and *Portuguese* fell upon them tumultuously, and were defeated, but not before they had blown up a *Dutch* ship



ship with her whole crew and cargo. To reinforce the army, the town and citadel had been left defenceless; they consequently fell an easy prey. *Jol* had scarce settled the government of his new conquest, when he was seized with that endemial fever, which had before swept away numbers of his troops, and died much regretted by his soldiers, the directors of the company, and the states<sup>a</sup>.

THESE expeditions on the coast of *Africa* were succeeded by another undertaken by count *Maurice* against the province of *Maranbaan*, to the north of *Brasil*. The company earnestly wished to gain possession of a province so fertile in sugar, cotton, ginger, tobacco, and other valuable commodities, so rich in gold, and so conveniently situated to annoy the *Spanish* trade to the *Antilles*, the *Caribbees*, and all the islands in the neighbourhood of the gulph of *Mexico*. *Maurice* detached colonel *Coane* and admiral *Lichtirdt* upon this enterprize, in which they succeeded with little difficulty. Having taken the island *Marignan*, and the capital *St. Lewis*, the rest of the provinces submitted, and thus half the *Brasils* acknowledged the sovereignty of the states general. Three provinces, however, revolted soon after, and gave much trouble to the company and vexation to count *Maurice*. At present a truce with *Portugal* was concluded. *John IV.* on his accession resolved to secure himself against the attempts of *Spain*, by re-establishing peace with all his other neighbours, and particularly with the republic of the *United Provinces*; for which purpose he sent *Don Mendoza Hurtado* to the *Hague*, to propose a cessation of hostilities. It was no difficult matter for *Mendoza* to demonstrate that the inveterate enemy of the provinces would be greatly weakened by concluding the desired truce; it therefore was signed on the fourteenth day of *June*, and extended for ten years to all the dominions of both powers on either side the equinoctial. Accordingly hostilities were to cease in *Brasil* as soon as the truce was published in that country, and the *Portuguese* and *Hollanders* were to join in the total expulsion of the *Spaniards*. Notwithstanding the truce extended to the *East Indies*, the *Dutch* never lost sight of their own interest, and seized this opportunity of chasing the *Portuguese* out of *Japan*<sup>c</sup>.

THE principal transactions relative to the republic in *Europe*, were the marriage of *William*, the young prince of *Orange*, with the princess *Mary Stewart*, daughter of the king of *England*; a match brought about by *Mary de Medicis*. The siege of *Gennep* was the next considerable occurrence. No sooner were his son's nuptials celebrated, than prince *Henry* led his troops to the territory of *Cleves*, laid siege to *Gennep*, pushed his works with great vigour, and exerted himself so effectually, that his trenches were finished, and a communication opened between all the different quarters of the camp, by means of bridges over the *Meuse* and *Niers*, in the space of a few days. The cardinal relying upon the strength of the place, the numbers of the garrison, and the courage of the governor, *Preston* an *Irishman*, attempted to surprise *Ardenberg* in *Flanders*; but failing in his design, he turned his whole attention to the relief of *Gennep*. Withdrawing the garrisons from all the towns in *Flanders* and *Brabant*, he detached almost his whole army under the count *de Fontaines*, and the marquis *de Leda*, together with a body of three thousand Imperialists, to harraß the camp of the besiegers, throw in succours into the town, and, if occasion offered, to give battle to prince *Henry*. After all, this numerous army gave less disturbance to the *Dutch* than the garrison, which behaved with great gallantry. *Preston* made the most spirited sallies, nailing up the cannon, filling up the trenches, and destroying the works of the besiegers. This he repeated daily, notwithstanding his troops were greatly diminished and fatigued; but perceiving that the *Spanish* army undertook nothing, that the place was laid in ashes by bombs, that the course of the *Niers* was turned, that the town-ditch was dried up, that several mines were ready, and that a practicable breach was effected, he surrendered on being allowed the honours of war.

MEANTIME *Cantelmo*, elated with his victory at *Calloo*, continued in the territory of *Waes*, the theatre of his glory, and of all the trivial advantages he had gained over the *Hollanders*. He now attacked colonel *Alnaerdt*, and defeated him with considerable slaughter. Next he surprised count *Tillemont*, whom he entirely defeated, though with great loss on his own side. To put a stop to his insults, the prince of *Orange* assembled an army near *Hulst*; but *Cantelmo* joining the army under *Fontaines*, broke all *Henry's* measures, and with a corps of eight thousand men obliged him to decamp, at the head of twenty-six thousand chosen troops, and drop the design formed of laying siege to the city. With this transaction ended the campaign, about which time the cardinal *Ferdinand* yielded up his last breath, with the reputation of a wise, moderate, and mild governor. The administration came into the hands of *Don Francisco de Mello*, who with the marquis *de Velada* opposed the *French*, while the count *de Fontaines*, governor of *Bruges*, commanded in chief against the *Hollanders*. The death of cardinal *Richlieu* soon followed: and though it made no al-

<sup>a</sup> NUVILLE, lib. ix. cap. 5.<sup>c</sup> Idem, tom. ii. p. 9. cap. 6.



alteration in the treaty between *France* and the republic, it greatly obstructed the military operations of this year, and prevented the prince of *Orange* from undertaking any enterprise important enough to merit notice in a general history. A new treaty indeed was signed on the eighth of *March* between the two powers, whereby the states consented to maintain a squadron of thirty men of war to cruise before *Calais*, and to grant the king's troops a free passage over the *Rhine*, the *Wesel*, and the *Meuse*, into *Germany*; in consideration of which the king was to pay them a subsidy of one million two hundred thousand A. D. 1643. livres. Before the treaty was ratified *Lewis XIII.* died.

THE chief operations of the preceding year were directed to induce *Cantelmo* to give battle, which he always had the address to decline. He now retired under the cannon of *Antwerp*, where he watched an opportunity of again insulting the *Dutch* territories with impunity; but prince *William*, who was appointed general of the cavalry, by a bold and masterly stroke, drew him into an ambuscade, attacked him with impetuosity, and after a short engagement defeated him, leaving nine hundred men dead upon the field, and carrying off six hundred prisoners, among whom were two general officers, with forty-five others of inferior stations. *Cantelmo* himself was once taken, but soon after rescued by the bravery of his own troops, and the negligence of the *Hollanders*. This action, the first in which prince *William* ever commanded in chief, spread his reputation, and convinced the world that he might one day equal the glory of his renowned ancestors. Prince William defeats a body of Spaniards.

THE truce with *Portugal* having stopped all hostilities in *Brasil*, count *Maurice* sent admiral *Brewers* with a squadron to attack the *Spaniards* on the coast of *Chili*; but the most important consequence of this expedition was, that the admiral discovered a more safe and easy passage to the *South Sea*, than either by the streights of *Le Maire* or *Magellan*, since called by his name, but scarce ever frequented. *Maurice* having now nothing further to transact in *Brasil* that required his presence, obtained leave from the company to return to *Europe*. He arrived in *Holland* on the ninth of *May*, 1644, brought home a fleet richly laden, had particular honours conferred on him by the company and the states, and was appointed to the government of *Wesel*, and the rank of lieutenant-general of the cavalry by the prince of *Orange*. The year 1643, was distinguished by the memorable but unsuccessful attempt, to find a safe passage to *Europe* from *China* and *Japan* by the northern coast of *Tartary*; and by the discovery of *New Holland*, and other parts of the *Terra Australis*, or southern continent, of which we have already given a particular account.

NEGOTIATIONS for a general peace began about this time to be set on foot at *Munster* A. D. 1644; and *Osnabrug*. The states-general were sensible that now must be decided their title to sovereignty, and the issue of all those bloody wars, which they sustained against the whole force of *Spain* for little less than a century past. To gain the other powers, it was necessary to link their interest inseparably to that of *France*; for which purpose they concluded a new treaty with that court, the object of which was to cement the contracting parties in a still closer union. The fruits of this treaty was a resolution of the states to assist *France* in the siege of *Graveline*. A squadron under *Van Tromp* was detached to block up the harbour; and he performed his instructions with such diligence and conduct, as greatly facilitated the reduction of the place. The prince of *Orange* had likewise directions to co-operate with the *French*; with which view he penetrated into *Flanders*, and was advancing to *Bruges*, where he was stopped by the count d'*Issenburgh*, and forced to retire to *Maldegheem*. This retreat, though involuntary, proved fortunate; it enabled the prince to lay siege to *Sas van Ghent*, and carry the town, before *Issenburgh*, with all his diligence, could come to the assistance of the garrison. Don *Andrea de Petrada*, the governor, made a gallant defence; but he was forced to capitulate on the seventh of *September*, after a siege of six weeks. This conquest was thought of so great importance to the security of the provinces, that the states sent an order for repairing and enlarging the fortifications with all possible expedition.

No sooner were the negotiations opened at *Munster*, than the states found themselves greatly embarrassed with respect to two points; the one regarded the honours to be demanded at the congress by their ambassadors; the other, the nature of their late treaty with *France*, whereby they were tied down from entering upon any conferences either of truce or peace, with any power, particularly *Spain*, without the consent and participation of the *French* court. Don *Francisco de Mello* was at this very time urging them to conclude a separate peace with *Spain*; and it was imagined that very advantageous conditions might be obtained, should they give ear to his proposals. His most Christian majesty laboured to divert them from this measure. Cardinal *Mazarin* gave them to understand, that their deputies should have the same honours paid to them as the ambassadors of the Negotiations at Munster.

" Mod. Univ. Hist. vol. v.



A. D. 1645.

republic of *Venice*. He likewise strenuously exhorted them not to depart from their own interest, by renouncing their alliance with *France*, as nothing could be more uncertain than the issue of conferences which might hold for years, and at last vanish in smoke. He assured them, that *Spain* desired nothing more than to dissolve the confederacy betwixt *France* and *Holland*; and to stop the course of the prince of *Orange*'s conquest. Their proposals had no other object, and that once gained, the states would hear no more of advantageous offers made, merely from selfish motives. The states assented to the cardinal's arguments, and in consequence the alliance was renewed, both parties engaging to continue the war against *Spain* on the usual footing. Accordingly the *French* penetrated into *Flanders* on one side, while the prince of *Orange* opened a way on the other. His design was to lay siege to *Antwerp*, a city of which he had long earnestly wished making a present to the states. He spoke of it to *d'Estrades*, the *French* minister, and assured the marshals *Gassin* and *Rantzau*, that if they assisted him with three thousand cavalry to oppose the enemy's horse, he would immediately undertake this arduous enterprize. This proposition occasioned an interview, but the marshals would not join with the prince's opinion; each prepared a different plan of operations, and thus the whole project vanished. The *French* generals, however, advanced a few squadrons and battalions to disengage the prince's army, cooped up between *Ghent* and *Bruges* by general *Beck* and count *Picolomini*. With this reinforcement *Henry* was enabled to cross the canal and the *Lys*, oblige *Picolomini* to retire, and visit the duke of *Orleans* near *Courtney*, to concert the future operations of both armies. On his return general *Beck* opposed his passage over the *Scheld*, was repulsed, and defeated with great slaughter, the general himself receiving a wound in the shoulder, and narrowly escaping being made prisoner. *Henry* was in expectation that the marshals would now have assisted him in his favourite project; but the siege of *Antwerp* was inconsistent with the measures of their court, and they excused themselves, by pleading the expiration of their commissions.

*HENRY*, though disappointed in his great purpose, resolved to employ the rest of the campaign to the best advantage, and in performing the engagements into which the states general had entered with the *French* court. With this design he passed the *Lys*, though opposed by the *Spaniards*, and detached prince *William* with the cavalry to invest *Hulst*, a place deemed one of the keys of *Brabant* and *Flanders*, and among the strongest fortifications of that country. By the fifth of *October*, he began to work upon the trenches, and attacked the forts *Nassau* and *Verrebroeck* with such impetuosity, that they surrendered at the first assault. *Spinola*'s fort, connected by four great bastions to *Hulst* and *Verrebroeck*, proving a great annoyance to his troops, this he likewise attacked, and carried after a sharp dispute that lasted for the space of five hours. Having thus reduced all the outworks which could any way molest his operations, he battered the town on every side, without being at the trouble of entrenching himself with his usual solicitude. The garrison, consisting of three thousand foot, and two troops of horse, kept up a perpetual fire, and made three spirited sallies; but the dryness of the season deprived them of the benefit they might otherwise expect from the canals and marshes with which the place was surrounded. General *Beck* was, since his late defeat, in no condition to offer them succours; and *Picolomini* was fully employed in opposing the *French* army. On the seventh of *November*, they saw the prince preparing for a general assault; to amuse him, a capuchin was dispatched to the camp, with proposals of peace or a truce. He presented his credentials; by which he was fully authorised to terminate all differences between *Spain* and the *United Provinces*; but he could not deceive *Henry*, who was not to be persuaded that the Catholic king would intrust an affair of such importance to the management of an ignorant priest: yet as the imposture could not be detected, the capuchin was sent back, the resolution of storming the town resumed, and every thing got in readiness for that purpose. Upon this the garrison desired to capitulate; all their proposals were granted, except the article respecting religion, the prince determining, that only the Protestant religion should be publicly tolerated in all his future conquests. The court of *France* resented this restriction, the queen regent having the good of the Catholic Faith extremely at heart. *D'Estrades* had orders from cardinal *Mazarin* to remonstrate upon this head to the prince of *Orange*, who excused himself, by alledging that the lenity he had shewn upon former occasions had incurred the suspicion of the states, and given breath to a report, of his being inclined to favour the doctrines of the church of *Rome*.

*Hulst taken  
by the Dutch.*

IMMEDIATELY after the surrender of *Hulst*, prince *Henry* attacked fort *Moerspeye*, situated between *Hulst* and *Ghent*, defended by four strong bastions, well provided, and filled with soldiers. Notwithstanding this he carried it by assault, after a bloody action that conti-



a nued six hours; and by this conquest, the last of his life, secured to the republic the territory of *Waes*, a barrier against *Spanish Flanders*, from *Lillo* to *Sluys*, and a great number of strong forts situated in a chain, at a small distance from each other. With this transaction ended the campaign on the side of the *Netherlands*.

It was otherways in *Brasil*, notwithstanding the *Hollanders* imagined themselves in perfect security by the late truce concluded with *Portugal*. They did not reflect that this was a measure dictated by the new king's necessities, and that the *Portuguese* in general bore with ill-will the temporary cession made to the *Dutch* of their conquests in *Africa*, *America*, and the *East Indies*. The *Portuguese* ambassador at the *Hague* complained, that since the crown of *Portugal* had been separated from *Castile*, and the truce concluded with the  
b *United Provinces*, the *Dutch* governors had committed divers hostilities against the subjects of his most Faithful majesty; but the *Dutch* deputies, far from giving him any satisfaction, vindicated the conduct of their governors, and asserted the company's legitimate claim to certain places in dispute, both on the coast of *Africa*, and in *Brasil*. Nothing could be obtained besides a provisional treaty, in which it was stipulated, that the parties should mutually restore all their conquests made since the twelfth day of *June*, 1641, when the truce for ten years took place. The instructions, however, sent to the governors of their conquest were not express; they therefore neglected executing them, and were well satisfied with any opportunity of retaining places which produced great advantages in point of commerce. During the last year of *Maurice's* government, all *Brasil* tasted the blessings  
c of tranquillity and repose. The truce was rigidly observed, and the *Portuguese* and *Dutch* lived in perfect amity. The same harmony continued the year after the count's departure; and such was the confidence the *Hollanders* reposed in the fidelity of the *Portuguese*, that they suffered their fortifications to fall to ruin, admitting those who were lately their bitter enemies, into civil and military employments, and without scruple supplying them with arms and ammunition, for the sake of the excessive price they paid, without reflecting upon their designs, to use them to their destruction. Now the eyes of the company were opened by the complaints of the *Portuguese* ambassador. They rightly conjectured, that his remonstrances were calculated merely to palliate some scheme of violence then in agitation. In fact, it proved what they conjectured. *Antonio de Silva*, viceroy  
d of *Portuguese Brasil*, meditated a project for expelling the *Dutch* out of the country, and seized the opportunity of the count's absence, the weakness of the *Dutch*, and their confidence in the *Portuguese*, to execute his purpose. He carried on a clandestine correspondence with all the *Portuguese* under the *Dutch* government, and readily drew them over to his sentiments, particularly in the province of *Fernambuco*. The viceroy nominated *Fernandez Vieta*, a person of fortune, influence, and distinction, chief of the enterprize; and *Vieta* embraced the offer with the more readiness, because, if the project succeeded, he should by that means clear off an account of two hundred thousand crowns with the *Dutch* merchants. A body of fifteen hundred soldiers were secretly sent on board a galleon and ten transports, to surprise *Reciff*, a place of great importance, negligently guarded by the  
e *Hollanders*. Other detachments were made to seize upon *Serinbaam*, *Nazareth*, and all the strong holds in the hands of the *Dutch*; while *Vieta* and other *Portuguese* emissaries were privately levying troops in the country, and cajoling the *Dutch* governors with all the appearances of the most sincere friendship and hearty good-will and esteem. They had been invited on the day appointed for the insurrection to celebrate the nuptials of a *Portuguese* lady; and while they were sitting at table, letters arrived from the directors in *Europe*, which gave them the first intimation of the conspiracy. All their address was scarce sufficient to extricate them out of this perplexed situation: with admirable presence of mind, they framed an excuse for retiring a few minutes, so plausible, that it even deceived the *Portuguese*. The governors immediately gave the alarm, and the conspirators  
f finding they were discovered, fled with their arms to the woods. Both now had recourse to open hostilities, and the war was resumed with redoubled animosity. The *Dutch* fired at the treachery of the enemy, and the *Portuguese* resented their disappointment with as much rancour as if they had sustained a real injury. In the first engagement the *Hollanders* were worsted; but they balanced this loss by a victory at sea, in which the enemy lost two of their best ships, and seven hundred mariners and soldiers. Upon the whole the *Hollanders* lost ground. *Cape St. Augustin*, *Reciff*, and *Olinda*, fell into the hands of the enemy, either by treachery, cowardice, or open force. Nothing but pillaging, stratagem, and massacres, passed between the two nations. The news came to the *Hague*, and the people rose tumultuously to demolish the *Portuguese* ambassador's house. Incensed  
g at the insidious conduct of the court and people, they would have tore him limb from limb, if the prince of *Orange* had not interposed. The ambassador protested, that the court of *Portugal* had no share in the insurrection, and that they would severely punish the conspirators; but the states, well informed to the contrary, carried their complaints to



to the court of *France*, and represented to the most Christian king the perfidy of his *Portuguese* majesty \*.

By these means was laid the foundation of a new truce between *France* and *Holland*. Cardinal *Mazarin* reproached the *Dutch* with treating privately at *Munster* with the *Spaniards*, and said, that their sufferings in *Brasil* was the just punishment of their treachery and disregard of solemn treaties. At the same time, he promised them all possible assistance to revenge the insults received from the *Portuguese*, and encouraged them to use their utmost diligence in defence of their settlements in *Brasil*. This was proposed with a view to gain the entire confidence of the states. However, it was accepted in the literal sense, and accordingly a fleet of fifty-two sail was equipped under admiral *Baucher*, appointed commander in chief of the naval armament in *Brasil*, the *West Indies*, and the coast of *Africa*, having *Sigismund Schuppen* to assist him, and direct entirely the land operations. Thus a new war was commenced with great vigour on the further side the line, which after raging without remission for the space of ten years, ended with the expulsion of the *Hollanders* out of *Brasil*, and the almost total overthrow of the *West India* company.

DURING the whole winter the congress sat at *Munster*, without making any considerable progress in the scheme of a general pacification. The *French* king, persuaded that the *Spaniards* raised numbers of difficulties in order to divide the allies, resolved, by the advice of the queen-regent his mother, to prosecute the war for another campaign; for which purpose he continued the usual subsidy to the states-general, on condition they should maintain an army of twenty thousand foot, and five thousand horse, to lay siege to some important fortress in the *Spanish Netherlands*, and a squadron to block up the *Spanish* ports in *Flanders*. When the treaty was signed, the cardinal dispatched a messenger to the prince of *Orange*, to induce him to undertake the siege of *Ghent*, the reduction of which would facilitate the designs on *Antwerp*. It was proposed to march two *French* armies under the dukes of *Orleans* and *Enguiben*, the one to assist the prince, the other to invest divers other places; but *Henry* was so afflicted with the gout, and a complication of other diseases, that it was not possible for him to give a direct answer to the cardinal's propositions.

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MEANTIME the marquis *de Castil Rodrigo*, governor of the *Spanish Netherlands*, until the arrival of the archduke *Leopold*, having notice of the new treaty between the court of *France* and the republic, and the designs formed upon *Ghent*, powerfully reinforced that city, and wrote to the states general, demanding a suspension of arms, during the conferences at *Munster*. These letters answered one essential purpose; they augmented the dissensions among the provinces, some of which were for detaching the republic from *France*; but the states wrote back, that notwithstanding they were perfectly sincere in the negotiations at *Munster*, they could not grant the suspension required, consistently with their engagements to their allies; however, under pretence of the prince of *Orange's* illness, not above half the army took the field. A plan was laid for the reduction of *Antwerp*; but that was likewise frustrated by *Henry's* disease, which daily gained ground, and began now to alarm the provinces. It is indeed supposed that he grew jealous of the power of *France*, and advised the states to hasten the negotiations at *Munster*. Besides, he retained some of the old prejudices harboured against *Richlieu*, and convinced himself, that the new minister pursued the same system, and bent his whole policy to procure a secure footing in the *Netherlands*. As to what some writers mention of his jealousy of his own son prince *William*, and his dislike to seeing him at the head of an army, it is too improbable, and too injurious to the character of prince *Henry*, to deserve credit. Certain however it is, that the *Spanish* faction daily augmented in *Holland*; that the alliance with *France* was in the decline; and that *Tromp's* blocking up *Dunkirk*, while the *French* army besieged the town by land, was the last instance of friendship that passed between the Christian king and the republic. *Venlo* indeed was invested by prince *William*, but the siege was soon raised, by order of the states, under pretence that the season was too far advanced.

Death of the  
prince of  
Orange.

DURING the whole winter, the prince of *Orange* lingered under a variety of chronical disorders, any of which were sufficient to render his life miserable, and his death certain. The gout, the stone, and dropsy, had reduced him to a skeleton, and the excruciating torture in which he had passed several months, not only made his temper harsh and peevish, but even affected his intellects. To this the *French* writers ascribe his falling off from the interest of *France*, though this measure may truly be regarded as a proof of his foresight, penetration, and policy. At length, *Henry* yielded up his last breath, on the fourteenth of *March*, in the sixty-seventh year of his age, and was regretted as a martyr to his country, having brought on his illness by that assiduity, diligence, and anxiety, with which he pursued the interests of the republic. No prince of *Orange* was ever more universally

\* *NUVILLE*, p. xix. cap. xiii. xiv.



a or deservedly beloved. Affable, generous, noble, and above all suspicion of deceit, and that duplicity so much affected by statesmen, he was justly esteemed the best politician, and greatest warrior in the *United Provinces*. He loved virtue, cherished science, rewarded merit, maintained the utmost harmony among the provinces, set his soldiers an example of patience, vigilance, activity, and courage, and fulfilled every duty of a general, patriot, friend, and father of a family. We speak not of the two last years of his life, in which sickness and disappointment would seem to have entirely soured his disposition, and changed his character. In justice therefore to his memory, we draw a veil over what prejudiced writers relate of his conduct during this period.

The same day on which his father died, prince *William* attended the states-general to William II. take the oaths, on being appointed to all the employments held by prince *Henry*. Some prince of Orange. of the provinces deferred acknowledging him stadtholder for a few days, in order to watch the bias of his policy, as he was supposed inclinable to continue the war, and the alliance with *France*. It was proposed in the states of *Holland* and *West Friseland* to exact an obligation from him, that he would endeavour with all his ability to forward the negotiations at *Munster*, and detach the republic from the *French* interest; but some of the more prudent members apprehended lest such rough measures might incense a young prince, full of fire, beloved by the nobility, the army, and the people: they therefore advised the states to content themselves with sending a respectful message, requesting that he would not traverse the conferences at *Munster*, or any way obstruct the negotiations carrying on with Spain. *William* no sooner consented than they acknowledged him stadtholder, and he was immediately proclaimed, by the acclamations of the people, stadtholder of six provinces, captain-general by land, and admiral-general by sea, of all the forces and fleets of the republic, with the same powers vested in his father and uncle.

ALL this time the *United Provinces* were labouring to effect a separate peace with the *Spaniards*, which was constantly obstructed by the vigilance and address of the *French* plenipotentiaries. Besides the deputies of the states-general, and of the particular provincial states, the body of nobility was represented by eight deputies. It was now that the sovereignty of the states-general, and the rights of the separate departments of the republic, were established. No other terms would be accepted than an absolute independence on the house of *Austria*, and an universal acknowledgment of all the powers concerned in the negotiation, that the *United Provinces* should henceforward be regarded as a free and sovereign republic. The concessions made in 1609 were but provisional: they were indeed acknowledged by *France*, and other powers, whose interest it was to keep well with the provinces; but *Spain* retracted them on the renewal of the war, and other states might follow the example, as soon as any difference arose with the republic. The *French* minister at the *Hague* remonstrated to the states on the ambiguous conduct of their deputies, and exhorted them not to give *Spain* an opportunity of accomplishing her views, by fomenting divisions among the allies. This obliged the *Dutch* plenipotentiaries to declare, that they had no intention to give weight or force to any articles, upon which they might agree with the *Spaniards*, unless they were sanctified by the concurrence of their allies. The most Christian king, however, still doubted their intentions. In order to keep the states steady, he dispatched M. *Severin* to the *Hague*, where he was coldly received, and indeed affronted with the superior attention shewn to the *Spanish* minister, who was sent to ballance his influence. *Severin*, nevertheless, supported the dignity of his character with great address; but he could not alter the disposition of the states, or prevent the conferences carried on by the deputies *Knuyt* and *Pauw* with the *Spanish* ambassadors at *Munster*. At length, after abundance of altercation between the plenipotentiaries of *Spain*, *France*, and *Holland*, after the darkest intrigues had been carried on, and the sources of the deepest policy drained, the following articles of peace were concluded between *Spain* and the *United Provinces*:  
 f That his Catholic majesty should renounce all right and sovereignty over the lords the states-general of the *United Provinces*, who were henceforward declared a free independent republic. That both sides should remain in the unmolested possession of what they severally held at the signing of the treaty. That the same regulation should take place in *Asia*, *Africa*, and *America*, as in *Europe*, with respect to the conquests made since the expiration of the armistice. In the sixth article it was stipulated, that the *Spaniards* should not attempt the extension of their commerce to the *East Indies*, and that the *Dutch* should form no enterprizes against the possessions and settlements of the subjects of that crown in *Asia*. This obligation indeed was reciprocal, and sufficient time allowed for transmitting the treaty to those distant colonies. Thus the sovereignty of the republic was at last acknowledged, and for ever established, by that power who alone disputed it, at the expence of her blood and treasure, with an obstinacy hardly to be paralleled in history.  
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Peace of Munster.  
A. D. 1648.

Treaty of Munster.



The French king resents the separate peace struck up by the republic.

Letters from the king of France.

FRANCE, however, accused the republic of ingratitude for defeating the interests of a nation, the chief instrument of her present felicity, opulence, and independence. The *Dutch* were upbraided with a gross violation of their engagements, to accept of no separate terms, until the demands of their allies were fully satisfied; but they justified themselves by demonstrating the necessity of a peace, the private views of cardinal *Mazarin* in protracting the war, and the frivolous difficulties raised about *Lorrain*. The ambassadors of the states waited upon the *French* plenipotentiaries, and assured them, that had they one day longer deferred signing the treaty, *Spain* was resolved to break off the negotiation; but this would not appease their clamours. They insisted, that the republic ought, at least, to have waited the return of the courier dispatched to *Madrid* by the count *de Pignaranda*. To remove this load of calumny, the states used all their influence to reconcile the two crowns; but they were told by *M. Severin*, that affairs had taken a new turn, and his majesty now thought himself at liberty to act without consulting the republic, whose conduct had absolved him from his engagements. He said, the mediation of the provinces would be suspected, and the only reparation of their error, now possible, was to refuse ratifying the treaty, until the court of *France* had time to demonstrate that all the obstructions to a general pacification arose from the delays and intrigues of the *Spanish* ministry. *Spain* offered to submit the dispute to the arbitration of the states; but this the *French* plenipotentiaries declined, which served the more to confirm the republic in the rectitude of her own measures, and the ambitious designs of the most Christian king. Returning to the *Hague*, the deputies reported their proceedings, and received the thanks of the states-general for the perseverance, vigilance, and ability, with which they had conducted the whole negotiation. Soon after their arrival, two letters from the *French* king were presented to the assembly, wherein he reproached the states with perfidy, and the infraction of the most solemn engagements with the greatest benefactor of the republic. These remonstrances produced however no effect. The states imagined that *Spain* was now sufficiently weakened, and it was their business to prevent the *French* from growing too powerful, and extending their dominions on the side of the *Netherlands*. In vain therefore did *Lewis's* ambassadors solicit the provinces to delay ratifying the treaty; in vain did they endeavour to excite divisions, and foment discord among the members of the assembly: the same policy which had hitherto induced the *Dutch* to continue the war, amidst their civil dissensions, and under the pressure of poverty, fatigue, and famine, now impelled them to ratify the treaty lately signed. Accordingly the fifteenth of *May* was appointed for the exchange of ratifications, which was performed with the usual solemnities, to the great satisfaction of all the parties, except the king of *France*. On the same day of the ensuing month, the peace was proclaimed. In this manner ended that tedious negotiation of *Munster*, by which tranquillity was again restored to the *United Provinces*, and that sovereignty established, for which they had struggled for near a century<sup>2</sup>.

SCARCE was the peace of the republic restored, when she was almost involved in fresh difficulties with the elector of *Brandenburgh*, who demanded restitution of certain places in the duchy of *Cleves*, now sequestered in the hands of the states-general. He sent ambassadors to the *Hague*, under pretence of contracting a new alliance with the provinces; but, in fact, to make a demand by no means agreeable to the *Hollanders*. The elector procured the emperor's mediation, but it was little regarded. The states peremptorily refused complying with the demand, because the claim of the duke of *Newburgh* was not yet adjusted, and they must be responsible for the places intrusted to their care. This was only a plausible pretext, as *Spain* had now wholly relinquished the interest of that prince, who was too weak of himself to support his pretensions. *Philip* now saw himself under the necessity of alone supporting a war against the whole monarchy of *France*. Deprived of the assistance of the emperor on the one hand, he, however, found his enemies proportionably diminished on the other, by the peace concluded with the republic. His ambassadors loitered away their time at *Munster*, without renewing their efforts to finish a ruinous and disgraceful war. But *Philip* was now sketching out the rudiments of a more extensive project. He flattered himself that the *United Provinces*, having incurred the displeasure of the *French* king, would at least furnish him with money, and suffer him to levy troops in the *Netherlands*, by which means he might be able to reduce *France* to reasonable terms of accommodation. He even went so far as to propose an alliance; and, when this was rejected, his minister at the congress, the count *de Pignaranda*, propagated such reports as rendered it necessary for the *Dutch* deputies to give *Severin*, the *French* plenipotentiary, the strongest assurances of their pacific intentions, and friendly disposition with respect to his master. *Pignaranda* resented his disappointment, and now complained of the commerce carried on with *France* by the provinces; declaring, that the court of *Madrid* determined to have satiation;



a faction. With this view the *Spaniards* stopped the *Dutch* shipping in the port of *Ostend*<sup>a</sup>. The states-general immediately took this delicate affair into consideration; but were greatly perplexed in what manner to determine. If they refused to satisfy the demands of the *Spanish* court, they apprehended their ships would be condemned as lawful prizes; and in forbidding a reciprocal trade with *France*, the commerce of the republic would be greatly injured.

WHILE the states were temporising, in hopes that a peace between *France* and *Spain* would remove all difficulties, cardinal *Mazarin* played every engine of the cabinet to induce the prince of *Orange* to engage in his interest, and exert his influence again to involve the provinces with the court of *Madrid*. It is well known that the *Orange* party always opposed the late peace; but whether the prince listened to the propositions now made, is uncertain. The cardinal attacked the young hero on his weak side; he applied to his passions and his ambition: but the republic was so circumstanced, that the negotiation proved fruitless. Mean time, after the defeat of the *India* company's forces in *Brasil*, the cardinal acted as mediator between the *Portuguese* and the republic, in hopes that, if a peace was concluded between them, *Portugal* would then prosecute the war against *Spain* with redoubled vigour. It was soon, however, perceived that the *Portuguese* ambassador wanted only to amuse the states, while he pretended to accept of their propositions; but the want of unanimity among the cities and provinces prevented their coming to any fixed resolution. Some were for avenging the late disgrace in *Brasil*; while others, less sanguine in their expectations, thought it better to put up with a small part, than run the hazard of losing all footing in this rich and fertile country.

## S E C T. X.

Containing all the material transactions in which the republic was concerned, until the second rupture with England in 1665.

d SUCH was the situation of affairs in *Holland*, while unhappy *England* was torn with civil wars, her soil fattened with the blood of her children, and her king brought to an ignominious death upon a scaffold. The republic had hitherto maintained a strict neutrality with respect to the factions in *England*, notwithstanding the close alliance between the unfortunate *Charles* and the house of *Orange*. It is true indeed, that queen *Henrietta*, forced to quit the kingdom, passed over to *Holland*; but she could obtain no succours, except the money raised upon the crown-jewels. The prince of *Orange* had taken some measures in behalf of the royal party; but they were of little consequence, and detached from the politics of the republic. Now, however, we see the situation of the states more delicate, and the provinces reduced to the necessity of denying refuge to the shattered remains of the royalists, or of coming to a rupture with the parliament of *England*. James duke of *York*, having escaped from his confinement, took refuge at the *Hague*, where his presence considerably embarrassed the states-general. Their perplexity was increased by the arrival of the prince of *Wales*, who solicited the interposition of the republic for the king's life; and represented in such lively colours the danger of his majesty's being brought to an infamous death, that the states resolved to send ambassadors to treat with the parliamentary chiefs. M. *Pauw*, and *Joachimi*, the latter of whom had long resided in a public character at *London*, were appointed to this delicate trust<sup>b</sup>. These two were able servants of the republic, and had the courage, the one at the age of eighty-eight, and the other of seventy-eight years, to embark in the depth of winter, when the cold was intolerable, for *England*, where they arrived in the month of *February*. They were received with respect; they pleaded the royal cause in terms the most pathetic; but all their endeavours to stem the torrent of fanaticism, cunning, and cruel ambition, proved fruitless. *Charles* lost his head upon the block, to the eternal disgrace of the *British* nation.

No sooner was the news of the king's execution come to the *Hague*, than the prince of *Orange* communicated the fatal event, by one of his chaplains, to the prince of *Wales*; while the clergy thought it their duty to wait in a body on that young prince, with compliments of condolence. This proceeding was condemned by the states, as equally impolitic and unconstitutional: their speech to the prince of *Wales* was forbid to be printed; but it soon became public, notwithstanding it was apprehended that the *English* parliament would take offence at certain flattering expressions, and that warmth of regard shewn to the royal family. But though the states-general industriously avoided the publication of every thing

<sup>a</sup> Mem. SIRI, tom. xiii.

<sup>b</sup> BASNAGE, p. 142.



which might disgust the infant commonwealth of *England*, the states of *Holland* could not dispense with the civility of sending a deputation of condolance to the prince of *Wales*: even the states-general themselves waited upon the young prince, in deep mourning, and complimented him with the appellation of king, though they declined congratulating him on his accession to the throne of his ancestors.

It was next deliberated whether the republic should recal her ambassadors from *London*, and give audience to the envoy sent by the parliament of *England*. Mr. *Striëland* had long served the parliament with fidelity and capacity, in quality of minister, at the *Hague*. He now demanded audience of the states-general, as public ambassador from the *English* commonwealth; in which he was opposed by Sir *William Boswel*, who had for several years resided in *Holland*, as envoy from *Charles I.* This gentleman's remonstrances were so powerfully seconded by the prince of *Orange*, and a party he had formed in favour of the king, that *Striëland's* credentials were, after violent contests, rejected.

Dorisslaus, envoy from the parliament, is murdered.

WHILE this business was in agitation, an accident occurred, which had almost destroyed all the prudent schemes of neutrality formed by the republic. *Dorisslaus*, a civilian, and native of *Holland*, employed in conducting the charge against the late king, was now sent by the parliament to assist *Striëland*. The part he acted in the late horrible tragedy rendered him odious to all the royalists, who flocked in crowds to the little court kept up by *Charles II.* in the neighbourhood of the *Hague*. As he was sitting quietly at supper, certain persons, masked, violently forced open his lodgings, and after assassinating him, retired without being questioned, or at all suspected of the murder. The whole province was in motion at so flagrant a breach of the laws of nations: a reward was offered for discovering the assassins; but, however, the states acted so carelessly, that the parliament, harbouring suspicions of their fidelity, made complaints to M. *Joachimi*; and, in truth, *Striëland* turned the whole with so much address to the advantage of his masters, that the leading men in *Holland* grew impatient for the king's quitting the province, and even the dominions of the republic. Yet still the states-general persisted in refusing *Striëland's* credentials, under various pretences; upon which he threatened to retire. The states of *Holland*, apprehending a rupture with *England*, which could not fail of proving extremely prejudicial to the commerce of the province, sent remonstrances to the states-general, charging them with all the consequences of *Striëland's* departure. Upon this they were forced to apologise to the envoy, and to gain time by referring the matter to the provincial states.

The intrigues of cardinal Mazarin.

It was the true policy of the republic to keep clear of the civil divisions which at that time afflicted both *France* and *Great Britain*; but it was difficult to wave the solicitations of the *English* monarch, supported by the interest of the prince of *Orange* on one side, and of the intriguing *Mazarin* on the other. This busy prelate insinuated to the prince of *Orange*, that the royal family in *England* being intirely ruined, his influence and power must necessarily decline, unless he was strongly linked in alliance with the crown of *France*. His design was to involve the provinces in a fresh war with *Spain*; but the prince escaped his snare, and penetrated his views. He informed M. *Brasset*, the *French* envoy, of the impossibility of carrying the project into execution, because it must pass through the provincial states, and the refusal of one city was sufficient to frustrate the whole design. Foiled in this attempt, the cardinal sent instructions to M. *Brasset* to exert his utmost endeavours to prevent the states from entering into any engagements with the parliament of *England*, and to conduct himself with such caution, that it should not be imagined *France* at all interposed in the affairs of the republic, while the cardinal was negotiating with *Fairfax* and *Cromwel*.

WHILE *Brasset* was deeply engaged in this negotiation, M. *le Brun* arrived at the *Hague*, in quality of envoy from the Catholic king. The provinces of *Zealand* and *Utrecht*, who had not yet ratified the treaty of *Ghent*, opposed his reception, notwithstanding which his public entry was allowed. Nothing, indeed, could be more glorious to the republic than this open declaration of her sovereignty, by an express embassy from the king of *Spain*; and the ambassador took particular care to sow his discourse thick with the flattering terms of *Mighty State*, *Flourishing Republic*, and *Sovereign People*, which produced a good effect on the minds of the states-general. Yet this only regarded externals, and the civilities he met with; for as to the real intention of his embassy, he made no progress; the republic resolving, as long as possible, to observe the strictest neutrality. The affair of *Frankendal* was the most difficult part of his commission. The *Spaniards* had possessed themselves of that place, and the elector-palatine, to whom it belonged, demanded restitution. The states-general supported the elector, who was violently persecuted by the emperor, and the *Spaniards* were at a loss how to determine. At last they consented to the restitution, upon these conditions; that the Catholic religion should be established in the palatinate; that a



a free passage should be granted to the *Spaniards*; that they should be allowed a place of arms, and that the republic would guarantee these conditions. This, together with some depredations committed by the *Lorrainers*, in the neighbourhood of *Boisleduc*; certain disputes concerning *Rhinberg*; and an old quarrel with the bishop of *Liege*, were the subjects of *le Brun's* negotiation.

It was about this time that the grand prior of the order of *St. John of Jerusalem*, arrived in *Holland*, to demand all the commanderies of *Malta*, situated in the provinces. First, a variety of difficulties arose about the honours to be paid to the grand prior; but this affair being adjusted, the states entered into a negotiation with him, which produced nothing but useless altercation. It was otherwise with *M. Ufeldt*, the *Danish* ambassador, who at this time concluded a treaty of alliance and redemption between the crown of *Denmark* and the republic of the *Seven United Provinces*. By the treaty of alliance they were reciprocally bound to assist the party attacked with four thousand men, and to use their utmost influence with the aggressor to lay down his arms, and submit to arbitration. The treaty of redemption regulated the duties on all *Dutch* merchantmen passing through the *Sound* to the *Baltick*, about which there had been great disputes. Instead of rating each ship according to her tonnage, it was agreed to pay a certain sum yearly for the free passage of the *Sound*; however, this expedient was displeasing to some of the provinces, and highly resented by the hanse-towns, as injurious to their commerce, especially as a *Dutch* squadron, not exceeding four men of war, were allowed to pass unquestioned into the *Baltick*. *Sweden* likewise complained loudly of an alliance which must necessarily break off the good harmony between that kingdom and the republic, and queen *Christina* plied the states with remonstrances, which passed unregarded.

THE states having established the foreign concerns of the republic upon the most solid footing that the circumstances of affairs would admit, applied their attention to the finances, which were brought into great disorder by the long continuance of the war, and the confusion that reigned for a series of years in the provinces. The interest of public debts was reduced, because the province of *Holland* had offered to furnish money for the payment of all who desired to be reimbursed. However, the public credit was so well established, that not a single creditor sought to withdraw his stock; by which means the interest of debts became too large for the stated revenue. To remove this difficulty, certain taxes were imposed on the barony of *Breda*, and the district of *Boisleduc*, because those lands were exempted from taxes during the war. The inhabitants, who had paid heavy contributions to the *Spaniards*, complained of the hardship of being rated on a footing with countries that had paid nothing. Projects were delivered to the states, to obviate the objection; but none of the remedies applied penetrated to the bottom of the disease: one of the expedients proposed by the states of *Holland* was, the reduction of the troops; which the prince of *Orange*, supported by the council of state, warmly opposed, while all the princes and states were armed on the frontiers of the republic. The dispute rose high, and yet the whole difference of opinion was trivial; the prince insisting that a standing force of twenty-six thousand three hundred foot and three thousand horse should be maintained; while the province of *Holland* asserted that twenty-five thousand foot and two thousand seven hundred horse were sufficient for the protection of the republic. It is probable their animosity was more deeply rooted, and this occasion only seized as a cover to their real designs. *Holland* had taken certain measures respecting the payment of the troops, without consulting the prince and council of state; and this proceeding was not only resented by the prince and council, but by all the officers of the army, and the states general themselves, who regarded it as an infraction of the union. At this time a deputy from the province of *Holland* presided in the states general, and he laboured to prevent the assembly from taking any resolution contrary to his instructions from the states of his province; but finding he could not stem the torrent, he resigned the chair, and was succeeded by a deputy of *Guelderland*, who proceeded to revoke the order of the states of *Holland*, in consequence of a great majority of voices. Determining to support this decision, their high mightinesses sent express orders to all the officers of the army, not to obey any directions they might receive from the states of *Holland*, unless they were confirmed by the authority of the states general; the governors of the frontier towns had similar orders; and the deputies of *Holland* protested against this proceeding, as injurious to their liberties. In the end, the steadiness of the states of *Holland*, and the fluctuating councils of their high mightinesses, afforded the prince of *Orange* the opportunity of pushing his ambitious views. Attended by the council of state, and count *de Nassau*, governor of *Friseland*, he waited upon the states general, praying their mightinesses to forbid the governors from making the reformations in their garrisons required by the states of *Holland*.

*Treaties with Denmark.*

A. D. 1650.  
*Origin of the civil dissensions in Holland.*

*Disputes between the prince of Orange, supported by the states general, and the province of Holland.*



land, and to send a deputation to each town of that province, to oblige the magistrates to alter their sentiments. The deputies of *Holland* and *Guelderland* opposed this request, because the deputies of *Friseland*, *Groningen*, and *Overijssel* were absent; but a resolution passed in favour of the prince, and the desired deputation was dispatched. They proceeded first to *Dordrecht*, where they were badly received, and insulted by a resolution of the magistrates to hold no conferences with the prince of *Orange* or his deputies. The prince in person joined the deputies, but no ear was given to his remonstrances; upon which he set out for the *Brille*, *Gorcum*, *Rotterdam*, and the other towns, where his reception was little better than at *Dordrecht*. *Amsterdam* sent two burgo-masters as far as *Tergau*, to request of the prince not to attempt entering that city, because they could not give him audience with his train, which was pretty numerous. As he still pursued his journey, a second deputation was sent to acquaint his highness, that if he proposed honouring the city with a visit as governor of the province, he would be received with all the respect due to his birth and the dignity of his office; but he could not be admitted as a deputy from the states general, because the design of his embassy appeared dangerous. On his arrival in the neighbourhood of the city, he could procure no relaxation in the conditions, and therefore proceeded to *Haerlem*, where the magistrates displayed the same aversion for the resolutions of the states general. In *North Holland* the prince met with more civility; however, the magistrates of *Medemblic* sent to acquaint him that the roads were so bad, and the town so small for the accommodation of his retinue, that they could not hope for the honour of a visit.

ON his return the prince complained loudly to the states general of the conduct of the cities, particularly of *Amsterdam*, against which he inveighed bitterly, ordering his speech to be printed, to render it more public, hoping, by this means, to inflame the minds of the people, and especially of the clergy, who were devoted to his interest. The deputies of *Amsterdam*, who were present when this speech was delivered, expressed their astonishment that the prince should have particularly aimed his resentment at their city, when several others had acted in just the same manner. They vindicated the conduct of the magistrates, and their measures were approved by the states of *Holland*, who, in a public manifesto, declared that the states general had no right to send a deputation to the several cities, which looked as if they wanted to gain them without the consent of the provincial states.

THE return of admiral *de Wit* with a sickly, shattered fleet, augmented the civil divisions. This officer, perceiving the impossibility of recovering the losses lately sustained in the *Brazils*, returned, without the consent of the council established in that country by the states general. Loud complaints were made by the council against the admiral and his officers, who were blamed for the miscarriage of the expedition. It was urged that he had formed not a single enterprize; that he let slip several opportunities of retrieving the affairs of the company; that he had quitted the coast against the express order of the council; and, that he had carried off all the provision, and left the company's servants and effects in the entire power of their enemies. *De Wit* was arrested by the prince of *Orange*, as high-admiral: he was accused by the states of *Zealand*, and supported by the states of *Holland*, who feared that his *Portuguese* majesty would stop their ships in his ports, and prohibit their trading to the coast of *Guiney*, if the war was prosecuted in the *Brazils*. At the same time the states general issued orders to the admiralty of *Amsterdam*, to confine the six captains who accompanied *de Wit*; and this produced a violent altercation, the states of *Holland* insisting, that the order was a violation of their rights; it was an encroachment on their sovereignty to imprison by any other authority within the limits of their jurisdiction. The states general quoted precedents, and, besides, urged, that reason dictated that all officers who held their commissions from them, should be subject to their authority, in whatever province they might happen to reside. In a word, the captains were confined by order of their high mightinesses, and the prison-doors were forced by the magistrates of *Amsterdam*, and the prisoners set at liberty. *William*, determined upon revenge, had the six deputies of *Holland* arrested, at the head of whom was *Jacob de Wit*, an old burgo-master of *Dordrecht*, and the father of the famous pensioner *de Wit*. After being some time confined in separate apartments in the prince's palace, they were sent under a strong guard to the castle of *Louestein*. Determined to support this bold attempt on the privileges of his country, *William* detached a body of forces under the count *de Nassau*, towards *Amsterdam*, in hopes of reducing the magistrates to his terms, by menaces and the terror of a siege<sup>d</sup>. His measures were concerted with so much secrecy, and pursued with so much vigour, that the troops were in motion before the magistrates had any suspicion of his intentions. Had it not been for some unforeseen accidents, the city must certainly, without striking a blow, have fallen into his hands.

<sup>d</sup> BASNAGE, pag. 172.



- <sup>a</sup> WHEN the news first arrived at *Amsterdam*, that the army was on their march, of the *Amsterdam* four burgomasters regent, one was dead, two were absent, and M. *Bitzker* alone left to <sup>besieged.</sup> provide for the defence of the city. He was well supported, however, by M. *Nydecooper*, an infirm magistrate, whose diligence, gallantry, and public spirit, was now conspicuously exerted in the defence of liberty. So popular were these two magistrates, that the people flocked to them with offers of their service. Immediately the ramparts were mounted with cannon, the garrison put in arms, the ships cleared out for the defence of the harbour, and every other measure taken for making the most vigorous resistance. The council met, to deliberate whether the sluices should be opened, and the neighbouring country laid under water, in order to sweep away by one fatal stroke the whole army of the
- <sup>b</sup> besiegers; but a more moderate opinion prevailing, it was resolved only to drown such parts of the neighbourhood as led to the weakest posts of the city. Every inhabitant was in motion, and the sailors in particular contributed with the utmost alacrity towards the safety of this great emporium of *Europe*. On the count's arrival he found his project was disconcerted, and his force too inconsiderable to attempt investing so extensive a city. He gave notice of his disappointment to the prince of *Orange*, who was highly chagrined to see a plan drawn out with so much care so unexpectedly foiled, and his honour and authority stained and despised: but imagining his presence would retrieve all things, he communicated his design to the states general, and instantly set out for the army, attended by great numbers of the nobility and officers of distinction. On his way he met
- <sup>c</sup> with M. *de Beeverwert*, a gentleman descended from the house of *Nassau*, a friend to the prince, but an enemy to this attack upon the liberties of his country. Resolving, if possible, to obviate the fatal consequences which might ensue from the obstinacy of the parties, he led the prince to an eminence, and bid him from thence behold the vast body of water in the power of the magistrates of *Amsterdam*, with which they could overwhelm his whole army, if they resolved to push matters to extremities. This demonstration was equally concise and conclusive. *William* instantly felt its conviction, and entreated M. *Beeverwert* to go immediately to the *Hague* to acquaint the states general with his danger, and procure an order for recalling himself and the army; the only measure which could save his honour.
- <sup>d</sup> WHILE M. *Beeverwert* was employed in this affair, a negotiation commenced between <sup>The siege</sup> the prince and the magistrates of *Amsterdam*. *William* had wrote to them, desiring they <sup>raised.</sup> would send four deputies, to confer with him upon the subject of an accommodation. As the magistrates began already to feel the inconveniencies of a siege, they listened the more readily to the proposal. Dissension had thus early begun to shew itself in the city. A variety of libels were published, taxing the magistrates with holding a secret correspondence with the *English* parliament. This allegation was founded upon *Pieterfon's* voyage to *England*, to manage the affairs of the province with *Cromwell*, who had refused admitting an embassy from the republic. Nothing could render the magistrates more odious than such an accusation; besides, the merchants apprehended that a siege would stop the
- <sup>e</sup> course of exchange, and hurt their credit. These were the motives that influenced the magistrates to enter upon a negotiation, and the prince artfully augmented the fears of the citizens, by threatening to convert the siege into a blockade. To this may be added the little dependance placed by the magistrates in the other cities, who contented themselves with murmuring at this attempt on their liberty, without entering upon any measures of resistance. In these circumstances the following articles were mutually signed: That the prince should be received in the city with all the honours due to his dignity, and paid to his ancestors in the same office. This condition was stipulated merely to save the prince's honour, for, apprehending the popular indignation, he never made his entry: that the city of *Amsterdam* should engage to pay the arrears due to the troops which the
- <sup>f</sup> province had disbanded: that the magistrates should use their influence with the states of *Holland*, to effect a public reconciliation: and lastly, that M. *Bitzker* and his brother, notwithstanding the many services they had done to the house of *Orange*, and the state, and notwithstanding their present strenuous efforts in defence of freedom, should be stripped of all their employments, and rendered incapable of being ever again reinstated. The council obstinately opposed this last article; but those two excellent citizens insisted upon resigning, offering themselves a voluntary sacrifice for the public tranquillity. In this manner terminated this dangerous civil war, which had brought the republic on the brink of destruction. *William's* designs were now obvious; and all, with one voice, accused him of betraying his country, and using those forces entrusted to his care for the
- <sup>g</sup> protection of the republic, to the purposes of ambition, and the suppression of public liberty. Happily, perhaps, for himself and his country, he was seized with the small-



Death and  
character of  
the prince of  
Orange.

pox, of which he died on the sixth day of *November*, while he was projecting schemes of a revenge, which might, possibly, involve *Holland* in a more dangerous civil war than what the provinces had just experienced. As his virtues were universally acknowledged, and his ambition dreaded, his death occasioned equal joy and grief in the provinces. The friends of the house of *Orange* lamented him as the worthy successor of his heroic ancestors, cut off in the bloom and vigour of life; while the friends of liberty rejoiced at the event, as flowing from the immediate interposition of Providence in their behalf. The people, who imagined themselves oppressed by the rigid exertion of his authority, were quite indecent in their festivity and public rejoicings; bonfires blazed in every town almost in *Holland*, and medals were struck, insulting the memory of a prince who might have died loved and revered, had he known how to moderate those high passions which ever b prove ruinous in a popular government<sup>f</sup> (A).

The prisoners  
released and  
reinstated.

*WILLIAM* had set at liberty the prisoners confined in the castle of *Louweſtein*, on condition they should not be restored to their employments; but his remains were scarcely cold, when the deputies were reinstated with such distinctions, as could not but be regarded as an insult to the deceased. Even the court was divided into parties, and engaged in opposite interests. The princess dowager, mother to the late stadtholder, was less sensible of the death of her son, because under his government she lost that authority which she enjoyed in the life-time of his father. As to the young princess his widow, already afflicted with the misfortunes of her royal father and family in *England*, she became inconsolable, until it pleased Heaven to revive her hopes, and moderate her grief, by the birth c of a young prince, eight days after the death of his father.

The states of  
*Holland* re-  
conciled to the  
states general.

As the states general had been strongly linked with the prince of *Orange* in the same interest, his sudden loss caused a general consternation in that assembly, of which he was the soul and invigorating principle, though he had no voice in the states. Their first resolution was, to notify this fatal event to all the provincial states. *Holland* was no sooner acquainted with it, than the states met to deliberate on the necessary measures. They charged their deputies to assure the states general, that they would sacrifice their resentment to the public good, and strictly adhere to the conditions of the union of *Utrecht*, and the reformed religion, agreeable to the decree of the synod of *Dordrecht*. Next, they resolved upon sending a deputation to all the provinces, to conjure them to send to the d *Hague* deputies from their own body, to deliberate on the present circumstances of the republic. The project was approved by the states general, and the deputation was well received in all the provinces. A third resolution of great importance to the province, likewise passed the states of *Holland*. It was determined to limit that influence assumed by the counts of *Holland* and the stadtholders, in the election of the magistrates of the cities, by which they often gained an undue influence in the provincial states, and the assembly of the states general; and to reserve to themselves the nomination to public offices, to military preferments, and all employments of profit or power. They likewise ordered that the guards about the prince should be the troops of the province, and that all the rights and prerogatives usurped by the stadtholder, should now be annexed to the e sovereignty of the states of *Holland*. All the remonstrances of the young princess dowager had no effect. The infant son was stripped in the cradle of all the honours enjoyed by his ancestors, and supported with a dignity that rendered their names immortal. *Zealand* followed the example of *Holland*, and seized the opportunity of recovering all the prerogatives of the province.

THOUGH the princess dowager was differently affected with her daughter-in-law at the death of her son, she still laboured for the aggrandizement of her grandson from the moment of his birth, and with that view, wrote circular letters to all the provinces, persuaded it would give universal satisfaction, that the illustrious family of the founders of the republic was not extinct, and that a child was born, who would support the edifice f reared by the hands of his ancestors. She hoped likewise, that the states would invest the infant with all the dignities of stadtholder, as soon as they deliberated upon that subject. Nor was the princess mistaken in her reliance on the affections of the people; how-

<sup>f</sup> BASNAGE, pag. 177. La Vie de Princes Demoisne du Orange, pag. 48.

(A) *William's* genius was vast and comprehensive. Though he had never been in the field, he was deemed a great general, inheriting the qualities of a hero from his ancestors, which he improved by the closest application and most intense study. His constitution was saturnine, his silence remarkable, and all his passions absorbed in that single one of ambition. His person was not only handsome and elegant; but the features

of his face beautiful and manly. At his death, he was only in the twenty-fourth year of his age, yet he had made great progress in the mathematics, fortification, and all the sciences, at the same time that he spoke fluently the *Latin*, *English*, *French*, *Italian*, *Spanish*, and *High Dutch*. In a word, he was a prince, who, had he been seated on a throne, would equally have commanded esteem and respect (1).

(1) *Vid. La Vie des Princes du Maisin d' Orange.*



a ever they were disgusted with the ambition of the late prince, they loved the family, and regarded the infant as the only remaining blood of those heroes who had rescued the provinces from tyranny, misery, and oppression, and the peculiar gift of heaven, to secure their religion and liberties against future encroachments. However, the states general contented themselves with a promise to the princess, that they would forward her letters to the provincial states, though they could not but think creating a new stadtholder unseasonable, as the youth of the prince required a lieutenant.

b *WILLIAM III.* like *Hercules*, was from his birth to encounter difficulties. The first disputes arose about his baptism, the next about his tutelage, and the third, which threatened the dissolution of the government, appeared on his entering upon the administration. Deputies from the states general, from the states of *Holland* and *Zealand*, and from the cities of *Amsterdam*, *Leyden*, and *Delft*, offered themselves as sponsors for the infant. This honour was accepted with pleasure, and followed by magnificent presents to the young prince and his family. The princess royal, his mother, was for calling him *Charles*, in compliment to the memory of her father; but the grandmother objected to that unfortunate name, and preferred the name of *William*, as the most popular and auspicious. The pomp with which the child was baptised, was censured by the more prudent republicans, and many persons were offended at the old dowager's desiring that the duke of *York* might not be present at the ceremony.—With all her sense and manly ideas, that princess was tinged with a truly feminine superstition.

c THE ceremony of the prince's baptism had occasioned contentions only between the grandmother and mother; but the choice of his guardians was a matter of greater difficulty. The honour was claimed by a variety of princes, who hoped by this means to come in for a considerable share in the government of the republic, and to exercise the functions of the stadtholder. The candidates were Don *Emanuel* and Don *Lewis*, princes of *Portugal*, descended from a daughter of *William I.* *Philip-Lewis*, prince palatine of the *Rhine*, likewise descended from a daughter of the same prince of *Orange*; and the prince palatine, of the family of *Deux Ponts*, who claimed an affinity to the young prince. He offered to reside at his own expence at the *Hague*, should he be appointed to the office of guardian: his proposals were favourably received by the grand council; but they d could not be complied with, out of regard to the elector of *Brandenburgh*, who had married the eldest daughter of prince *Frederic-Henry*. Both the grandmother and mother sent in their several claims on this occasion, as the most legitimate and natural guardians; but as they could come to no understanding among themselves, the council declined deciding in favour of either. At last, a will of the late prince's being presented by his secretary, turned the scale in favour of the princess royal, though neither seal, name, or date appeared to the testament. In this rough draught *William's* intentions were visible; his princess was nominated guardian to the infant, in case she should happen to be with child at his death; and fifteen thousand pounds sterling were assigned for her jointure. The old dowager and the elector of *Brandenburgh* violently opposed any decision upon proofs e so uncertain; the dispute ran high; it was submitted to a court of judicature, and at length compromised in the following manner: That the princess royal should be chief guardian of her son, and have the disposal of all offices about his person; that the elector of *Brandenburgh* should be joined to assist her in the management of the young prince's person and affairs; and that the princess dowager should inspect and superintend their conduct. The two latter appealed to the grand council, and the decree was altered; it being now determined that the princess royal, as mother to the infant, should be guardian on the one hand, and the princess dowager, elector of *Brandenburgh*, and count *Landberg*; on the other, as representatives of the father s.

f THE ensuing year commenced with a grand assembly of the states general, on the eighteenth day of *January*. Here they deliberated on the means of maintaining the union of *Utrecht*, and the reformed religion established by the synod of *Dordrecht*, on the election of a stadtholder, on subjecting the army to the orders of the council of state, on preventing the effects of corruption in the states general, on the requisition of the province of *Brabant* of sending deputies to the states general, on a general amnesty, and several other particulars. With respect to the first point, the states general went over to the sentiments of the states of *Holland*; and it was resolved, that the choice of all officers and magistrates should be in the disposal of the cities, and that not only the common soldiers and the forces in general, but even the prince's guards, should take an oath of fidelity to the states general, and the states of *Holland*. In a word, the business of the assembly was to g heal the wounds of faction, unite parties, consolidate the republic into one homogeneous

Disputes for his guardianship.

A. D. 1651. A grand assembly of the states.



tnafs, and ſecure public liberty againſt all future attacks, by revoking all the powers and prerogatives formerly beſtowed on the ſtadtholders.

Arrival of the  
Portugueſe  
ambaffador.

WHILE the ſtates general were occupied in eſtabliſhing the tranquillity of the ſtate, and fixing the plan of government, Don *Antonio de Suſa Macedo*, arrived in the quality of ambaffador from his *Portugueſe* majeſty. On his taking his ſeat in the ſtates general, he complained that the republic had violated the rights of nations, in obliging him to enter the *Hague* privately, and refuſing him an audience for months. He recapitulated the ſervices done the republic by king *Sebaſtian*, and ſaid, that notwithſtanding her ingratitude, the king was now taking meaſures for re-eſtabliſhing the antient amity between the ſtates, not from weakneſs, but from an inclination to ſpare the effuſion of Chriſtian blood. He concluded with giving an eſtimate of the forces and ſhipping of *Portugal*, and demonſtrating to the republic, that this was the ſureſt barrier againſt the encroachments of his Catholic majeſty. Immediately the deputies entered into ſeveral conferences with him, and demanded reſtitution of all the forts, ſettlements, and territories of which the republic was deprived in courſe of the war, from *Rio-real* to *Siara*, including all the ſlaves, cattle, ſugars, and other effects; indemnification for the loſſes ſuſtained by the interruption in commerce, and ceſſion of the iſland of *St. Thomas*, and the *African* coaſt from cape *Lepo Gonzales*, to the river *Coanza*. Incenſed at theſe extravagant demands, the ambaffador quitted *Holland* precipitately, without the ceremony of taking leave, or notifying his intentions to the ſtates.

THE diſputes with the *Portugueſe* miniſter were followed by violent contentions in the cities about the election of magiſtrates. *Dordrecht* in particular was all in motion, and the nobility augmented the public confuſion, by chuſing this particular time for reviving the claims to the antient right of ſeats in the provincial aſſemblies. They produced ſeveral antient acts, proving that the ſtates were formerly compoſed of the nobility, clergy, and the deputies of the cities; and *Maximilian* of *Burgundy* pretended, that, as the moſt antient of the nobility, he had a right to repreſent the whole body, to the excluſion of all the other members. This diviſion among themſelves weakened the weight of their influence, and the ſtates gladly embraced this opportunity of rejecting their pretenſions.

State of the  
Dutch com-  
merce.

AMIDST all theſe civil diſſentions, commerce flouriſhed more than ever, and the republic engroſſed the trade of *Europe*, as *England* had not yet recovered the calamities conſequent on the entire revolution in the government, and *France* was wholly employed in diſputes between the crown and the princes of the blood, and the nobility ſtruggling in defence of the relics of liberty. Yet it received ſeveral interruptions from the attacks of the corſairs of *Tunis*, and rovers of *Algiers* and *Salée*. Even the *French* privateers made no ſcruple of attacking the *Dutch* merchantmen; but thoſe piracies were ſoon ſuppreſſed by the public ſpirit of two merchants, who equipped a ſquadron of ſmall men of war at their own expence, cleared the ſeas, and ſufficiently reimbursed themſelves by the great number of captures: but the greateſt obſtruction to trade aroſe from *England*. His Catholic majeſty had diſpatched an ambaffador to the parliament, offering to puniſh the murderers of the *English* reſident at *Madrid*, to admit the *English* ſhipping into all the ports of *Spain*, and to exclude the fleet under prince *Rupert*. He likewise acknowledged the ſovereign authority of the parliament; all which was conſtrued into an oblique reflection on the dilatory conduct of the ſtates general, who had hitherto declined puniſhing the murderers of *Doriſlaus*, or acknowledging the ſovereignty of the parliament. *Zealand* preſſed with eagerneſs, that all manner of ſatisfaction ſhould be given to the parliament, and the titles and authority of this illegal government acknowledged; but the arguments of the deputies made no impreſſion on the other provinces. Determined upon revenge, the parliament, on various pretences, ſeized upon the *Dutch* ſhips trading to the ports of *France*, *Spain*, and *Portugal*. They inſiſted likewise upon ſearching their men of war; they forbid their trading to the *Caribees*, and took other violent meaſures, which ſeemed to threaten an open rupture. To repel theſe injuries and protect the trade, admiral *Van Tromp* was ſtationed with a ſquadron off the *Scilly* iſlands, which raiſed apprehenſions in the parliament, that the ſtates had a deſign to ſeize upon them as a convenient ſtation for incommoding the *English* commerce. In this ſituation, *Cromwell*, perfectly maſter of the art of diſſembling, ſent an ambaffy to *Holland* with overtures of a treaty offensive and defensive between the two republics. The duke of *York* was at this time at the *Hague*, where *St. John*, the *English* envoy, had the preſumption in a public walk to diſpute the precedence with him; which being obſerved by the prince palatine, his generous mind was fired at the indignity, he pulled off the envoy's hat, and bad him reſpect the ſon and the brother of his king. *St. John* put his hand upon his ſword, reſuſed to acknowledge either the king, or duke of *York*; but the populace taking part with the young prince, compelled him to ſeek refuge in his lodgings. Complaints were made by the ambaffador to the

The ſtates take  
meaſures for  
the ſecurity of  
commerce.



a the states general, who advised the duke of York to retire to one of the prince of Orange's palaces in the country, and expressed their sorrow for the accident in an apology to the *English* minister. *Ommersen*, and six other deputies, were now appointed to deliberate upon the instructions sent to *St. John* and *Strickland*, who first demanded in high terms satisfaction upon the murderers of *Dorilaus*, which had been so long neglected, through the dilatory forms of the *Dutch* government. This the *Dutch* answered, by presenting a long list of debts due, on account of the depredations of the *English*. The *English* ambassador immediately rejected the account, because it chiefly consisted of *Dutch* vessels taken in an illicit trade with the revolted *English* plantations. A continuation of the queen of *Bohemia's* pension was likewise demanded by the *Dutch*, for the payment of which the states general stood engaged; but this was also refused, the ambassadors alledging, that the pension was granted by the late king, without the consent of his parliament. A variety of other demands were made; but all of them received with so insolent an air of superiority by the *English*, that nothing could be expected from this negotiation, as it was not imagined the *Dutch* would tamely recede from so many demands<sup>b</sup>.

Disputes with the English envoy.

But perhaps the greatest obstruction to the treaty arose from cardinal *Mazarin*, who above all things dreaded the alliance mentioned in the life-time of the late prince of *Orange*, between *England* and *Holland*. It is true, the prince was too intimately connected with the royal family of *England*, to suffer a project so detrimental to their interest to take effect; before his death, he concluded a treaty against *Spain* with the cardinal, on condition that the *French* minister should assist in the restoration of the *Stuart* family. Thus the intrigues of *Mazarin*, and the friends of the house of *Orange*, effectually impeded the proposed union between the two commonwealths, which was only proposed by *St. John*, and never taken into serious consideration. Irritated at this disappointment, at the disrespect shewn in many instances to their ambassador, at the partiality of the *Dutch* in their demands, at their refusal to make the required satisfaction for the unatoned barbarities committed at *Amboyna*, soon after the establishment of the *English* and *Dutch East India* companies, the parliament resolved to chastise the states general, and evince their superiority by the most vigorous measures. These notions were confirmed by *St. John*, who laboured to give *Cromwell* and the people a disadvantageous opinion of the *Dutch*, to persuade them that nothing was so desirable to *Holland* as an opportunity of disputing the sovereignty on the ocean assumed by the *English*.

Obstructions to the treaty proposed by the English.

WHAT the *Dutch* regarded as the first step towards a rupture was the act of navigation passed in *England*. This, though one of the most salutary laws ever proposed in the *English* parliament, was highly prejudicial to the *Dutch* commerce; and its taking place at this time, when the minds of the people were heated by a variety of other accidents, could not but be regarded as an harbinger to further declarations. Abstracted from other considerations, the act was in itself alarming to the provinces, as it prohibited all nations from importing any merchandize in *England*, but what was the produce of the country to which the ship belonged; and the commodities from *Asia*, *Africa*, or *America*, to be imported in any other than *English* bottoms. This blow levelled directly at *Holland*, as the *Dutch* traffic consisted wholly in transporting foreign commodities from one country to another. Ambassadors were immediately dispatched to *England*; and they were received with great formality by the new commonwealth, which had by this time granted letters of marque to divers merchants, who complained that their ships had been unjustly confiscated in *Holland*, though in fact they were only detained by way of reprisal. It was easy to discover from the tone of the *Dutch* ambassadors, that they were apprehensive of a rupture, and powerfully awed by the commonwealth. The *English* rose proportionably in their demands, insisted not only upon satisfaction for the barbarities at *Amboyna*, but on the sum of two millions, to repair the losses they had sustained from the *Dutch* in other parts of the *East Indies*, in *Persia*, *Muscovy*, and *Greenland*. They also demanded the punishment of the murderers of *Dorilaus*, reparation of the insults offered to their ambassador, and an apology for the intercourse carried on with the late king, during the civil war<sup>c</sup>.

The two republics on the point of coming to a rupture.

DEMANDS so insolently made, and exorbitant, fired the republic, and convinced the states general, that vigorous measures alone could bring to reasonable terms the new commonwealth. They could not brook the homage required by the *English* at sea, and their vain-glorious pretensions to the sovereignty of the ocean. The mere striking to their flag was in itself trifling; but the uncertainty, whether they might not desire to extend their right, appeared to the states a matter of importance, which ought to be checked before precedents were established. The *English* had already claimed the right of examining, not only their merchantmen for illicit goods, but even the *Dutch* men of war; they might

The Dutch prepare for war.

<sup>b</sup> BASNAGE, pag. 220.

<sup>c</sup> GROT. lib. vi. pag. 44. BASNAGE, ibid.



in course of time assume the power of directing the destination of their fleets, and even prescribing whether the republic should maintain any fleets at all upon the ocean. The tribute demanded by the *English* for the liberty of fishing on the *British* coasts, appeared unreasonable to the *Dutch*, though this perhaps was the justest demand of the parliament. For time immemorial, a fortieth herring had been granted; but now the number was augmented, and the tribute rendered exorbitant. To oppose those encroachments on the rights of nations, the states equipped with the utmost expedition a prodigious fleet, consisting of one hundred and fifty ships of war, part of which they sent under the command of *Martin Van Tromp* into the Channel, to convoy their homeward-bound merchantmen (A).

Hostilities commenced.

THE first hostilities previous to a declaration of war, were commenced by the *English*. One of their ships of war falling in with a fleet of *Dutch* fishermen, demanded the usual tribute and homage; which being refused, the man of war sunk one of the *Dutch* ships, with all its crew; a fact that is variously related, just as it happens to suit the purposes of the different parties. Complaint of this action was immediately made to the *English*; and the states resolutely declared, unless the captain was punished, they should be forced to make reprisals. As no notice was taken of the demand, they immediately laid an embargo on all the shipping in their ports. *Tromp*, before his departure, desired the minutest instructions with respect to his conduct towards the *English*. He acquainted the states, that, during the late king's reign, it was usual to pay homage to the *English* flag upon the *British* coasts, and in the Channel; but that scarce an instance occurred where this compliment was required on the open sea. To avoid therefore the necessity of entering upon any disputes, or of acknowledging the superiority of the parliament, the states ordered he should not approach the *English* coasts, unless forced by circumstances. Lord *Clarendon* alledges, that the admiral had instructions to answer the *English*, if they demanded a compliment to their flag, that the states had out of respect paid homage to the king's flags, from a desire of maintaining a good correspondence with that court; but that circumstances being altered, they now thought themselves at liberty to act otherwise. Should this reply prove unsatisfactory, his orders were to defend himself with vigour. These instructions, he says, were issued from the admiralty; but his lordship seems mistaken in the powers of that board.

The battle of the Downs.

AFTER *Van Tromp* had cruised on the coast of *Scheveling*, he was driven by a violent northerly wind towards *Flanders*, where, for the security of his fleet, he sailed for the Channel, and stationed himself between *Dover* and *Calais*; but in passing the *Downs*, where admiral *Blake* lay with a fleet of six and twenty men of war, he was saluted with a discharge of cannon, without shot, as a signal for him to pay the compliment of lowering his topsails to the *English* flag. *Dutch* writers affirm, that, previous to this, he dispatched two of his captains with compliments to *Bourn*, the *English* commodore, and to assure him that he had been driven to that station by stress of weather. Be this as it may, it is certain that *Tromp* paid no regard to the signal made by the *English* admiral, who upon this fired a ball at him, which he returned by a whole broadside. Immediately an engagement ensued, which was maintained for the space of four hours with the utmost fury and conduct. Commodore *Bourn* arrived critically with eight ships to the assistance of the *English*; upon which *Tromp* retired behind the *Goodwin-Sands*, with the loss of two ships, one of which was sunk, and the other taken. No *Dutch* writer of authority pretends to affirm that the loss of the *English* was equal, though they alledge, that the reasonable interposition of night probably saved the enemy from destruction. Nor is this at all impossible, considering the great superiority of *Tromp's* squadron, and his own ability, which was in no respect inferior to that of the *Englishman*. *Van Tromp*, in his letter to the states general, reflects severely on the insolent carriage of *Blake*, which reduced him to the necessity of returning his fire; and alledges, that he bore two broadsides from the *English*, by which several persons perished, before he gave the signal to engage. In proof of this, his biographer quotes a letter from the *English* admiral, in answer to a message sent by *Tromp* to demand the prisoners; and it must be confessed, that here *Blake* has shewn his high untractable spirit, assuming to himself such an air of superiority as afforded suspicion that he was the aggressor. It is however impossible to ascertain the truth, except on presumptive evidence, the accounts on both sides being so diametrically opposite and contradictory<sup>1</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> GUTHRIE'S Hist. of Engl. book iii. pag. 1260.

<sup>1</sup> La Vie de Cornel Van Tromp, pag. 16.

(A) Readers who would make themselves perfectly acquainted with the dispute about the sovereignty of the ocean, and the right of fishing upon the *British* coasts, may consult the learned performance of *Grotius*,

intituled *Mare Liberum*, and the answer, called *Mare Clausum*, wrote by the learned *Selden*. To enter upon such a controversy would be exceeding the province of an historian.



a In London, the news of this battle so exasperated the populace, that they insulted the Dutch ambassadors, who were forced to shelter themselves under the protection of the parliament. They endeavoured to appease the public resentment, by demonstrating that *Tromp* had no orders to fight; that he stood only in his own defence, and could not, without hazarding his reputation, avoid repelling the gross insult offered. The states likewise sent *Adrian Pauw*, in quality of ambassador extraordinary, to confirm this allegation, by laying before the parliament *Van Tromp's* letter to the states, and likewise the insolent answer he received from *Blake* before the battle. He conjured them to enquire dispassionately into the particulars of the affair; assuring the commonwealth, that if it appeared their admiral had actually refused to compliment the *English* flag, he should be punished by the states general for his presumption. Certain it is, that now the Dutch sincerely wished an accommodation. They intreated the parliament, by the common ties of religion and liberty, to set on foot a negotiation; but possibly the boldness of *Blake* had shook their resolution, and convinced them by this first trial, that *England* was not to be reduced to reason by violence. No regard was paid to the ambassador's remonstrances; on the contrary, the government of *England* affected to slight, in the most contemptuous manner, the solemn assurances of the states general, and to construe their earnestness of avoiding a rupture into dread of the *English* courage. *Cromwell* and *Bond* were sent to *Dover* to encourage *Blake* and the seamen, to thank them for their delicate regard to the honour of the commonwealth, and to provide the fleet with every necessary.

The states send an embassy to England.

c This conduct, and the orders issued for augmenting the navy with forty more sail, could not be regarded by the states general in any other light than an open defiance, and declared resolution of coming to a rupture. In consequence they recalled their ambassadors, and published a manifesto, specifying the injuries they had sustained, which was answered by another from the parliament. Little stress can be laid on those declarations, in which both sides assert hardily, and suppress every circumstance that reflects light on their real intentions. Sufficient it is, that *Cromwell* possibly imagined it necessary to divert, by a foreign war, the attention of the people, from considering the ambitious scheme of sovereignty he had projected; and that the Dutch, grown rich by commerce, elated with prosperity, proud of liberty, and insolently confident of their naval force, were rejoiced at an opportunity of asserting an equality with the *English* commonwealth.

The Dutch prepare for war.

d The Dutch ambassadors having in their return met with *Van Tromp* off *Ziriczee*, *Pauw* advised him to attack *Ascough* on his way from *Barbadoes*, with three Dutch prizes richly laden. This measure was embraced, but disconcerted by violent contrary winds, in which *Van Tromp's* fleet was shattered and dispersed, many ships not having been able to join him in the *Texel* for several weeks after. *Van Galen*, however, was sent with a squadron to the *Mediterranean*, to oppose in that sea the *English* commodore *Bodely*. *Blake*, ever vigorous and alert, seized the opportunity of *Van Tromp's* absence, to assert his country's right to the *British* fishery. With this view he steered to the northward, attacked the Dutch fisheries off *Shetland*, took their whole convoy of twelve men of war, but suffered the fishing buffes to escape, on a promise never to return, without leave from the *English* parliament; an act of generosity highly blamed by the historians of that country. *Van Tromp* pursued *Blake* to the north; but his squadron suffered a second time in a hard gale, just as he had given the signal to engage, as if the elements had conspired against the glory of this hero.

Van Galen defeats Bodely.

e *VAN TROMP's* misfortunes rather animated than discouraged the states general. They promoted *de Ruyter*, afterwards so famous in history, to the command of a separate squadron, consisting of fifty sail, ordering him to protect a rich fleet of homeward-bound merchantmen. *Ruyter* was of obscure birth, and he had raised himself to distinction by dint of extraordinary merit, from the rank of a cabin-boy, unsupported by patronage, or those specious qualities which sometimes secure the friendship of the great, to the undeserving. He now first appeared in quality of commander in chief, and his conduct soon justified the election of his countrymen. Near *Plymouth* he met with admiral *Ascough*, with whom he began a furious cannonading about four in the afternoon, alone sustained the whole fire of the admiral and vice-admiral for an hour, and at length, by an extraordinary effort of intrepidity, disengaged himself, joined the rest of his squadron, and renewed the attack with such impetuosity, as obliged the enemy to retire, after most of their ships had exhausted all their ammunition. *Ascough* had a squadron little inferior to *de Ruyter's*; he behaved with the utmost gallantry, was once surrounded with nine of his ships by the Dutch, extricated himself by a desperate push, which broke the enemy, tore their ships, and gained the weather-gage; but still he was constrained to confess his inferiority by withdrawing from the battle. Next day, being reinforced, the engagement was renewed with redoubled eagerness; both sides suffered extremely, and at last the squadrons separated, as if by mutual consent: on the third day, each admiral claimed victory, with

De Ruyter fights the English.



almost equal justice. Both laboured under disadvantages, *Ascougb* wanted ammunition, <sup>a</sup> and *Ruyter*'s orders were disobeyed, either from want of skill or courage in his officers; but the greatest proof of the advantage gained by the *Dutch*, was, that the merchant-fleet under *Ruyter*'s conduct arrived untouched at *Amsterdam*, and the *English* took shelter in *Plymouth*. To this victory, if it may be called one, succeeded another, not less bloody, but more decisive. *Van Galen* had attacked *Bodely* in the *Mediterranean*, and with great valour fought and defeated his squadron, though he lost his life at the close of the engagement <sup>k</sup>.

Tumults in  
Holland.

MEANTIME *Ruyter* was under great perplexity. The last action, though upon the whole to his advantage, was however a convincing proof of the enemy's skill, courage, and obstinacy; while it afforded but too strong conviction of the want of discipline and <sup>b</sup> valour among his own officers. He doubted not but *Blake*, with a superior fleet, would revenge the cause of *Ascougb*; and that admiral's vigour and impetuosity were evinced sufficiently in the affair with *Van Tromp*. Under these apprehensions, he acquainted the states general with his situation, and the probability of his being soon attacked by the enemy's united squadrons. The states immediately resolved to send *Van Tromp* to take the chief command, and join *Ruyter* with a strong reinforcement; but *Tromp*'s late undeserved misfortunes, had rendered him unpopular. Without being able to tax his conduct, the people had murmured against the event of his two last expeditions. The ruin of the herring fishery had excited commotions in *Zealand* and *Holland*; *Van Tromp* was like to fall the sacrifice of ignorance, while his character was adored by all men of under- <sup>c</sup> standing. In despite of his services in quality of lieutenant-admiral for the space of fifteen years, it was with difficulty he could justify himself sufficiently, to be retained in the command. Fear of the people, or envy of his glory, had even raised him enemies in the states general, and the colleges of the admiralty. The public discontent was augmented by the great losses sustained in trade, the *English* having taken and destroyed a fleet of forty sail from *Spain* and *Portugal*, and six sloops richly laden from the *East Indies*. Now *Van Tromp* was divested of his command, without which the mob was not to be appeased, and *de Ruyter* was removed to make way for admiral *de Wit*. Even this promotion did not give universal satisfaction; the sailors loved their two gallant officers, and though they had the utmost confidence in their new leader, yet did they grumble at the sacrifice <sup>d</sup> made of two heroes to a faction. Those who had set foot on shore, refused returning to their ships, unless half a year's wages were advanced, and their comrades on board mutinied against the orders issued to prevent their landing; all, in short, refused to obey the instructions of the admiralty, and the magistrates of *Amsterdam*. Vigorous measures were necessary to suppress a sedition of such dangerous consequences. A party of soldiers was marched against the mutineers, who were forced on board, after leaving two of the ringleaders in the hands of the magistrates, who immediately gave orders for their execution. This struck a terror into the seamen, and produced the desired effect; the sailors returned to their duty, and an amnesty was passed to secure their gratitude, by an act of kindness and lenity; but unhappily this well-timed act became the subject of fresh disputes, <sup>e</sup> because the provincial states insisted, that the magistrates of *Amsterdam* had usurped their prerogative, by assuming the power of pardoning. It were easy indeed to justify the conduct of the magistrates, upon the principle of necessity. The exigency was pressing: it would not admit of time to assemble the states; yet, after some altercation, they were obliged to make satisfaction, and acknowledge publicly that they had, in critical circumstances, presumed upon exerting an authority which did not belong to them<sup>1</sup>; one of the greatest inconveniences of a republican government, where the variety of different rights and departments render them perplexed and dilatory.

In compliance with the humour of the seamen, and from a just sense of his extraordinary merit, *Ruyter* was again restored, and associated with *de Wit* in the command. Their <sup>f</sup> fleets joined off *Dunkirk*, and it was conceived they should sail in quest of the *English* admiral, the intrepid *Blake*, who was equally impatient to come to an engagement. By this time the *English* admiral was returned from the north, and his fleet being refitted with astonishing dispatch, he was steering in pursuit of the enemy. The vast booty he had taken in his late fortunate cruizes, served only to whet his ardor; and as he had acquired immense wealth without danger, he now resolved to obtain glory, without the least view to private advantage, or sordid purposes. With these generous sentiments on both sides, the fleets came in sight of each other; which determined *Ruyter* to make use of a stroke of policy, which, if approved by his colleague, might have been fatal to the *English*. He drew up behind a sand-bank, in such a manner as secured him from the larger *English* <sup>g</sup> ships, and obliged *Blake* to attack with manifest danger and disadvantage. The utility of

<sup>k</sup> La Vie d Ruyter, par BRANDT, pag. 52.

<sup>1</sup> BASNAGE, pag. 258.



a this measure was apparent the moment the attack began. The enemy divided into three squadrons, bore down with the admiral, in the *Sovereign*, at the head, but this ship with three other first rates struck upon the *Kentish Knocks*. Encouraged by an accident which greatly diminished the *English* strength, *de Wit* abandoned his situation, and determined to engage on the open sea, where he hoped to give a better account of the enemy, than if separated from them by a mound. *Ruyter* objected to his proposal; but *de Wit*, who had more ardor and courage than naval skill, pursued his own resolution, and soon perceived his error. A furious battle was joined, during which the commanders on both sides performed the most gallant actions; the sailors too of each nation fighting with surprising courage and perseverance. The *English* ships got off the bank, and *de Wit* found that he had made a false estimate of their strength; but relying upon the ability of *Ruyter*, and the intrepidity of the seamen, he fought with the utmost obstinacy, until night separated the combatants. Though the *Dutch* beheld with horror the slaughter made by the *Sovereign*, in which *Blake* fought in person, and though they were equally astonished and abashed by the courage of the *English*, yet *de Wit* proposed renewing the engagement next morning, in hopes the superiority he had in point of number would in the end prevail. *Ruyter*, however, better acquainted with the disposition of the *English*, opposed this resolution, and both at last agreed to make all possible sail for the coast of *Holland*, though they saw the enemy draw up in line of battle. The *Dutch* rear-admiral was taken, but he had the satisfaction of seeing the captor sunk soon after; another *Dutch* man of war was shattered to pieces, and sunk by the *Sovereign*: their loss was greater; but both sides so artfully dissembled this circumstance, that to ascertain the truth, at this distance of time, would be impossible. Upon the whole, it cannot be denied but victory declared clearly in favour of the *English*, who not only offered battle next day, but pursued the *Dutch* with their frigates, until they run into the *Goree* m.

Another sea fight.

The Dutch oversted in another sea fight.

In this, as in the preceding engagements, heavy complaints were made against the captains and inferior officers. The admirals no sooner touched the shore, than they accused their officers of cowardice and neglect of duty, while the officers recriminated, by charging *de Wit* with misconduct and rashness, to which they attributed the loss of their shipping. The states endeavoured to reconcile the parties, and restore peace and unanimity. They perceived that *de Wit*'s ardor occasioned his throwing blame on those whose caution he construed into timidity; that the admiral was chiefly in fault, but that his error arose from an excess of intrepidity, and a glorious resolution of signaling himself in the cause of his country; a spirit, which, at this juncture, was rather to be cherished than repressed. It was therefore the endeavour of the government to excite an emulation, to remove all cause of contention, and preserve the utmost harmony among the officers. Their zeal proved successful; never did there appear such an universal spirit of revenge, and national honour: the crews of merchantmen offered their services to the republic; and in a few weeks the losses sustained from tempests and battles, were repaired by the equipment of a formidable armament, consisting of seventy-two fine ships of war. *Van Tromp* was restored to the command, both in justice to his reputation, and because *de Wit* was confined by illness; and he had orders to convoy a fleet of three hundred merchantmen to the *Lizard*. Between *Dover* and *Folkstone* he descried the *English* fleet, amounting only to forty large men of war: he bore down; and *Blake*, with his usual intrepidity, seized the occasion of joining battle. On the twenty-ninth of *November* the fight began, at eleven in the forenoon, with inexpressible fury, and continued to six in the evening. The first fire from the *English* admiral was sustained by vice-admiral *Evertzon*, and *Ruyter*, who were a-head of the fleet, and in the most imminent danger, when *Van Tromp* came up to their relief. The scale was now turned against *Blake*, who found himself surrounded, and in great danger of falling a victim to his impetuosity, had he not fortunately been rescued by the intrepid efforts of two of his captains, who broke through the enemy, sustained their whole fire, and carried the admiral out of danger. In the end victory declared for the *Dutch* admiral; *Blake* was wounded, his own ship shattered, two others taken, as many burnt, and one sunk; and this with the loss only of one ship of the *Dutch* squadron, which was blown up by an accident. *Van Tromp*'s conduct was gallant; but his victory was obtained by numbers, and we may venture to say that he blighted his laurels by his vanity; having, after the retreat of the enemy, proceeded in his voyage with a broom fixed to his main-top-mast, intimating that he would sweep the Channel clear of the *English*.

Tumults in Holland.

Van Tromp defeats the English admiral.

g As this war was wholly naval, the operations of the contending parties were not confined to the Channel. Both had armaments in the *Mediterranean*, and the *Dutch* supplied the loss of *Van Galen*, by appointing admiral *Cats*, an officer of merit, to the command of



his squadron. On his arrival at *Leghorn*, *Cats* found that captain *Appleton*, with eight ships, had taken shelter in this neutral port. He desired the duke of *Tuscany* would withdraw his protection, and suffer him to attack the enemy in the harbour, or force them to the open sea. To this the duke answered, that he was at peace with *England* and *Holland*; both their squadrons were welcome to his ports; but hostilities committed there would be a gross violation of the laws of nations, and the highest insult to his sovereignty. Not satisfied with this, *Cats* was preparing to attack the *English*, when, under cover of the night, *Appleton*, who was greatly inferior in strength, quitted the port, and steered, with a favourable gale, clear of the enemy. But the *Dutch* were obliged to combat not only the open force of *England*, but the pirates of the *French* nation, to the incredible damage of their commerce. The civil disorders of that country gave existence to a swarm of privateers, who pillaged the ships of all nations without distinction, but chiefly of *Holland*, because the trade of the republic was the most flourishing, and the ships the richest. *M. Boreel* had orders to complain to the *French* court, to demand redress, and to intimate that a strong squadron was equipping to retaliate. At the same time admiral *Cats* had instructions to clear the *Mediterranean* of privateers, and to protect the *Dutch* commerce, without respect to the flag of neutral nations. *Cats* executed, perhaps exceeded his orders; for, after taking several privateers, he drew up before *Toulon*, and menaced the governor with a bombardment, if he permitted *Dutch* captures to be carried to that harbour. The Christian king resented the remonstrance of *Boreel*, and was highly incensed at the insolent conduct of admiral *Cats*; but, unable to redress himself otherwise, he demanded payment from the states general of several sums due to his crown since the war between *Spain* and the *United Provinces*. This demand was contested, as the money was advanced by treaties formed for the mutual advantage of the contracting parties, and, after some sharp altercation, dropped for the present<sup>a</sup>.

NOTWITHSTANDING the late victory gained by *Van Tromp*, the success of the *Dutch* arms was not answerable to the sanguine expectations of the republic. The sailors, accustomed to wealth and victory in all their encounters with the *Spaniards*, were disappointed in not reaping the same emolument from their bloody disputes with the *English*. Here fortune was various; they had been oftener defeated than victorious, and even their successes were diminished by the terrible slaughter with which they were obtained. Several of their richest merchantmen had fallen into the hands of the enemy, and an entire stop was put to the beneficial herring-fishery, by which so many poor families were supported. This begot discontent, which soon produced faction and discord. One party demanded a stadtholder, and another remained fixed in their resolution of opposing invariably the ambitious designs of the house of *Orange*. The former asserted, that the war could never be pushed with vigour until a stadtholder directed the operations; and the other asserted, that the restoration of that dignity would be the ruin of liberty. Tumults arose in *Zealand*, and in particular at *Middleburgh*, where the mob assembled in a riotous manner, and demanded a captain-general of the house of *Orange*. They were instigated by the clergy, the fast friends of that family; and the disorder came to so dangerous a height, that the magistrates of *Flushing*, *Middleburgh*, and other towns, were deposed. Nothing was worn but the *Orange* livery, and there was no security in the streets without a scarf of this colour. Necessity obliged the states of *Zealand* to fall in with the humour of the people; besides, the influence of the house of *Orange* was so considerable in this assembly, that it was supposed their inclination likewise led them to represent the necessity of this measure to the states of *Holland*. The infancy of the prince of *Orange* was, however, an objection to the proposal; but this might be removed by substituting his cousin, the count *de Nassau*, his lieutenant. Aware of the consequences of popular commotions at so critical a juncture, the states of *Holland* sent four deputies to *Zealand*; but before their arrival at *Middleburgh*, the states of *Zealand* had adjourned. They demanded that the assembly should be convoked; the people, apprehensive of the consequences, opposed it, and besieged the deputies in their houses. At length they were forced to retire privately in the night, to avoid being sacrificed to popular rage and fury<sup>b</sup>.

WHEN the states of *Zealand* again met, the deputies returned, under the escort of a party of soldiers, who conducted them safe to the assembly, and took possession of the doors, to keep off the mob. They laboured, with all the powers of reason and oratory, to display the fatal consequences of vesting any single person with the executive power, and the command of the sea and land-forces, at a time when faction ran so high as to endanger public liberty; but they could not obtain the concurrence of the states of *Zealand*, who appeared overawed by the people, and influenced by the family of *Orange*. They departed with a general answer, and happily escaped being insulted by the people, who were brought

<sup>a</sup> BASNAGE, p. 284.<sup>b</sup> Idem, p. 292.

The populace  
in Zealand  
demand a  
stadtholder.



a into good humour by the resolute behaviour of the states. The dispute now lay between the two provincial states, and became so warm as to threaten a dissolution of the union of *Utrecht*. As to the other provinces, they appeared divided among themselves, some towns requiring one thing, some another, though a majority declared for a stadtholder, under limitations and restrictions; which were absolutely rejected by the *Zealanders*. At length, as if by mutual agreement, these civil contentions subsided, and yielded to the general ardor for prosecuting the war with vigour, and opposing the formidable armament equipped by the *English* to revenge the late disgrace.

TOWARDS the close of the year *Tromp* arrived in *Holland*, with a prodigious fleet of merchantmen under his convoy; and his gallant conduct obtained him the thanks of the states general. It was resolved to keep him in the command, and to augment his fleet with all possible dispatch. The enemy had called forth all their force, and the best officers in the kingdom, *Monk* and *Dean*, assisted *Blake* in the command. *Ruyter* was joined to *Tromp*, and they set sail, to convoy through the Channel a vast fleet of merchantmen homeward-bound. It was the intention of the *English* to intercept this valuable convoy; accordingly they steered towards the isle of *Rhé*, where, on the eighth of *February*, they discovered by break of day the *Dutch* squadron. The fight began under *Blake* and *Dean*, seconded by twelve more ships, and the charge was furious, this small division standing the whole fire of the enemy. Never was any engagement more terrible or obstinate: the honour of both nations depended; *Blake* fought to retrieve the reputation he had lost, and *Tromp* to maintain the laurels he had won in the last battle. Neither side would yield the victory; the engagement was renewed for three days successively; the sea was covered with wrecks, the sun obscured with smoke, and the air pierced with the dreadful shouts and shrieks of the combatants, and the terrible thunder of the cannon. For whole hours the ships engaged board-and-board, and a dead calm happened, as if nature had suspended her operations to attend the event of the battle. After the utmost exertions of skill and intrepidity on both sides, *Tromp*, towards the evening of the third day, drew off his fleet, but in such good order, that he seemed rather to decline the further effusion of human blood, than yield the victory. His loss, however, amounted to eleven men of war, two thousand men were killed, and fourteen hundred taken; but the *English* fleet was in so shattered a condition, as prevented the admiral's pursuing. Besides, his loss was nearly equal to the enemy's, and though he maintained his station, he could not be said to have gained a victory. The *English* however claimed it; and *Blake*, in his letter to the parliament, asserts that, by the blessing of providence, he had gained a victory, and taken a great number of prisoners. Bonfires were lighted in all the towns, and the *Dutch* prisoners conducted in triumph to *Canterbury*: yet, after all, it must be confessed that there was little cause for rejoicings, or any pretensions to victory. *Van Tromp's* fleet was inferior in number, as he was forced to leave one division for the protection of the merchant-fleet, his powder and shot were exhausted, and the merchants clamorous to get out of the reach of danger: these were the reasons for his retiring; and he had sufficiently obtained his purpose, in frustrating the scheme of the *English* to crush, at one blow, the *United Provinces*, by the total destruction of their commerce.

A. D. 1653.

A sea-fight continues for three days.

ON this occasion, *Charles* king of *England* wrote to *M. Boreel*, requesting, that the states general would supply him with a squadron, in which he would embark with the officers round him, and either gain a victory or a period to all his misfortunes from the hands of his rebellious subjects; but little regard was paid to this compliment, which produced no great utility to the republic. The states preferred the thoughts of peace to proposals from which nothing could be expected, besides the fruitless honour of having a king fighting their battles. A thousand difficulties, however, obstructed this laudable scheme. The *English* were endeavouring to draw the queen of *Sweden* into an alliance against the republic, and *Van Buiningen* found that princess and her ministers violently prejudiced against the *Dutch*, on his arrival in *Sweden*. He proceeded, however, to lay his instructions before the *Oxenstierns*, father and son, representing to them, that the treaties between the crown of *Sweden* and the republic engaged them mutually to support each other's interests. The *Swedes*, replied, that the *Dutch* were the aggressors, and the authors of the war, by the treatment which the *English* ambassador had met with in *Holland*; an alliance purely defensive could, therefore, lay the crown under no obligation of engaging in this war. *Buiningen* endeavoured to set the chancellor right in this particular, and opposed with all his might the intention of the court to send an embassy to *London*. He even threatened to quit *Sweden* if this resolution was persisted in; but he was given to understand the queen was not to be directed where she sent, or to whom she paid her compliments. All that the *Dutch* ambassador could obtain was, a kind of promise that *Sweden* would observe a neutrality.

Negotiations with Sweden and Denmark.



FINDING all his endeavours to procure a renewal of the treaty of 1640 fruitless, *Buiningen* turned his thoughts to the court of *Denmark*, where he promised himself more success; because it rarely happens but the crowns of *Sweden* and *Denmark* embrace opposite interests. *Christina*, jealous of his negotiations with her rival, now offered her mediation to procure peace with *England* and the republic. *Buiningen* listened to the proposal, but at the same time privately pursued his application to the court of *Copenhagen*, in which he met with greater difficulties than he imagined, from the extreme circumspection of the king and ministry. These the *Dutchman* strove to remove by a stratagem, which might have proved a severe blow to the *English* commerce. A fleet of above twenty ships of that nation was then to return from the *Baltic*, laden with naval stores. Apprehensive of being intercepted by the *Dutch* squadron cruising in the *Sound*, the captains desired permission of the king to shelter themselves in the harbour of *Copenhagen*. Leave was accordingly granted, and the *Dutch* envoy had influence enough over the sovereign, and so thorough a knowledge of his prevalent passion, avarice, that he persuaded the king to seize the ships, and confiscate their cargoes; hoping by this means to produce an irreconcilable breach between *Denmark* and *England*. Some writers indeed charge the whole transaction on the king's own perfidy and avarice; but *Basnage* affirms, and circumstances corroborate the allegation, that it proceeded from the persuasion of the *Dutch* envoy. The spirited conduct, however, of the parliament deprived the *Danish* monarch of the fruits of his treachery; an *English* squadron appeared in the *Baltic*, and soon forced him to make restitution; which at the same time retarded his declaration in favour of the republic. *Christina* likewise co-operated to frustrate the proposed alliance, and used every intrigue and chicane of the cabinet, in favour of the parliament; but in the end, M. *Keiser*, the *Dutch* envoy, who succeeded *Buiningen*, surmounted every obstruction, and finished the treaty with *Frederick III*. In consequence, the king stipulated to equip twenty ships of war, and the states general to pay an annual subsidy of one hundred and eighty thousand rixdollars. The treaty was offensive and defensive, it being agreed, that neither party should conclude peace without the consent of the other; and the *Dutch* drew this advantage from it, that the *English* were excluded the benefit of trading to the *Baltic*, and of buying up supplies of naval stores, the king of *Denmark* having the absolute command of the *Sound*, and of course of the *Baltic*. In other respects the alliance proved useless; for the king was so apprehensive of his own coasts, that he would never permit his ships of war to join the *Hollanders*, or proceed to any distance against the common enemy, notwithstanding the repeated remonstrances and complaints of his allies. A number of other circumstances likewise contributed to destroy the expected effects; but we shall avoid mentioning them, as they will more properly be recited in the history of *Denmark*.

Treaty with  
Denmark.

De Wit made  
pensionary.

Negotiations  
for a peace  
with En-  
gland.

SUCH was the situation of the republic with respect to the North, when *Cromwel* rejected the proposed mediation of the crown of *Sweden*, when it was generally believed that all thoughts of peace were laid aside; however, the universal discontent that reigned in the provinces, and the elevation of M. *de Wit* to the office of pensionary of *Holland*, in the room of M. *Pauw* deceased, made great changes in the politics of *Holland*. M. *de Wit* was the son of that burgo-master of *Dordrecht*, imprisoned by the prince of *Orange*. He was the staunch friend of liberty, a personal enemy to the house of *Orange*, and a strenuous advocate for peace with *England*, which he knew to be the most effectual method of curbing the ambition of this family, and silencing the public clamours for a stadtholder. On his first coming into the administration, he applied diligently to carry this important point, and to finish a war which answered no purpose but exhausting the finances, and ruining the commerce. For the greater security, he exacted an oath from all the deputies, that they would religiously keep secret the propositions he was about to make; after which he proposed entering upon a negotiation with the parliament of *England*, without imparting the design to the other provinces. *Holland* supported the great burthen of the war; it was therefore but reasonable this province should have a principal share in negotiating a peace; but it was necessary to take some steps, before the design should meet with obstruction from the other provinces. *De Wit's* proposition was admitted more readily than he could expect, on M. *Doleman's* shewing letters which he had received from general *Monk*, assuring him that overtures of peace would be well received at the court of *London*. *Leyden* alone opposed the measure, urging that it was a gross violation of the treaty of *Utrecht*; but this objection was superseded, and the states of *Holland* wrote privately to the parliament, lamenting that two powerful maritime powers, connected by the ties of liberty and religion, should employ their whole force in destroying each other. "What a triumph" would this be to the enemies of the reformation, and to those who hoped to lay the foundation of a naval power on the destruction of the masters of the ocean." A variety of other reflections were added; and the states concluded with requesting, that the



- a parliament would please to appoint the time and place for a negotiation ; otherwise they must commit their cause to providence, and leave the event of a just and necessary defence to the Almighty, who would not fail to punish that pride and ambition which should occasion the effusion of so much christian blood. All the *Dutch* writers unanimously deny, that the republic supplicated peace at this time, as is asserted by the *English* historians ; they proposed it indeed, but spoke with the freedom and manly courage of equals, whose moderation, more than their inability or fear, rendered them desirous of terminating a ruinous quarrel, in which both sides were losers. They deny that any letter was ever sent to *Lenthall* the speaker, such as afterwards was privately handed about, under the title of, *The humble supplication of the states of Holland, praying the English parliament to grant peace*.
- b This, they alledge, was an artifice of *Cromwel's*, and an impudent forgery to answer his own particular designs upon the parliament. It is, however, a strong argument in favour of what the *English* writers relate, that no reason can be assigned why *Cromwel* should take the trouble of such a forgery, as it was certainly his interest that the war should go on, the army become necessary, and the legislative power subject to the executive ; which accordingly happened about this time. Some *Dutch* writers also insinuate, that *Cromwel*, when this negotiation was set on foot, tampered with the envoys about a treaty with the states against the parliament ; an insinuation that has not the least shadow of probability ; for now *Cromwel* and the army had actually dissolved the old parliament, and substituted a wrong-headed set of fanatics, entirely at their devotion, as a nominal legislature. The truth is, the states of *Holland* wished for peace, *de Wit* proposed it, and the letter we have mentioned was sent ; but the republic was not yet sufficiently humble to talk in the petitionary stile of that supplication mentioned by the *English* ; it was not before the death of her brave admiral, and the destruction of her fleet, after the most obstinate and bloody battle recorded in history, that she had recourse to prayers, entreaties, and the clemency of the council of state : but as this event happened nearly about the same time, authors have confounded the dates, and mistaken the petition to *Cromwel* and his council, for the letter addressed to *Lenthall*, the speaker of the house of commons. This, however, we must allow, that the states appointed three deputies, *Beverning*, *Nieuport*, and *Vander Peter*, to negotiate a treaty with *Cromwel*, without consulting the parliament ; but before the embassy set out, or the instructions were drawn up, admiral *Tromp*, with above ninety ships of war, fell in with an *English* fleet of the same number, but greatly superior in size and weight of metal, under the command of *Monk*, *Dean*, *Pen*, and *Lawson*. Before he set sail, he complained of the inequality of his strength, the chief part of his fleet consisting of eight merchantmen, converted into men of war, and commanded by the very officers who had been taxed with cowardice in former engagements. To shew his obedience and desire of serving his country, *Tromp* accepted the command ; but acquainted the states that he could not answer for the consequences of a battle. His remonstrance produced a resolution to equip with all expedition a squadron of thirty large ships ; but before this armament was got ready, *Tromp's* fate, and that of the republic, were decided.
- c His instructions were, to take under his convoy an outward-bound fleet of merchantmen, and to escort back to *Holland* another fleet of near three hundred trading vessels. This commission he executed with so much address, that not a single ship fell into the enemy's hands, though he was closely pursued to the height of *Aberdeen*. Piqued at their disappointment, the *English* wreaked their vengeance on a fleet of fishing-boats, and spread terror along the coasts of *Holland*. *Van Tromp*, determined upon retribution, sailed for the *Downs* to fight the enemy ; but not finding them in that station, after sustaining a warm fire from *Dover* castle, he sailed for the coast of *Flanders*, where the *English* fleet was descried. They immediately engaged with equal alacrity, and fought with incredible fury till night interposed. *Dean* was killed in the beginning of the action, but his loss was concealed with admirable presence of mind, and the battle renewed next day with fresh vigour. *Lawson* charged with the blue squadron, consisting of forty stout ships, with such impetuosity as forced the *Dutch* line, and would have taken *de Ruyter's* ship, had he not seasonably been relieved by *Van Tromp*, who pierced through the thickest of the enemy's fire to his assistance. *Tromp* was engaged by *Monk*, and the battle raged from morning to night, each party being ignorant of the loss they sustained amidst impenetrable clouds of smoke. At last ammunition failed, and the *Dutch* gradually slackened fire, and at last withdrew, all *Tromp's* menaces and persuasions being unable to bring his officers back to the charge. Their fury sunk beneath the well-conducted ardor of the *English*, the weight of whose metal gave them great advantages. *Tromp* had been twice taken, but his own and *de Ruyter's* bravery rescued him ; six of his best ships were sunk, two blown up, and eleven taken ; yet only the want of ammunition, and of spirit in his captains,

Mistake of the Dutch writers.

Another sea-fight, in which the Dutch are defeated.



prevented his renewing the fight, and accepting the cartel offered next day by the *English*.<sup>a</sup> All the *English* historians agree that the *Dutch* slackened fire, and withdrew by three in the afternoon; but it is certain that night separated the combatants, and possibly saved the *Dutch* fleet from entire destruction, as it furnished *Tromp* with the opportunity of taking shelter behind the banks of *Weilingen*, where he could not be pursued.

Complaints of  
the Dutch ad-  
mirals.

Now the victorious enemy rode triumphant before the *Texel*, until the *Dutch* fleet assembled at *Flushing*, from whence *Tromp* and *Ruyter* sent remonstrances to the states of the inequality of their strength. They desired either to be recalled, or put upon a footing with the enemy in weight of metal, and force of ships; and also that store-ships might attend the fleet, as the want of ammunition had caused the loss of the two last battles. They desired payment of the seamen's wages, a recompence for the wounded, and rewards for those who had signalised themselves. *Ruyter*, in particular, declared, that he would no longer hazard his reputation, until the fleet was augmented with large ships; and vice-admiral *de Wit* expressed himself in the strongest manner in the assembly of the states of *Holland*: "Why, said he, should I conceal from you, who are my sovereigns, that the *English* are our masters, and consequently lords of the ocean?" The states promised to pay due regard to the remonstrances, and immediately sent to the other provinces, to borrow a sum sufficient for equipping thirty first-rate ships, for which the admiralty had order to provide seamen, stores, rigging, and other necessaries, and to be directed in those particulars by *Tromp*, *Ruyter*, and *de Wit*.<sup>b</sup>

Tumults in  
different parts  
of Holland.

YET could not these vigorous resolutions appease the murmurs of the people. The provinces were overwhelmed with consternation, on seeing the armament they deemed invincible, defeated, shattered, and blocked up in their harbours. *Van Tromp's* complaints, and the instigation of the *Orange* party, increased the popular discontent; and it was insinuated, that the republic was betrayed, and an unequal force sent against the enemy, only to shew the necessity of making peace upon any conditions. To this, the negotiation entered upon with *Cromwell*, by *Buiningen*, added fuel, and the flame now burst out with such violence as threatened the ruin of the provinces. The enemies of the house of *Orange* durst not presume to mention peace, for fear of exasperating the people; and the states, contrary to inclination, were forced to proceed with redoubled vigour in repairing the fleet, as the best means of appeasing the public discontent, and obtaining reasonable terms from the enemy.<sup>c</sup>

BUT what chiefly excited public commotions, was the opposition made by *de Wit* and the *Louvestein* party to the creation of a stadtholder. This faction wished for a peace, for the protection of *France*, and the friendship of *England*; they were consequently enemies to the house of *Stuart*; but *Van Tromp* was popular, he espoused the house of *Orange*, wished for a stadtholder, and the continuance of the war upon such a footing as would give some chance to his talents, and an opportunity of retrieving his glory. An accident happened that gave vent to the popular discontent. The young prince of *Orange* was to return from *Breda*, and the children at the *Hague* formed themselves into companies, with *Orange* standards, and proceeded to meet the prince on his journey. As the prince did not arrive on the expected day, the young soldiers separated at night, and retired quietly to their several houses: however, that they might not entirely lose the expences bestowed in colours, standards, and military ensigns, they assembled next day, and appeared in arms before the palace. The magistrates gave orders they should be chastised; their parents flew to the assistance of their children; and, in revenge, attacked the house of *M. de Wit*, whom they imagined the most violent enemy of the house of *Orange*. The tumult could not be suppressed without application to military force. A party of soldiers was called in, and crowds of the mutineers, men, women, and children, were thrown into prison. Now the whole province was in a flame, and it was necessary to keep strong guards in the towns, to awe the multitude, who threatened destruction to all government.<sup>e</sup> At *Sluys* all precautions proved fruitless; the herring-fishers, incensed at their being deprived of bread by the *English*, took arms, seized on the arsenal and magazines, mounted the cannon on the ramparts, fired upon the troops brought to quell the mutiny, and shut the gates against *Brederode*, marechal of the camp, sent by the states to apply effectual remedies to this dangerous disorder. In this situation stood affairs for several days, without any possibility of gaining admittance into the town. At last a happy stratagem put an end to a riot, which might have produced the most fatal consequences. A messenger from the states came to the gates, pretending that he was charged with a special commission, upon which he was introduced to the town-house, and the people were summoned by the alarm-bell to attend. They all flocked from their houses and posts, eager to hear the propositions; and while the messenger was, in a loud voice, reading a paper he held<sup>f</sup>



a in his hand, nine companies of foot seized on the gates, entered the town, took prisoners the ringleaders, without resistance, and terrified the inhabitants into submission before they had exchanged a blow. Some of the seditious gave out that designs were formed upon their privileges; but their voice was drowned in the general consternation, and the assurances given by the chief officer, that nothing more was intended than to restore the public tranquillity.

b This tumult was no sooner suppressed, than another appeared in the *Texel*, where the count *de Nassau* arrived, on advice that an expedition was preparing in *England* against this island and the *Brille*. He was received by the people as their deliverer, and crowds of men and women went to meet him, strewing the way with flowers. These honours shewn the count, and the liberty he had taken of assembling some troops without their orders, gave umbrage to the states of *Holland*, who beheld with surprise the authority he assumed in a province where he had no legal power. The prudence, however, displayed by the count satisfied the states; for he retired upon finding that his presence had given offence, and assured the states, that his intention was only to animate and rouse the drooping spirit of the people, terrified at the thoughts of an invasion.

c THESE tumults had one very unexpected consequence. It inspired the magistrates of *Haerlem* with the resolution of electing a stadtholder. They accordingly instructed their pensionary to lay before the states their determination, to desire their concurrence, and to assure them it would not be long possible to withstand the eagerness of the people in favour of the house of *Orange*. The states were surprised at seeing a pensionary imprisoned by the late prince of *Orange*, charged with instructions which they believed inconsistent with his principles, and demanding the re-establishment of a stadtholder. But his conduct soon effaced their suspicions. He communicated his instructions to *M. de Wit* before he laid them before the states, and was convinced by the arguments of that able statesman, that he changed his sentiments, and prevailed on the magistrates of *Haerlem* to drop their intention.

d THE *Zealanders* were more firm and resolute in their proceedings. The preceding year they had demanded a stadtholder, persuading themselves they would be supported by the states of *Friseland* and *Groningen*. They even doubted not but these provinces would thank them for so reasonable a proposition. The dispute was carried on with greater violence than the preceding year; but the address of *de Wit*, and the firm opposition of the states of *Holland* frustrated all the endeavours of the *Zealanders*. But to enter justly into the politics of *Holland*, it will be necessary to take a short view of the state of *England*, and the intrigues of *Cromwell*. The old parliament was now dissolved, and the legislative power in the hands of *Cromwell*, and the council of state. *Beverning*, and the other *Dutch* deputies, had made him frequent overtures of peace; but his behaviour was always supercilious, and his answers equivocal. Notwithstanding this, no sooner were the deputies gone from his presence, than *Cromwell's* agents insinuated, that the *Dutch* were not to judge of his sentiments from his exterior appearance, which he adapted to circumstances. Ignorant of the true meaning of this duplicity, the deputies were, above measure, confounded to find, after a tedious negotiation, that all their pacific conditions were rejected, and they were told that no peace was to be expected, until the *Hollanders* consented to unite both states so closely, as that they might become one people, and form one united commonwealth. This proposition appeared equally absurd and insolent. One of the deputies, *Nieuport*, observed, that it seemed to be exactly copied from the parliament's instructions to their commissioners in *Scotland*; concluding that *Cromwell* proposed treating the republic as the parliament had done the *Scottish* nation. It was *Cromwell's* design to prevent the election of a stadtholder, and to procure the dismissal of *Van Tromp*, whom he knew to be a strenuous partizan of the house of *Orange*. He therefore intimated, that an accommodation might be effected on these conditions. He hinted, that if the *Dutch* consented to the union proposed, an immediate cessation of hostilities would ensue, a free trade be restored, and the privileges of fishing adjusted to the entire satisfaction of the *United Provinces*. Some writers pretend to treat this whole negotiation as ideal; but what proves its reality, is the advice sent to the states by the commissioners, of all the proceedings with *Cromwell's* agent, and the consequences of that notion, which had almost defeated the whole design. The correspondence was discovered by the *Orange* faction; and *Cromwell* concluding it could not be long kept secret in *England*, where it might ruin him with his party, assumed a more severe brow, and next time he met the commissioners, declared, that such was the situation of affairs in *Holland*, that *England* could have no security in treating with the republic. Nor was it long before the commissioners received from the council of state an explicit explanation of the former demands, in the following terms: That the two republics should

\* BASNAGE, pag. 308.



coalesce, the whole united dominions be subject to one government, composed of the natives of both countries, in such a manner as should be to their mutual advantage; and that each should, without any distinction, enjoy the same privileges and immunities with the natives and inhabitants of the respective countries, as to houses, lands, possessions, commerce, fishing, and every other particular. Such was the scheme of this political age, mad with projects, and inventive in plans of republican government, which, if possible, they would have established over the face of the whole earth<sup>a</sup>. It is sufficient for our purpose, that the proposal was highly resented by the deputies, who regarded it as throwing ridicule on their character, or the scheme of an enthusiast. Without, however, giving *Cromwell* a definitive answer, they acquainted the states of *Holland* with the offered conditions of peace, and patiently waited for further instructions.

*A sea-fight.*

It was during this suspense that the famous battle was fought, which brought the war to a speedy issue. After the last action *de Wit* and the *Dutch* government made surprising efforts to recover the severe blow then received, and put the fleet in a more respectable footing than before. Several large ships were added, and all more completely manned and provided; every pretext for quitting the service was taken from *Van Tromp* and the other admirals, who now took the command of a fleet of one hundred sail of fine vessels, all fit for action. No motives either of hope or fear were wanting to the sailors, their pay was doubled, the ships were crowded with volunteers of the first fashion, and nothing less was expected than that the enemy would be obliged to screen themselves in their harbours. Young *Van Tromp*, who had destroyed an *English* man of war in the *Streights*, and distinguished his intrepidity and valour, was ordered home with his squadron, and every measure pushed to the utmost, to oblige the haughty usurper to hasten to reasonable proposals. The enemy still blocked up the *Texel*, the coasts of *Holland* were besieged, and the harbours so narrowly watched, that all the merchantmen fell into the hands of the *English*. It was of the utmost consequence to oblige them to retire, as they equally distressed trade and the government, by exciting clamours among the people, who exclaimed, that they were sacrificed to the treachery of the states, and cowardice of the naval officers; a reflection that was pointed at the heads of those captains who had been accused of negligence in the last engagement. The *Dutch* armament was now in two divisions, under *Van Tromp* and *de Wit*, in different harbours; and the great difficulty was how to effect a junction, without being separately attacked by the enemy. Before they set sail great debates arose in the states concerning the instructions to be given their admirals: some opposed venturing another engagement, and urged it would be sufficient to convoy the homeward-bound trade, and particularly the rich fleet from *India*, which would enable the republic to equip such a navy as the enemy could not presume to face: others pressed hard for an engagement, affirming that the public murmurs were only to be silenced by the din of war, and the roaring of cannon: a victory, they said, would infallibly restore peace and tranquillity. The latter opinion prevailed, and *Van Tromp* had orders to fight the first opportunity. With eighty-five sail this admiral steered along the coast of *Zealand*, and on the thirty-first of *July* discovered the *English* fleet, consisting of ninety-four fine ships, under the conduct of *Monk*, *Lawson*, and *Penn*, at the distance of five miles a-head. By the shifting of the wind the enemy gained the weather gage, which determined *Van Tromp* to avoid an engagement, make all possible sail for the *Texel*, and there join the division commanded by *de Wit* and *Ruyter*: happily for him a storm arose, which prevented the *English* from forcing him to an engagement; and he embraced the opportunity to effect the intended junction. His fleet was now augmented to one hundred and twenty sail, with which he proceeded in quest of the *English*, descried them on the sixth of *August* between *Scheveling* and the *Meuse*, and immediately gave the signal for battle. *Tromp* took his station on the right, *Ruyter* led the left, *Evertzen* was in the center, and the command of the rear was assigned to *de Wit*. At seven in the morning the two fleets engaged, with equal ardor, within sight of the shore, which was crowded with inhabitants, eager to be spectators of an action, which should determine the fate of the republic. Both behaved with wonderful address, and fought with such prudent and subdued courage as never before appeared in any sea-fight. The cannon of above two hundred men of war fired incessantly; the sea was covered with blood, and wrecks of ships, either burnt or shattered to pieces. *Tromp*, agreeable to custom, pierced the enemy's line, and put it in confusion; but, on his return, encountered admiral *Goodson*: here he was surrounded by the enemy's ships, and deserted by his own; but he fought with such desperate fury as would have extricated him from this difficulty, had he not been unfortunately shot dead with a musket-ball, as he was gallantly giving his orders on the quarter-deck<sup>b</sup>. His last words were, *Take courage, my boys, I have run my course with glory*. *Bredrode* took the

<sup>a</sup> SMOLLETT, tom. iii. GUTHRIE, tom. iii. BASNAGE, pag. 312.

<sup>b</sup> La vie de Tromp, pag. 152.



- a command, concealed the admiral's death from the rest of the fleet, and behaved in a manner worthy of the successor of the brave *Van Tromp*. The *Dutch* fire-ships made great havoc among the enemy, and a terrible conflict happened between the divisions commanded by *Lawson* and *Ruyter*. At last the *Dutch* admiral's ship was shattered to pieces, she was towed out of the line, and *Ruyter*, shifting his flag to a frigate, returned to the battle: but all his efforts could not restore the spirits of the seamen. It was now known that *Tromp* was dead, and an universal despondency succeeded, as if victory depended wholly upon his arm; several ships fell back from the line; the whole was in confusion, a rout ensued, and terrible slaughter of men, and destruction of ships. Agreeable to the best *Dutch* attested accounts the *Dutch* lost twenty-six men of war, four thousand men were killed, *seated*.
- b and two thousand taken prisoners, half of whom the humanity of the conquerors saved from being swallowed up by the ocean. In a word, the victory was complete, but purchased at a high price. Most of the *English* ships were disabled, some were entirely destroyed: they had six hundred men killed, and near a thousand wounded, many of whom never recovered, and the whole fleet was in so wretched plight as to be unable to pursue the blow, and destroy the broken remains of the enemy in their flight. The *Dutch* indeed assert, that the losses were nearly equal; but the consequence demonstrated that they were defeated. The *United Provinces* were overwhelmed with grief and consternation, while every town in *England* blazed with bonfires, and rung with rejoicings. The loss of *Tromp* was alone sufficient cause of mourning; but as that hero had many enemies, the
- c universality of the despondency evinced, that it flowed from more general misfortunes than the death of a private man, as much feared and detested by one party, as he was adored by another (A).

- THE republic had paid dear for the freedom of trade and navigation of the *Texel*; but they resolved to profit by it. The *English* fleet withdrew from the coasts of *Holland*, in consequence of the late battle; and *Ruyter* was now ordered to convoy a vast fleet of merchantmen out of the Channel. This prospect of reviving commerce fortified the *Dutch* against every misfortune, and the flattering promises of cardinal *Mazarin* inspired them with courage, under the pressure of a signal defeat, to dispute the terms prescribed by *England* before the last battle. Yet *Cromwell* was apprised how impossible it was for
- d the *Dutch* government to continue the war, while the republic was divided by faction, and the people clamorous for a stadtholder. All their preparations gave no disturbance to the penetrating usurper. He beheld with unconcern their efforts to repair the fleet, the promotions among general officers, the rewards given to merit, the generous flame that seemed to warm every breast, and the appointment of the celebrated *Opdam*, to the command of lieutenant-admiral, in the room of the deceased *Tromp*. If he regained the advantages which *Mazarin* had lately acquired over the balance of *Europe*, he was sensible that all his other wishes would follow. The states perceived his design; they knew his ability, perseverance, and courage. They saw his great preparations, and resolved to anticipate consequences. Accordingly two deputies were dispatched to *London*, with orders,
- e however, positively to reject the scheme of union proposed by *Cromwell*. When *Nieuport*, *Beverning*, and *Jonquestal*, had laid their instructions before the council of state, they were agreeably surprised to find *Cromwell* relax considerably with respect to the coalition of the two nations, and in some other severe demands; particularly as to the right of fishing upon the *British* coasts: but two very disagreeable articles were now added; viz. that the states should engage to exclude the prince of *Orange* from all the employments held by his ancestors, especially those of stadtholder and captain-general; and that they would limit the navy of the republic to a certain number of ships, not to be exceeded without leave from *England*. These points were disputed by the commissioners, with all the arguments in their power; but finding the protector inflexible with respect to the article regarding the prince of *Orange*, they desired leave to lay the state of the negotiation before their constituents; for which purpose *Beverning* returned to *Holland*.

PEACE with *England* was the wish of every dispassionate lover of his country, and the chief object of the attention of the states general. The *Zealanders*, however, still insisted on the re-establishment of a stadtholder, and a close union with *France*, by which they imagined the war might be conducted to advantage, and the haughty enemy reduced in a short time to the necessity of relaxing in the rigid conditions prescribed; but *Holland* constantly opposed this measure, as dangerous to liberty, and unprofitable to the republic.

(A) No sooner did the fleet arrive in port, than the states ordered *Ruyter* and *Evertzen* to attend, in order to be minutely informed of the circumstances of the engagement, and the state of the losses. From the examination which passed on this occasion, it was obvious, that the *Dutch* believed all their officers had not per-

formed their duty, though the public thanks of the assembly were returned to *Ruyter*, *Evertzen*, and other admirals, for their gallant behaviour; and they were exhorted to continue their services, with the same zeal, intrepidity, and fidelity, they had hitherto displayed.



The states general perceived the difficulty of equipping an armament, able to cope with the *English*. They were aware of the inconveniences under which a republican government laboured in all disputes with a despotic enemy. *Cromwell*, though his situation in the supreme power was unsteady and irksome, yet managed with such address, as to acquire an absolute authority. The legislative and executive power being vested in the same person, action was as quick as thought, and the measure no sooner dictated, than it was executed with the promptness peculiar to monarchy; for in this light *England* was now to be regarded. Besides the inability of bringing the war to a happy issue, they were sensible of the inconveniences of the attempt, which would be violently opposed by a strong party, unless their favourite views of restoring the stadtholdership were indulged. In a word, they had a moral certainty, that the prosecution of the war could only terminate in the ruin of the finances; in the destruction of commerce, and the harmony of the people, without a single counterpoising advantage. It was upon this account, the return of *Beverning*, with proposals of peace, gave great satisfaction; and the exclusive article respecting the house of *Orange*, was kept a profound secret. The mysterious behaviour attending this article, gave rise to an opinion that it was supported, if not originally proposed by the pensioner *de Wit*; but when the affair came to be publicly known, he cleared himself of this accusation, and proved that peace was to be purchased on no other condition.

WHEN the commissioners arrived at the *Hague*, they found the states disposed to accept peace, even with this limitation, provided *Cromwell* would relax in the article which restricted the number of shipping which the republic was allowed to maintain; however, the consent of the other provinces was absolutely necessary, though the negotiation had been set on foot without their knowledge. As the ceremony of assembling all the provincial states would be tedious, the states of *Holland* sent *Beverning* back in the same frigate which had brought him from *England*, that the ardor of *Cromwell* for peace might not cool, or any obstruction be thrown in the way of the negotiation. This measure gave offence to the other provinces, who thought themselves entitled to an equal share in the conduct of this important affair. They accused the states of *Holland* of an infraction of the treaty of *Utrecht*, by separating themselves from the other provinces in the close, as they had done in the commencement of the negotiation; and *Beverning* was regarded in *England*, not as the ambassador of the republic, but of one province only. Though he had been only a few days absent, the court of *Cromwell* put on a new appearance, and the general voice of the nation seemed to declare for the prosecution of the war. *Thurloe* complained, that the *Dutchman* was in no character, had no instructions, credentials, retinue, or compliment, in the name of the republic, to the protector on his elevation; and *Beverning* desired that this might be imputed to the earnest desire of the states, to lose no opportunity of promoting peace, and stopping the effusion of blood, and destruction of the human species.

It was, perhaps, a lucky circumstance for the *Hollanders*, that Don *Alonzo de Cardenas*, the *Spanish* ambassador, endeavoured by all possible intrigues to thwart the negotiation. *Cromwell*, who had his designs upon *Spain*, proposed no advantage to that court, from the ruin of the trade and navigation of the *United Provinces*. The *Spaniard* offered large subsidies to the protector, and gave him hopes that *Dunkirk* would be put into his hands, if he continued the war. He doubted not but such propositions would prove flattering to *Cromwell's* pride; but he was mistaken. The protector amused with *Spain*, only to procure the better terms from *Holland*, and demonstrate to the republic, that he could balance the alliance of *France*, by opposing to that nation the whole power of the *Spanish* monarchy.

WHILE matters were in this train, commissioners were appointed in *Holland*, to examine the propositions brought by *Beverning*; but after they had reduced them to tolerable order, and made them consistent with the articles drawn up at the *Hague*, *St. John* and *Strickland*, the *English* envoys, raised up fresh difficulties. New instructions were sent to *Beverning*, and he had orders to solicit the ratification settled at the *Hague*, and have it inserted in the treaty; and at length, the provinces finding that *Spain* had made overtures to *Cromwell*, determined to vest *Nieuport*, *Beverning*, and *Jongstal*, with the character of ambassadors and plenipotentiaries, in order to flatter the pride of the new protector. The chief remaining difficulty, was the exclusion of the prince of *Orange*, without which *Cromwell* declared he could think no engagements with the states secure. The ambition of that house, and their connections with the *Stuarts*, would always give disturbance to the republic and *England*, unless the prince was effectually cut off from all expectations of ever filling the offices held by his ancestors. So little hope was there, that the provinces in general would ever be brought to consent to this article, that it was religiously concealed from *Jongstal*, who was a *Frislander*, and transacted between *Cromwell* and *Beverning*,



<sup>a</sup> *ing*, the latter promising in the name of the states of *Holland*, that they would never consent to the elevation of the prince to the stadtholdership. *Cromwel* thought himself secure of the republic, once he obtained the promise of *Holland*, the most wealthy and powerful of all the provinces; it was, however, certain, that *Holland* alone could not resist the other provinces, without a direct breach of the union; and exposing the republic to the most dreadful calamities of a civil war: if they strenuously persevered in having a stadtholder, *Holland* must yield, or the republic must fall; and possibly it formed a part of the protector's policy, to light the sparks of civil division, by which he might be able to extend his own influence over the whole <sup>1</sup>.

<sup>b</sup> At length, after tedious conferences, the following articles were signed by the Dutch ambassadors; that the republic should in no shape assist, aid, or abet, the house of *Stuart*, or the adherents of that unfortunate family; that her ships should pay the required compliment to the *British* flag; that due punishment should be inflicted on the cruel perpetrators of the horrid massacre at *Amboyna*<sup>\*</sup>; that eighty-five thousand pounds should be paid to the *English*, as an indemnification of their losses; that the island of *Polirôn* should be restored to the *East India* company; and that commissioners should be sent to *London*, to adjust farther particulars, relative to the tragical affair in the *East Indies*, for which reasonable satisfaction had never yet been made to *England*. The ratification immediately succeeded the signing the treaty; but now the mystery between *Cromwel* and the provinces of *Holland* was to appear, with respect to the exclusion of the prince of *Orange*. Some writers assert, <sup>c</sup> that the secret lay between *Cromwel*, *de Wit*, and *Beverning*, having never been communicated to the deputies of the cities, who expressed the utmost astonishment when it was mentioned by the pensioner, for their approbation. The peremptory tone of *Cromwel* vindicated the conduct of the pensioner. His envoys told the states, that as they accepted or rejected this condition, they chose peace or war; either was in their option: such was the protector's categorical answer. *De Wit* enlarged upon the subject, with all the arguments of reason and rhetoric, he shewed the necessity of peace, and the impossibility of obtaining any mitigation in this article. At length he carried his point by a majority, and a solemn act was passed, whereby the prince of *Orange* was excluded the stadtholdership, and the other high offices, held with so much dignity by his ancestors. This act of exclusion <sup>d</sup> was sent to *England*; but *de Wit*, foreseeing it would one day involve his country in civil dissension, charged the ambassadors to make one last effort to satisfy *Cromwel*, by a general treaty, without particularizing the exclusion of the prince of *Orange*; but all remonstrances on this head proved fruitless. The act was no less necessary to the politicks of *Oliver*, with respect to the *Stuart* family, than to the completion of his triumph over the house of *Orange*, and the republic of the *United Provinces*. In this manner was peace concluded, signed, and ratified, little to the honour or advantage of the republic, as it laid the foundation of those unhappy divisions, which had almost involved the provinces in ruin.

<sup>e</sup> THOUGH the exclusion-act was kept as profound as could possibly be expected, where the affair was entrusted to the discretion of near one hundred different persons, yet it could not be long concealed from the Princess Governante of *Orange*, who was so deeply interested. It even took air in the cities, and occasioned some popular commotions at the *Hague*. No sooner was the princess acquainted with this article of the treaty, than she presented a strong remonstrance to the states general, signed by herself, the grandmother, and all the guardians of the young prince. There they expressed their astonishment at the unprecedented, unprovoked injury done to the prince, in excluding him from an authority possessed with so much glory and advantage to the republic, by his ancestors. They represented in the strongest terms, the violence offered to the treaty of *Utrecht*, the privileges of the other six provinces, and particularly the insult offered to the tender age of the prince, and to the sex of his female guardians. They exhorted their high mightinesses to interpose in behalf of the infant, and prevent so gross an affront to a child of his birth, expectations, and promising qualities, the representative of those heroes who had spilt their blood in the glorious cause of liberty, and defence of the freedom and religion of the provinces. They concluded with observing the applauses which such an act of justice would meet with from the world and their own consciences, the unhappy consequences which it might obviate, and the retribution they might expect as soon as the prince was of sufficient age to thank his protectors. To the same purpose was a letter sent to the states by his electoral highness of *Brandenburgh*, but neither produced any effect. The resolution was taken; it was powerfully supported, and was now irrevocable, unless they run the hazard of incurring the resentment of *Cromwel*, and of being taxed with levity and want of firmness and constancy. <sup>f</sup>

*Conditions of peace; whereby the prince of Orange is excluded from the stadtholdership.*

*The princess of Orange remonstrates against the act of exclusion.*

<sup>1</sup> Idem, ibid. LE CLERC, tom. ii. vol. x.

<sup>\*</sup> Vid. Hist. of the English East-India Company, Univ. Hist. 8vo.



The people dis-  
contented.

BUT the remonstrances of the princesses, though not to be disregarded, were of less importance than the discontent of the people, and the violent opposition of the provinces. All protested with one voice against the act of exclusion. The deputy from *Friseland* entered a protest, with the secretary to the states general, against the secret negotiation with *Oliver*, and the iniquitous exclusion of the prince of *Orange*, by which *Holland* had given a violent stroke to the liberties of the republic, the articles of the union, and had shewn herself equally unjust and ungrateful to the house of *Orange*. This protest was, however, condemned by the states of the province, though they were prevailed on soon after, by the influence of the count *de Nassau*, to enter another more bitter and severe, in which they complained of *M. de Wit* personally, as the first author and projector of this iniquitous act, as they were pleased to term it. *Zealand* shewed no less vivacity and attachment to the house of *Orange*; *Guelderland* was more moderate, but in the same interest; *Overysel*, though torn by domestic broils, entered into the sentiments of the other provinces, and *Utrecht* embraced the same cause, though with less warmth, and with more caution and reserve. As to *Groningen*, we are not told what part this province took in the dispute <sup>1</sup>.

Negotiations  
with Crom-  
wel.

*HOLLAND* opposed itself vigorously to this combination, which threatened the dissolution of the union, the being of the republic, by exciting a general ferment in the minds of the people, and commotions which it would be difficult to appease. Before the states entered upon any opposition, they sent instructions to the ambassadors in *London*, once more to try their influence with *Cromwel*, to procure some mitigation in the act of exclusion, thereby to restore tranquillity to the provinces; but the protector was so incensed at further applications, and what he regarded as an equivocation of the treaty, that he threatened to renew the war unless the act was immediately put into his hands, which was accordingly done to prevent worse consequences. The next step was to procure a letter from *Cromwel* to the states of *Zealand* and the other provinces, demonstrating the necessity as well as the utility of the peace; but this epistle produced no effect, and it was fully answered by the *Zealanders*, and afterwards sent for the perusal of the states general. *Holland* objected to this unheard-of proceeding, affirming, that the protector's letter ought to have been communicated to the states before an answer was returned; presuming it now could answer no purpose, except that of blowing up the sparks of discord.

In order to regain some degree of popularity, the states of *Holland* went to make an apology to the princess of *Orange*, assuring her highness that no disrespect to the family, but the urgent necessity of the state, had forced them into such a measure, equally disagreeable to them as to the warmest friends of the house of *Orange*. She received the apology in the most gracious manner, and returned such an answer as gave the states the highest opinion of her moderation, prudence, and sweetness of disposition. Far from reproaching them with what was now irrevocable, she only lamented the unhappy circumstances that rendered such a measure necessary, and exhorted the deputies to apply their utmost endeavours to restore the public peace and tranquillity. Not satisfied with this, the states appointed commissioners more accurately to examine this affair; and, soon after, their apology was published, by the name of *Deductions*, or *Inferences from the state of affairs*. In this piece was examined, whether *Holland* had a power of entering upon a separate negotiation with *Cromwel*, and how far this province had the right of sovereignty, independent of the other provinces included in the union? The whole design was to prove the affirmative from positive facts, and the particular declaration of the king of *Spain* relative to this province. Though the discourse was laboured, and the arguments specious, the wrong principle upon which those opinions was founded, was obvious to every attentive reader. By acknowledging that the abdication of the Catholic king vested this province with sovereignty, they acknowledged the hereditary right of the kings of *Spain*, and which could not be destroyed by any act of a particular prince, who had no power to give away the right of his successors. Besides, what had this abdication to do with the article of the union of *Utrecht*, whereby all the provinces were bound not to enter upon any separate war or peace, treaty or alliance, negotiation, alienation, &c. without the joint consent of the other provinces. Such were the objections to these *deductions*, as they were called, though they at that time escaped observation. It is true, this writing was severely censured, and several bitter criticisms upon it were published; but no one thought of attacking the foundation and demonstrating the fallacy of the principles, *Guelderland*, *Friseland*, and *Zealand*, taxed the states of *Holland* with ingratitude and arbitrary proceedings; they retorted the charge; the provinces were filled with factions; the republic on the brink of dissolution; and the ambassadors, who had carried on the negotiation, and signed the treaty, in the most mortifying disgrace <sup>m</sup>.

Holland sends  
deputies to ap-  
peal.

<sup>1</sup> BASNAGE, p. 442.

<sup>m</sup> Idem ibid. & seq. Ibidem. LE CLERC, p. 84. tom. ii.



- a In this situation of affairs, happily for the provinces, the conduct of the king of *Denmark* engaged a part of the public attention; and diverted it from a dispute, which, from its warmth and acrimony, threatened danger to the state, and particularly to *de Wit*, the ambassadors, and the projectors and agents in this new treaty. It was before observed, that king *Frederick* had not complied with a single article of the treaty of alliance formed with the republic, notwithstanding he received punctual payments of a large subsidy. He now added ingratitude to treachery. To extricate the king from the difficulties in which he was engaged with the parliament of *England*, by the seizure of a fleet of merchantmen belonging to that nation, the states general indemnified the *English* merchants, in hopes thereby of more easily attaching that monarch to their interest, and enabling him to execute the treaty with the republic. *Frederick*, however, not only evaded the treaty, but the payment of the money advanced for his use and conveniency; after which he entered into a close alliance with *Cromwel*, leaving the states general to exclaim against his injustice and perfidy. In a word, this double dealing of the king of *Denmark* proved of the greatest advantage to the *United Provinces*; it silenced their private animosities for a time, though it by no means removed the cause; or extinguished those sparks of discord, which flamed out with redoubled vigour after the prince of *Orange* came of age, and *Lewis XIV.* had invaded the *Netherlands*.

## S E C T. XI.

*The history of the United Provinces continued; the particulars of the second war with England, and other transactions, to the invasion of the Netherlands by Lewis XIV.*

- c **N**OTHING occurred to disturb the tranquillity of the *United Provinces* until the year 1657, when a violent war was kindled in the north, and pursued with such inveterate animosity between the crowns of *Sweden* and *Denmark*, as foreboded the destruction of one of the parties, and proved highly prejudicial to the commercial interest of the republic. *Charles Gustavus* had scarce ascended the throne of *Sweden*, when his politics gave great uneasiness to the states general, at that time incumbered by a war with *England*, and a fruitless but close alliance with *Denmark*. Though the exclusion of the prince of *Orange*, and the little regard paid to the remonstrances made by the electress of *Brandenburgh* in behalf of the young prince, had produced a coldness between the electoral court and the republic; yet that wise prince was sensible he could not more effectually fortify himself against the grasping views of the *Swedish* monarch, than by entering into an alliance with the *United Provinces*. The states general had one reason for embracing the overtures made by the elector. It was their interest with respect to the public trade, to provide that the *Swedes* did not gain possession of the ports of *Prussia*; and though the duke of *Newburgh*, and the emperor, advertised them that such an alliance would give umbrage to all the claimants to the duchy of *Cleves*; yet their regard to trade prevailed over every other consideration. In effect, an offensive alliance was concluded, whereby the states undertook to protect the elector's dominions, including his coasts, and the duchy of *Cleves*, against all enemies whatsoever; while the elector engaged, in return, to defend the republic and her commerce in the *Baltic* against all attacks, and to give the shipping of the republic free entrance into all his ports in *Prussia* and *Pomerania*. This treaty gave offence to the elector of *Saxony*, to whom the *Swedish* ambassador insinuated, that it tended to cut off his pretensions to the duchy of *Juliers*.

A. D. 1658.  
State of the  
republic with  
respect to Swe-  
den, Branden-  
burgh, &c.

- d **D**URING these intrigues count *Koningsmarck* had great success in levying troops in the duchy of *Bremen*, which gave the alarm to the states general. To obviate danger, they formed a body of horse and foot, which they cantoned on the borders of the *Yssel*, under *Brederode*. Another corps, led by the count *de Nassau*, was posted in such a manner as to cover *Emden*, *Coeverden*, and other towns of *West Friseland*; but on *Koningsmarck's* passing the *Elbe*, and joining the *Swedes*, these troops had order to return to winter-quarters. Thus the *Dutch* were eased from the apprehension of an immediate attack. After the *Swedes* had taken the capital of *Poland*, and forced king *Casimir* out of his dominions, the conquerors were penetrating to the provinces of the elector of *Brandenburgh*, which obliged him to enter into negotiations with the *Swedish* monarch. He offered to join his forces to the *Swedes*, provided the king would abolish the homage for *Ducal Prussia* required by the *Poles*; but the treaty with *Holland* proved a great obstruction to his designs. At length a treaty was concluded, whereby the elector acknowledged himself a vassal of the crown of *Sweden*, for *Ducal Prussia*, and the ports of that kingdom and of *Pomerania* were opened to the *Swedish* shipping. Thus the treaty between *Holland* and *Brandenburgh* was rendered



rendered useless, and the republic was exposed to all the vengeance of *Charles Gustavus*, irritated at her engagements with *Denmark*, and the late treaty with the court of *Berlin*, formed evidently against the crown of *Sweden*. To prepare against accidents, oblige the *Swedes* to return to their own ports, and secure the navigation of the republic, the states general resolved to equip against the spring a squadron of fifty ships of war. The *Dutch* commerce in the north was interrupted by a *Swedish* fleet which blocked up *Dantzick*, where no vessels were suffered to enter, except upon certain conditions; and *Gustavus* had imposed a duty on all merchandise sent to *Pillau* and other sea-ports of *Prussia*. This conduct he justified by the example of the *Hollanders*, who had prohibited the *Swedish* ships from entering the ports of *Flanders* during the war with *Spain*, although they themselves were furnishing the enemy with ammunition and provision; and likewise by their conduct in the late war with *England*<sup>a</sup>.

An embassy to  
Sweden and  
Denmark.

THIS last transaction it was that determined the states general to dispatch *M. Van Buringen* to *Copenhagen*, to engage his *Danish* majesty to declare openly against *Sweden*; but that prince dreaded the victorious arms of *Gustavus*. They likewise made some overtures to *Cromwel* with respect to the situation of affairs in the north; but *Charles Gustavus* had anticipated them in their designs on the electorate. He had sent an ambassador to *England* to explain his reasons for declaring war against *Poland*, to propose means for preventing the *Dutch* from trading to the *Baltic*, under pretence that it was injurious to the *English* commerce, and to settle a treaty of commerce with respect to the imports and exports of the two kingdoms in their mutual trade.

ALL this time, *M. Nieuport* continued in *London*, in quality of envoy from the states, to regulate the affairs of the *Indian* trade, the disputes relative to *Amboyna*, and to study the protector's disposition towards *Sweden*. Commissioners were appointed by the two *East India* companies for adjusting their disputes; but the limited time elapsed without their coming to any agreement: upon which the Protestant cantons of *Switzerland* were chosen arbitrators; the worst they could possibly have thought of in commercial affairs. The *Swiss* no sooner opened their mouths as umpires, than they betrayed their profound ignorance of trade and navigation; upon which the contending parties perceiving their error, prolonged the space allowed for the negotiation. It was not the desire of giving satisfaction to *England*, but of obtaining redress, that made the *Hollanders* solicitous about this negotiation. The *English East India* company accused the *Dutch* commissioners of shuffling and duplicity in the restitution of *Polexon*, and indemnification of the losses sustained by the company in *India*; and the commissioners wanted to balance this against the losses of the republic, in consequence of the seizure of their ships by *English* privateers before and since the war. They plied *Cromwel* with remonstrances upon this head; for still the grievance was sorely felt, and their merchants daily plundered in the high seas by swarms of privateers fitted out against the *Spaniards*, with whom *Cromwel* was now at war. In the end, these altercations subsided in a treaty between *France* and *England*, in which the republic was included, after which, both nations sent fleets to the *Mediterranean*, to suppress the *Algerine* corsairs, who had given abundance of disturbance to their commerce<sup>b</sup>.

The Dutch  
commerce dis-  
turbed by the  
English pri-  
vateers.

Dissensions  
among the  
provinces.

WHILE the republic was fortifying itself against the designs of *Sweden* on the one hand, and of *England* on the other, a variety of circumstances contributed to disturb the internal tranquillity of the provinces. One of the chief was the project concerted by *M. de Wit*, for bringing the revenue into proper order, by the reduction of interest paid by the government; but the great address of that statesman surmounted all difficulties in this affair, in a manner altogether unexpected, and convinced the creditors, that it was more to their advantage to receive four *per cent.* than to withdraw their money; because by this means the foreign debts might be paid off, and the interest of their own loans increased as the capital debt diminished. This was *de Wit's* project, and not what we are told by some *English* writers, of equal assessments on all the provinces, which would have proved the severest oppression, considering their inequality in point of wealth and ability. To this was added another subject of debate. The death of *Brederode*, marechal-general of the camp, raised up a variety of candidates for that employment. Those of most consideration were both of the house of *Orange*. *Maurice* claimed it as the right of seniority and long services; and *William*, governor of *Friseland*, founded his expectations on his own influence and avaricious connections. All the partizans of the *Orange* family sided with the other; but the province of *Holland* patronized the former, out of personal pique to prince *William*. The states of *Holland* had not forgot the attempt upon *Amsterdam*, nor the violence with which *William* had opposed the exclusion-act. The count would have carried his point in the assembly of the states general, were it to be decided by a majority of voices; but here unanimity was necessary, and *Holland* affirmed, that the office was

<sup>a</sup> LE CLERC, *ibid.*

<sup>b</sup> *Idem*, pag. 86. tom. ii.



- a dangerous in time of peace, as it constantly gave the command of the army to the same person, who might thereby acquire an undue influence. M. de Wit presented a memorial, which he hoped would reconcile all differences, but it rather served to quiet for a time, than remove the dissensions; for the office in dispute remained vacant, and the candidates soon after resumed their pretensions. Next followed some altercation about the manner of educating the young prince of *Orange*. Some were for appointing a minister of the gospel for his preceptor, that he might be early instructed in the principles of the reformed religion. This opinion was supported by *Zealand*; but the states of *Holland* opposed it, from an apprehension that the clergy would blend politics with religion. The princess governante requested that the prince might be put under the tuition of certain members of the states general, and the courts of justice, that his tender mind might receive deep impressions of the constitution and form of government; but the states general fearing that she intended by this compliment to gain an influence over the most considerable members of their body, declined the honour, under pretence that they could not decently interfere with the proper business of the prince's guardians. This debate renewed in some provinces the old affair of the stadtholdership; particularly in *Overyssel*, where the towns and villages were filled with riot and confusion. As usual, a thousand other points of altercation arose from this single question; and the point now was not, whether there should be a stadtholder, but whether certain cities enjoyed certain privileges? It was a dispute between one city and another, about points which had no relation to the general plan of government, and therefore scarce worthy of notice in a general history.

We shall conclude the year, with observing that a violent plague appeared in *Leyden*, which swept off near four thousand of the inhabitants; but was happily prevented by the diligence of the magistrates from spreading itself further into the provinces; and next, the magistrates of *Amsterdam* laid the foundation of that immense pile of building, since universally known by the name of *Stadhuse*. A plague at Leyden.

- THE new year produced fresh causes of apprehension, that the *Dutch* commerce might suffer from the rapid conquests of the *Swedes*, as the states were upon very indifferent terms with that crown. They had fitted out a large squadron for the protection of the *Baltic* trade; but the assurances given by the *Swedish* ambassador lulled the states into security, and prevented the sailing of that powerful armament. Now the duties laid by the king on all *Dutch* traders to *Riga*, again roused the republic, and determined her to act vigorously. With this view, she sent ambassadors to *Copenhagen* and *Stockholm*; to the former, with intention to excite his *Danish* majesty against the *Swedes*; and to the latter, to remonstrate on the injury done to their commerce by the late unwarrantable and arbitrary impositions. The envoys were arrested at *Lauwenburgh*, through which they proposed passing in their way to *Dantzick*, but afterwards released, and apologies made to the states general: however, this conduct served only to inflame their animosity. In consequence, admiral *Opdam* received orders to sail directly for the *Baltic*, to protect all the *Dutch* shipping, and lay every possible obstruction in the way of his *Swedish* majesty, if he resolved upon the siege of *Dantzick*. *Oliver Cromwell* interposed, exhorted the states not to break with *Gustavus*, and offered his mediation to reconcile their differences, under pretence of a zealous regard for the Protestant religion; but his intentions were suspected. *Cromwell* was well known to have used religion as a mask, to conceal the most daring and villainous designs; the states persuaded themselves, for this reason, that he must have some other object in view, than the good of the church. In their answer, therefore, to the protector's letter, they warmly applauded his piety; but in such a manner that *Cromwell* should perceive they were not blinded by his affected concern for religion; adding, that, far from having any intention of coming to a rupture with *Gustavus*, they had sent ambassadors to renew the antient alliance between the crown of *Sweden* and the republic. A. D. 1656.

- ABOUT this time *Gustavus* turned his thoughts towards *Denmark*. He sent M. *Durell* to the court of *Copenhagen*, in hopes of persuading the king to join with him in opposing the entrance of admiral *Opdam* into the *Baltic*. Previous to this, the senate of *Denmark* had remonstrated to the court of *Sweden* on the consequences of the war with *Poland*; but their letter produced no effect, as the king was then absent. This affair M. *Durell* had instructions to take into consideration; but the king of *Denmark* declared, that he could not treat with *Sweden* without the consent of the *Dutch* ambassador M. *Van Buiningen*. *Durell* insisted that no strangers should be admitted to the conferences; the *Danes* took the part of *Buiningen*, and the dispute rose high, about the time that *Opdam* arrived at *Dantzick*, where he was received as the saviour of the city. *Sweden* insisted that the republic could lend no assistance to the magistrates of *Dantzick*, without violating the treaty of 1640, and *Opdam* pleaded his instructions. At last, conferences were appointed at *Elbing*, where The Swedes arrest the Dutch envoy.



*A treaty at  
Elbing.*

this affair was to be maturely discussed. In consequence, a treaty took place; the treaty a of 1645 was renewed; the commerce of neither party was to be disturbed in the *Baltic* by the war between *Sweden* and *Poland*; a tariff was established, and the duties on trade regulated upon the former footing. The kings of *France* and *Denmark*, the protector of *England*, and the elector of *Brandenburgh*, were likewise included in this treaty. The city of *Dantzick* also had permission to continue subject to the king of *Poland*, provided the magistrates afforded no assistance against *Sweden* <sup>d</sup>.

THE treaty of *Elbing* gave satisfaction only to the parties immediately concerned. The king of *Denmark* could not persuade himself that the *Dutch*, after the expence of equipping so considerable an armament, would return to their ports, upon no other security than general promises set down on paper. M. *Buiningen* took fire at *Dantzick's* being deserted, b and wrote in the most pressing manner to the pensionary *de Wit*, to procure an order from the states general for admiral *Opdam* to seize upon some of the islands of the *Baltic*, where the fleet might winter, under the direction of the king of *Denmark*, who had it in his power to serve the republic effectually. Notwithstanding this application the fleet returned, the public exclaimed against the unnecessary expence of the armament, and the states vindicated it, by demonstrating, that to it was owing the treaty of *Elbing*, which they affirmed was equally advantageous and necessary to the republic.

WHILE the states were endeavouring to vindicate the measures they had taken for securing the trade of the *Baltic*, the loudest complaints were made to the several colleges of the admiralty, against the depredations committed by the *English* privateers. *De Ruyter* c was ordered to put to sea with a respectable squadron, for the protection of the *Dutch* commerce; but he soon found the office extremely disagreeable, and remonstrated to the states upon the liberty assumed by the smallest *English* frigate of searching the men of war of the republic. Alarmed at this report, *Ruyter* had orders to restrain the *English* from committing violence, or any way injuring the subjects of the states; but he was likewise cautioned to avoid, at all events, the necessity of coming to a rupture with *Cromwell*, by shewing the *English* the clearest proofs in his power, that none of his ships under his convoy were engaged in an illicit traffic. They likewise remonstrated to the protector; but *Cromwell* knew his own superiority, and gave no ear to their complaints. He was now deeply engaged in the means of gaining possession of *Dunkirk*, the price of the assistance d given to the *French* against the *Spaniards*, and consequently not at leisure to examine trifling matters, regarding *Dutch* traders. As the states knew their inability to redress themselves, they were forced to support with patience insults which they could not repel.

A. D. 1657.  
*The states re-  
fuse to ratify  
the treaty of  
Elbing.*

NEXT year produced some new difficulties with respect to the affairs of the North, and the treaty of *Elbing*, which the states general, after long delays, refused at last to ratify. The king of *Denmark* exerted his utmost influence to prevail on the *Dutch* not to consent to a treaty so inconsistent with their engagements to him; and the maritime provinces likewise exclaimed against it, as it disappointed their mighty expectations from *Opdam's* expedition. Neither were the *Dantzickers* at all pleased with a measure, which tied them down to the necessity of giving no opposition to the ambitious views of *Gustavus*, although they e had no other security than a general promise for his not attacking their city. As to the king of *Denmark*, he resolved to profit by the present situation of *Sweden*, involved in a war with all her powerful neighbours, for executing certain designs he had formed on *Schonen*, *Norway*, and *Germany*. It was of the utmost consequence to engage the republic in his interest, and this he laboured by his ambassador at the *Hague*; but found the states little disposed to accept the proposed defensive alliance. However, the negotiations upon this subject retarded the ratification of the treaty of *Elbing*, and gave the *Danish* monarch hopes, that he might at length be able to succeed. There was, besides, another objection to the treaty. It was, that some of the articles were by no means clearly expressed, particularly those relative to the duty on merchandize. The king of *Sweden* insisted on the f execution of the tariff, and the regulations made in 1640. To this the *Dutch* answered, that all the subjects of the *United Provinces*, who built ships in *Sweden* at their own expence, were intitled to all the privileges of natives of that kingdom. This the king denied, unless they fixed their residence in *Sweden*, and became subjects of that crown. It would, he affirmed, be attended with the worst consequences to his people, to suffer strangers to cut down the finest forests to build ships, perhaps to fight against their own king and country. In a word, he reasoned this point so strongly, that the *Dutch* ambassadors were silenced, and forced to content themselves with a general reply, that they would wait for farther instructions from the states.

*A fresh quar-  
rel with Swe-  
den.*

THOUGH the states were unable to answer the arguments urged by *Gustavus*, they nevertheless withheld the ratification desired, and strongly insinuated that this could only g

<sup>d</sup> PUFFEND. tom. vii. lib. vii. octavo.

<sup>e</sup> BASNAGE, pag. 477.

<sup>f</sup> Idem. ibid.



- a be obtained on the conditions mentioned. It was not the business of *Gustavus* to drive the *Dutch* into the arms of *Denmark*. He was sensible of this, and tried every expedient to gain them to his own interest. He made divers specious proposals, all of which the states rejected, as they knew well the terms that would be expected. The true interest of the states consisted in suffering the northern princes to exhaust each other by wars and bloody battles; for this reason it was, that *M. Van Buiningen* was blamed for animating the states of *Holland* against the king of *Sweden*, by representing the advantage they might deduce from the alliance of the crown of *Denmark*. By his instigations the city of *Amsterdam*, of which he was pensionary, inclined strongly to the crown of *Denmark*, and had already supplied that kingdom with a great number of armed ships to serve against *Sweden* under
- b *Danish* colours. Several deputies of the states general were accused of corruption, and this matter was put beyond doubt, by letters from the *Swedish* ambassador at the *Hague*, which were intercepted by the king of *Denmark*, and sent over to *Holland*. Here the *Swedish* minister appeared perfectly acquainted with all that passed in the assembly of the states general, and had likewise acquainted his master that divers of the deputies received pensions from the crowns of *Spain* and *Denmark*. He even went so far as to specify the sums, and the channels of payment and intercourse. Complaints were made of the *Swedish* ambassador for the liberties he had taken with the reputation of their high mightinesses; and he vindicated himself, by affirming, that he was only answerable to the king his master for the contents of his letters, and that his *Danish* majesty had violated the laws of
- c nations, by intercepting the letters of a prince with whom he was not at open war. Not satisfied with this, he wrote a sarcastic epigram upon the states, which had more wit than prudence. Irritated at his conduct they refused to enter into conferences with him; upon which his *Swedish* majesty declared he would hold no communication with the deputies of the states, and accordingly refused them audience, though they bore the character of ambassadors extraordinary. This encreased the animosity. The states resented his *Swedish* majesty's putting their ambassadors upon a footing with his minister, vested with no higher character than that of a resident: they wrote to the king, and he replied, that he was astonished to see a people who had but a few years before granted precedence to the envoys of electors, talk in so high a strain about the dignity of their ambassadors. The province of *Holland* immediately sent orders to the ambassadors to return, unless the king apologized for the conduct of his resident, or granted them an audience. Three of the provinces opposed this resolution, which they feared would produce an open rupture; upon which *Holland* relaxed, and consented that the resident should be referred entirely to his *Swedish* majesty, either to acquit or condemn his conduct, as he thought proper; in hopes that this instance of moderation would work a proper effect at the court of *Stockholm*. *Gustavus* did not fail to decide the dispute in favour of his resident, though he at the same time acknowledged the civility of the states, by immediately granting audience to their ambassadors. The truth is, he still regarded the republic as a concealed enemy, overawed by fear and interest; the event justified the king's opinion.
- e *DENMARK* having now come to an open rupture with *Sweden*, general *Bilde* traversed *Holstein*, passed the *Elbe*, and poured in with a *Danish* army into the duchy of *Bremen*. After *Wrangel* had defeated part of his fleet before *Stade*, he was more sensible than ever, that the assistance of the *Dutch* was absolutely necessary to the success of his measures. With these sentiments he offered terms to the states general, so advantageous as subdued all objections to coming to a rupture with *Sweden*, and entering on engagements with *Denmark*. The states were, however, so cautious as to contract only a defensive treaty, whereby the parties agreed to assist each other, if attacked, with a body of six thousand men, and a squadron of ships, or a stipulated sum of money, as an equivalent. *The difference compromised.*
- f IMMERSED in the politics of the North, the states did not neglect their connections with the other maritime powers. Repeated complaints had been made to *Cromwel* of the depredations committed on the high seas by his privateers; but all were disregarded, at least no satisfaction could be obtained. The *Dutch* commerce suffered equally from the swarms of small armed vessels that issued out of the *French* ports, and preyed upon the vessels of the republic. The *Dutch* merchants computed that three hundred and twenty-eight of their ships had been taken by those privateers. *M. Boreel*, the *Dutch* envoy, applied to the *French* court for satisfaction, and above fifty arrets of council had passed, to oblige the captors to make restitution, but without effect. At *Marseilles* they attacked the *Dutch* consul publicly, covered him with wounds, and left him wallowing in his blood, because he had attempted to enforce the ambassador's orders, and the king's arrets. *Disputes between the court of France and the republic.*
- g This last violence so incensed the states, that they sent instructions to *de Ruyter* to take all ships coming out of *Toulon*. The admiral had not long received his orders before he met with



two *Toulon* privateers, the one mounting forty, the other fourteen guns. These he took, removing all the prisoners on board his own ships, where they soon introduced a contagious disorder, of which the greater number of themselves, and many of the *Dutch* sailors died. It was well known that these ships had been built in *Sweden*; that they belonged to the *French* king, and that cardinal *Mazarin* had procured commissions for the reputed owners, on condition that he shared in the captures. They were the finest going ships of *France*, and had made an infinity of prizes in this cruise. *Mazarin* was incensed at the presumption of *de Ruyter*, and the loss of his ships, and the immense sums of money on board. He represented him as a pirate, who, under false colours, made prize of the *French* vessels. He said, that if the *Dutch* commerce had been injured by private subjects of the *French* king, the states ought not to retaliate upon the royal navy, especially as the king had issued arrets to oblige the captors to make satisfaction. It was urged in council, that such an indignity to the crown could only be washed out by the blood of those who had committed it; and that, if reparation was not made, war ought to be declared against the republic, and the whole nation persecuted with the utmost rigour, for screening so notorious offenders, and thereby becoming parties in the offence. However agreeable to the dignity of the *French* monarchy this spirited conduct might appear, the advice was tempered by the prudence of the chancellor, and the moderation of M. *Villeroi*, who strenuously opposed the entering upon violent measures: however, they could not prevent the cardinal's issuing an order for seizing upon all the *Dutch* ships and effects in the ports of *France*. This was accordingly executed. Alarmed at so unprecedented a proceeding, the states ordered M. *Boreel* to represent their astonishment at seeing their ships arrested by the king's order, in direct violation of the laws of nations, and without any application to them, to know whether or not they approved of *de Ruyter*'s conduct, without even reflecting whether necessity did not require that a check should be given the privateers, as they had assaulted the *Dutch* consul, in contempt of the king's own authority.

*BOREEL* did not wait the orders of the states to fulfil the duties of his office. He demanded an audience of the king, which was granted. He remonstrated with great spirit and intrepidity, though he was thrice interrupted by the cardinal, who said, "his speech was not the declaration of a minister, but the declamation of a rhetorician." *Boreel*'s reflections upon the minister were indeed so free and severe, that he could expect no extraordinary effects from his remonstrance. All he obtained was a tolerably silent hearing from the young monarch, guided intirely by his prime minister. Nor did *Mazarin* content himself with paying no regard to the representations of the *Dutch* ambassador. He sent M. *de Thou* to the *Hague*, to demand satisfaction for the insult committed by *Ruyter*, without so much as releasing the *Dutch* shipping. *De Thou* entered into a detail of *Ruyter*'s conduct, which he affirmed, before the states, was contrary to the custom of civilized countries, and highly injurious to the honour of the republic. It deserved the severest chastisement, as treachery was added to injustice. He had hoisted the *English* flag, and deceived the *French* under false colours, which was never done, except by barbarous nations and *Turkish* pirates, when they lay in wait for their Christian prey. He had likewise shewn the utmost treachery to the sieur *de Lund*, captain of the largest frigate, by writing him a civil letter, which induced the unsuspecting *Frenchman* to visit *de Ruyter* on board, where he was detained prisoner. He aggravated the offence by a thousand additional circumstances; and concluded with requesting their high mightinesses to reflect well upon the consequences of such usage to the servants of a great king, and protesting that his instructions would allow him to enter upon no other business, or receive any propositions, until he received a definitive answer to his demands. To this M. *de Ghent*, who presided in the assembly of the states general, replied, that the *Dutch* had so evidently a right to make reprisals, that his excellency, who was himself a lawyer, if he would reason impartially, could not but acquit *de Ruyter*, and justify the conduct of the states. Two days after an order was issued for stopping all the *French* ships and merchandise in the ports of *Holland*. To be in a condition to maintain this vigorous resolution, it was proposed to augment the navy with twelve capital ships, and to block up the coasts of *France* so closely as to prevent all attempts of a revenge, and render useless the swarms of privateers with which the ports were crowded. The states of *Holland*, who had projected these spirited designs, represented them to the states general; they applauded the conduct of *Boreel*, who had supported his character with dignity, and even justified *de Ruyter*. Several of the provinces were for coming to an open rupture with *France*; but the states general were more moderate. Their first care was to guard strictly against corruption, as it was insinuated that M. *de Thou* was charged with large sums of money for this purpose. With this view an oath was drawn up and sent to the states of all the provinces, obliging the members to accept of no presents, strenuously to stand up in the interest of their country; to be biased by no private designs, and not only to reject all overtures that had a tendency towards obtaining



a taining an undue influence, but to render public every such proposal. At last the states general and the states of *Holland*, each in a body, gave their final answer to the ambassador. They complained of the depredations, piracies, and robberies, committed by the subjects of the *French* king, for which no satisfaction was made by the government. They demanded the execution of the arrears granted by the council, restitution of the ships and effects seized by order of the king, and an apology for the indignity passed on the republic in the person of her consul at *Marseilles*, particularly for the liberties taken by the commissioners at *Rouen*, and other places, of examining the papers, sealing up the chests, and taking possession of the warehouses of *Dutch* merchants.

b *DE THOU*, finding he could effect nothing by a high hand, wrote to his court for more moderate instructions; and he was ordered to assure the states they should have ample satisfaction, upon restitution of the two frigates taken by *de Ruyter*, after which a treaty of navigation and commerce should be settled. Even this proposition was rejected; upon which the ambassador declared the king would be contented with a promise of restitution, as an equivalent for the ships, and he would in the mean time give all the satisfaction required. From such ample concessions, it was imagined the affair was happily at an end; but the cardinal neglected the ratification of these preliminaries: upon which the states took fire a second time, prohibited all intercourse with *France*, and gave orders to the naval officers to take *French* ships wherever they were found. Never had the states displayed more firmness and intrepidity than upon this occasion; but though they bid defiance to all c menaces, they were easily appeased by concessions. The king wrote them a letter, which intirely subdued by lenity that spirit which seemed to rise with opposition.

THE constancy of the republic was, in a great measure, owing to her ignorance of the treaty in agitation between *Cromwel* and *Mazarin*. Mean time, an accident happened, which had almost destroyed the effect of the king's letter to the states, and the treaty concluded in consequence. *Ruyter*, then upon a cruize, was informed by the *Dutch* consul at *Leghorn*, that five *French* ships of war had put into *Via Reggia*, a port belonging to the little republic of *Lucca*: thither he pursued them; but being driven out of his course by a storm, they had intelligence of his design, and made the best sail for *Porto Lunæ*, a harbour in the *Genoese* dominions. Here they were blocked up by *de Ruyter*, who, though he was d not at liberty to attack them in a neutral port, found means so to distress them, that they were on the point of surrendering at discretion, when advice arrived from the states of the treaty signed with the *French* monarch. *De Ruyter's* conduct was so much approved on this occasion, that the states, to shew their sense of his merit, complimented him with a gold chain, in testimony of their regard.

SCARCE had the republic got clear of these disputes with the court of *France*, when she was involved in others with that of *Portugal*, about their several pretensions in *Brasil*. Mess. *Tenhoven* and *de Wit* were sent envoys to *Lisbon* to adjust the affair, and present the overtures of a treaty of accommodation. The *Portuguese* ministry were equally astonished at the propositions made, and the powerful armaments with which they were accompanied. c Not a moment was lost in taking every measure for the security of the kingdom; the guards at *Lisbon* were doubled; all the captains of ships had orders to prepare for action, and a body of infantry was encamped on the shore to watch the motions of the *Dutch* fleet. After these vigorous steps had been taken, the ministers ventured to acquaint the *Dutch* deputies, that the court would not listen to proposals made with such an air of defiance, and with all the rigour of conquerors. This was highly resented by the *Hollanders*, who, in the heat of passion, expressed themselves in disrespectful terms of the royal family, and *de Solas*, secretary of state; upon which orders were issued to seize upon all the *Dutch* merchantmen in the *Tagus*. To such open violences a declaration of war must necessarily ensue; the deputies quitted *Lisbon* without taking leave, and *de Ruyter* took several *Portu-* f *guese* ships in the mouth of the river.

*Disputes with Portugal about the Brasils.*

BEFORE their departure the *Dutch* commissaries had left a declaration of war, sealed up, in the hands of *Don Pedro de Sylva*. *Ruyter* now thought himself at liberty to act offensively: accordingly he divided his fleet into three squadrons, and resolved to cruise in certain latitudes for the *Brasil* fleet, daily expected in *Europe*. His own division fell in with a fleet of forty sail; but the haziness of the weather concealed them from his view. Only five ships were taken, and it was from the crews of them he learnt that the fleet was so numerous. Another fleet, homeward-bound from *Brasil*, was every day expected; but the scarcity of provisions obliged *Ruyter* to quit his station, and return to *Holland*.<sup>b</sup>

*War with Portugal.*

WHILE the states were thus engaged in an open rupture with *Portugal*, an affair happened, at first of seemingly trivial moment, but in the end of serious consequences, with the neighbouring princes of the *Rhine*. The electors of *Mentz*, *Treves*, and *Cologne*, the

<sup>b</sup> BASNAGE, pag. 512.



The states are involved in disputes with the bishop of Munster.

duke of *Neuburg*, and the bishop of *Munster*, were desirous of entering into a strict alliance with the republic, for their mutual defence. Their overtures, however, were coldly received by the states of *Zealand* and *Friseland*, though the province of *Holland* approved of a treaty of commerce, respecting the navigation of the *Rhine*, upon the terms proposed a few years before by the elector of *Cologne*. This point was under deliberation when the bishop of *Munster*, quarrelling with his own subjects, interrupted the negotiation, and made the republic and the princes, instead of joining in an alliance, embrace opposite parties, and fight with all the bitterness of inveterate enemies. *Bernard Van Galen*, for so the bishop was called, had some years before got possession of the see of *Munster*, by a stroke of policy. His uncle, who had bred him up from his infancy, reckoned himself secure of being elected, when he found himself outwitted by his nephew, and disappointed in his expectations. The pope refused to confirm the election of *Van Galen*; but that bold enterprising genius, spurning difficulty, maintained his ground, in despite of all opposition, rendered himself respectable, and even formed vast projects for extending his power and dominions. His wearing the mitre did not prevent his understanding the sword. By nature he was intended for a soldier, and he followed his inclinations as soon as opportunity offered. He entered into all the intrigues of his neighbours, to whom he hired out his courage and his troops. When he was reproached for meditating such vast designs with such slender forces, he replied, *That little saints frequently wrought great miracles*. Besides the large sums he drew from the neighbouring princes, he levied heavy taxes upon his subjects for the support of the army, and, when they murmured at the oppression, was used to say, *That a warrior should have no more compassion than the devil*. He soon began to practise this maxim upon his own subjects. Like most other bishopricks in *Germany*, the see of *Munster* is subjected to the bishops in temporals as well as spirituals, the prelates uniting in the mitre the crozier and the sceptre. Some towns, within their jurisdiction, however, maintained their privileges, and amongst these was the city of *Munster*. The burghers insisted, that they were not obliged to receive the bishop's garrison, but that the sole command of the city belonged to the inhabitants. Two years before the bishop had introduced a body of troops, as necessary to the security of the place; the burghers complained loudly, and the dispute was referred to the assembly of the provincial states, who decided in favour of the burghers. *Van Galen* refused to stand by their award, submitted it to the imperial verdict, and obtained six months delay, to produce new arguments in support of his pretensions. Alarmed at this proceeding, which plainly indicated a bias in favour of the bishop, the magistrates sent a deputation to the *Hague*, requesting the republic to include them in the treaty lately made with the *Hans* towns. The grand pensionary *de Wit*, who foresaw the issue of entering upon such engagements, would do nothing without consulting the states, particularly those of *Overijssel* and *Groningen*; but their deliberations were so tedious, that the opportunity slipped of strengthening the frontiers towards that quarter. The bishop invested the town with his own forces, and a body of auxiliaries, and bombarded it with such fury, that in the space of a few hours above two hundred houses were set on fire, two churches demolished, and a priest, as he was administering the sacrament at the altar, swept off with the consecrated bread, by a cannon-bullet. This terrible sacrilege, committed by a bishop, roused all the fury of the townsmen; they sallied out vigorously on the besiegers, and slew great numbers of the prelate's forces, while their wives and daughters, forming themselves into companies, resolutely defended the walls. The electors of *Bavaria* and *Saxony* interposed, as vicars of the empire; the pope, as father of the church, reprehended his warlike son, and blamed the bishop's ardor to take arms upon so slight an occasion; but more effectual remedies than pontifical exhortations were requisite.

WHEN it was known in *Holland* that a war broke out between the bishop of *Munster* and his flock, the republic immediately put her frontier into a posture of defence, and sent two members from the states general, and one from the council of war, with offers of her mediation. The deputies were received civilly by the bishop; but their mediation was rejected, the prelate excusing himself, under pretence it would be an affront to the states of the country, and the princes of the empire, to submit to any other arbitration than theirs: nor would he suffer the deputies to enter the city, lest their presence might help to animate the burghers. This conduct incensed the states general, and determined them to succour the besieged; but four towns in *Holland* opposed this resolution, which, however, did not prevent the troops from beginning their march. The command was given to *M. Rhingrave*, commissary-general of the cavalry, and governor of *Maestricht*, as prince *Maurice* of *Nassau* was at that time in *Friseland*.

*VAN GALEN* had minute intelligence of all that passed in the states general of the *United Provinces*. He perceived that this affair would soon take a very serious turn. He made some rigorous proposals to the besieged, which were rejected. However, the nobility, who feared to see their country made the theatre of war, used all their influence



a with the burghers to accept of an accommodation; and the bishop, who apprehended he should in a few days be forced by the *Dutch* to raise the siege, relaxed in a variety of articles. A compromise was struck up, the gates were opened, and the prelate made his public entry in the beginning of *December*, but without being honoured with the usual rejoicings and acclamations. The *Dutch* were piqued that their mediation was rejected, and the bishop was irritated at not being received with the accustomed honours by his subjects, and at the march of the *Dutch* forces<sup>1</sup>; he resolved secretly to embrace the first opportunity of being revenged on the republic, and the inhabitants of *Munster*. We shall see, in course of our narrative, how he accomplished his purposes.

b THOSE foreign disputes in which the republic was engaged, did not prevent domestic Civil divisions. broils. The province of *Overijssel* was involved in violent altercations about certain privileges, for some years past, and there appeared no prospect of an issue, when suddenly the parties came to a resolution of referring their differences to the prince of *Nassau*, stadtholder of the province, and *M. de Wit*, grand pensionary of *Holland*, by whom they were happily terminated. But this affair was no sooner ended, than the election of a mareschal de camp became a new subject of dissension in the provinces. The states general had appointed to this office, and the states of *Holland* opposed the election, insisting that the states general assumed an illegal authority. In fact, they apprehended that the influence of the house of *Orange* would be strengthened by the renewal of an office which had for years been abolished; and that was the true reason of their opposition. The affair was agitated with c great heat, until the rapid progress of the *Swedish* arms, and the miserable situation of the king of *Denmark*, called for the interposition of the *United Provinces*, and diverted their attention from an object which might have laid the foundation of a civil war, and the destruction of the republic<sup>2</sup>.

FORMER engagements to the king of *Denmark*, the ballance of power in the North, and the commercial interest of the *United Provinces*, all required that *Sweden* should not become too powerful. As *Copenhagen* was now invested, the states general proposed sending immediate succours to *Frederic*; but the provinces of *Zealand*, *Friseland*, and *Guelderland*, insisted upon first creating a mareschal de camp. However, this point was dropped, upon the general resolution that was taken of only sending a naval force. *Gustavus* had given d the states the strongest assurances that he would never molest their commerce; he had likewise remitted large sums of money to his ambassador at the *Hague*, to be duly applied, in order to retard the assistance intended for *Denmark*; but all his endeavours were frustrated by the vigilance of *de Wit*, and the spirit of the people, who unanimously resented the encroachments of this enterprising prince. A large fleet accordingly set sail, early in the spring, for the *Baltick*, under the conduct of admiral *Opdam*, who had orders not only to protect the ships of the republic, but to assist, by every possible means, the king of *Denmark*, and fight the *Swedish* fleet the first opportunity: if *Cronenburgh* and *Copenhagen* should be in the hands of the *Swedes* before his arrival, his instructions were, to assist, aid, and abet, all the enterprizes of the *Danish* monarch, and with his fleet to block up e such places as the king might chuse to invest by land. In a word, the republic seemed determined to keep no bounds with *Sweden*; and *Van Buiningen*, who still resided at *Copenhagen*, contributed to spur on the states, by representing the infamy and danger to the republic that would ensue, from deserting *Frederic* in his distressed situation, and the benefits she might receive from his gratitude, if a timely vigorous diversion was made in his favour. That minister had great weight with the pensionary *de Wit*, who entered the more readily into his measures, because he was under no apprehensions from *France* or *England*.

AFTER *Opdam* had long struggled with adverse winds, he arrived in the *Sound*, where the *Swedish* fleet was immediately descried; upon which he assembled a council of his officers. It was carried by a majority to attack the enemy; but contrary winds kept the fleet f back for four days, and the *Swedes* shewed no inclination to become the aggressors. At last a fresh gale sprung up, and *Opdam* advanced in three divisions, while the *Swedish* admiral, *Wrangel*, was drawn up in the same order to oppose his passage. *Gustavus* was in the castle of *Cronenburgh*, a spectator of the action, and witness to the conduct of his admiral, who had already won so many laurels. The heat of the engagement fell upon *Opdam* and *Wrangel*; both fought with equal skill and courage; their strength was equal, but not so their fortune. *Wrangel* was forced to retreat under the cannon of the fortrefs, and yield a victory which he sold at the expence of a multitude of lives. The carnage indeed was dreadful in both fleets: the *Dutch* lost two admirals, *de Wit* and *Florizen*, they suffered greatly in their rigging, but the enemy lost more private men, and suffered greater damage in their hulls. *Wrangel's* own ship was pierced through and through: and when he g quitted the engagement, he had nine feet water in his hold. Three *Swedish* ships were

The states assist the king of Denmark.

Sea-fight between the Swedes and Dutch.

<sup>1</sup> LE CLERC, p. 282. BASNAGE, p. 518. \* Id. ibid. & 520.



taken, the same number sunk, and four more were driven ashore; but what gave *Opdam* clearly the advantage was, that he landed two thousand men, military stores, and provisions, in *Copenhagen*, by which the city was saved. *Swedish* writers have disputed the victory, only because it was not pursued, and because a process against *Opdam* was commenced on his return, for not having destroyed the *Swedish* fleet at *Landskroon*<sup>1</sup>.

THIS engagement gave great disturbance to *Gustavus*, as it seemed the harbinger of a declared war with the *United Provinces*. It was debated in his council, whether he should dissemble his resentment at this act of hostility, or denounce war openly against the states. A variety of reasons were offered in support of both opinions, and the arguments appeared so equal, that the king took more time to deliberate. In *Holland* the people reasoned differently. It was not thought sufficient to have afforded the king of *Denmark* the slender assistance of two thousand men, when by treaty they were engaged to assist him with double that number: it was therefore determined to augment the number of auxiliaries to six thousand effective men. Only one difficulty remained, and that was with respect to the payment of this corps. Some of the deputies proposed, that his *Danish* majesty should put *Gluckstadt* into the hands of the *Dutch*; but *de Wit* answered, that this would excite the jealousy of *France* and *England*, who were already displeased with the conduct of the republic, as was obvious from the remonstrances of *M. de Thou*, the *French* ambassador.

The states jealous of the protector of England, and the king of France.

IT was the first intention of the states to leave only a squadron of six or seven men of war in the *Baltick*, because it was not doubted but *Copenhagen*, with the succours thrown in by *Opdam*, would be in condition to defend itself for the winter; but upon advice that *England* was about to declare for *Sweden*, the admiral had orders to remain with his whole fleet, to winter in *Denmark*, to follow the instructions of *Frederic*, to oppose the passage of the *Swedish* forces from *Holstein*, and pursue every measure which could contribute to the common interest of the allies, and disappoint the schemes of *Gustavus*. It is certain that *Cromwel* harboured designs against *Denmark* and *Holland*, but a variety of domestic occurrences prevented his carrying them into execution. He had now got possession of *Dunkirk*, which had lately been taken from the *Spaniards* by the joint forces of *France* and *England*. Surrendering *Dunkirk* to the protector was equally irksome to *France*, *Spain*, the pope, and the *United Provinces*; but *Cromwel* carried the point with a high hand. The *Dutch* in particular had reason to complain. They saw the *English* in the quiet enjoyment of a port, which would serve as a retreat for their privateers, and in a short time be filled with the pillage of the *Dutch* shipping. The states had rather see *Dunkirk* in the hands of the *Spaniards* than of the *English*; for the interest of the former, with respect to commerce, began now to be re-united to those of the provinces. They now saw *France* and *England* strongly cemented by this bond of union, and began to apprehend that *Furnese*, *Graveline*, *Menin*, *Ypres*, and *Oudenarde*, were likewise in danger. *M. de Turenne* was fixed upon by the cardinal to quiet the emotions of the republic, and to assure the states, that the king had no other view in the conquest of the *Netherlands*, than to oblige the inhabitants to throw off the *Spanish* yoke, and to unite in a form of government similar to that of the *United Provinces*. He added, that if a republican government was once established, the king would willingly restore all his conquests since the commencement of the war, not excepting the capital of *Artois*. The friends of *France* looked upon this proposal as so equitable, that they pressed the states to second the designs of the most Christian king; but *M. de Wit* headed the contrary party, from a conviction that *Mazarin's* design was only to sow dissension among the provinces, and to extend the frontiers of the kingdom, at the expence of the *Netherlands*. But while this point was agitated with great warmth, the sudden illness of the *French* king introduced a great change into the politics of the court; and the states were relieved from their apprehensions on the side of *England*, by the death of the enterprising, the ambitious, the successful, and the splendidly wicked usurper, *Oliver Cromwel*; at the same time, the horror, the terror, and the admiration of all his neighbours. The vacancy in the imperial throne likewise made considerable alteration in the state of affairs, and *Holland* was forced to change her system with the circumstances of *Europe*.

Proposals made by the king of France.

IT was evident that the *United Provinces* were deeply interested in the fate of the candidates to the imperial diadem, which was claimed by the archduke *Leopold*, the king of *Hungary*, the elector of *Bavaria*, and the duke of *Neuburg*. It was contrary to the interest of the republic, to see the power of the house of *Austria* enlarged, and the empire made hereditary in that family; because the states were not so thoroughly reconciled to *Spain*, but that some articles left undetermined by the treaty of *Munster* might still be disputed. On the other hand, it was apprehended that any opposition to the claims of this ambitious and powerful family, might kindle a war, which would necessarily spread itself

<sup>1</sup> BASNAGE, p. 425. PUFFEND. tom. vi. p. 144.



a to the provinces. The present situation of the republic required that *France* should be assisted in setting upon the imperial throne, a prince less powerful than *Leopold*. However, all their designs, whatever they might be, were anticipated by the election of *Leopold*, without bloodshed, or scarce any opposition in the diet<sup>m</sup>.

*LEOPOLD*, immediately after his election, sent *M. Trequet* in quality of envoy to the *Hague*, to acquaint the states with his elevation, and to solicit their close alliance with the house of *Austria*. This minister hoped the more readily that his commission would be successful, because the union tended to assist *Denmark*, and oppose the growing power of *Sweden*. Besides, as the states were on the point of sending another fleet to the *Baltic*, he presumed they would have no objection to act in concert with the imperial arms; though b indeed this proved diametrically opposite to their designs, which were to assist *Denmark*, but not to allow the house of *Austria* any footing in the islands of the *Baltic*. Yet the republic made no difficulty of renewing her treaties with the imperial court, and of compromising some disputes about certain frontier towns with the *Spaniards*.

It was not so easy to make up the breach with *Portugal*, as the republic continued to demand reparation of her losses, and satisfaction for the injuries sustained by her subjects. The king of *France* offered his mediation, and *de Thou* exhorted the states to consent to a suspension of hostilities, in order to settle the preliminaries of a treaty. Accordingly the states general granted an armistice for two months, on condition that his *Portuguese* majesty should send an ambassador into *Holland*, to treat with the states, and that in failure c of his arrival, the war should go on with the usual vigour. In the mean time the admiralty was busied in preparing for the worst, and equipping such a fleet as it was hoped would oblige the *Portuguese* to listen to reason. This fleet set sail under *de Ruyter* in the month of *June*; but that admiral never met with an opportunity of exercising his valour; though his constancy met with severe trials in a terrible storm, which overtook the fleet soon after it quitted the coast of *Holland*. At length he arrived in a shattered condition in the *Tagus*, which rendered the *Portuguese* more averse to an accommodation, relying upon the divisions among the provinces, the incumbrances on the *India* company, and the engagements of the republic to the king of *Denmark*, that would prevent their paying the necessary attention to the affairs of *Brasil*. The commissioners met, and disputed, but d settled nothing<sup>n</sup>.

STILL the war between *Sweden* and *Denmark* raged with unremitting fury. *Copenhagen* A. D. 1646: was besieged by land, and blocked up by sea, while the *Dutch* and *Danish* fleets were locked up by the ice, and the *Swedes* making vast conquests over every part of the *Danish* dominions. At last, the allies broke the ice, and made way for some of their ships to put to sea. Early in the spring they encountered six *Swedish* men of war, who valiantly sustained their first attack, though pressed with the utmost vigour and impetuosity. After an exceeding obstinate engagement, they were forced to yield to the weight of a greatly superior strength, and retire with the loss of two ships of fifty guns each, one of which was taken, and the other sunk, leaving a complete and decisive victory to the *Hollanders*.

e THIS defeat, the vigorous descents of the *Dutch* fleet, and the treaty concluded between *France*, *England*, and *Holland*, to restore the tranquillity of the North, operated powerfully on the mind of *Gustavus*, who had still obstinately persevered in besieging *Copenhagen*, and ruining the dominions of his adversary. To give more weight to the treaty, the republic sent *de Ruyter* with another fleet to the coasts of *Jutland*, and communicated to him the articles entered upon with *France* and *England*, as the clearest explication of his instructions, and rule for his conduct. His *Swedish* majesty now entered into negotiations with the *Dutch* deputies; but the arrival of an *English* fleet in the *Sound*, and the ambiguous conduct of that nation, fluctuating, unsteady, and unhinged in its internal government, disconcerted all the measures of the *Hollanders*, and broke off the negotiation after f it was far advanced. *Ruyter* and *Opdam* even apprehended an attack from the *English*, until they received the most solemn assurances to the contrary from the lord *Montague*; whose departure from the *Sound* disappointed all the hopes of the *Swedish* monarch. No sooner were the *Dutch* left there at entire liberty to act, than they renewed their operations, harrassing the enemy by descents on every side. It was by the desperate courage of a body of soldiers, headed by *de Ruyter*, that the victory at *Funen* was gained, which gave the first shock to the fortune of *Gustavus*; for as to the advantages gained over his fleets, those were regarded as of less consequence. In a word, the diligence, vigour, and intrepidity of the *Dutch*, first disposed the king of *Sweden* to listen to reasonable conditions, which he was on the point of accepting, when he was seized with a disorder that proved g fatal.

<sup>m</sup> LE CLERC, pag. 324. tom. ii.

<sup>n</sup> BASNAGE, pag. 556.



Peace restored  
to the North.

THIS event produced various effects; *Charles Gustavus* was deeply regretted by all the *a* *Swedes*, while the *Danish* monarch, and the city of *Copenhagen*, could not refrain from indecent transports of joy. In the end, however, it proved fortunate for both sides, who were almost reduced to the verge of desperation, by their obduracy and implacable animosity. A peace, under the mediation of *England* and *Holland*, was concluded, and repose once more restored to *Denmark*, which for near the space of two years had been the theatre of a bloody war, productive of every species of distress and misfortune to the truly miserable inhabitants. Yet in one respect the people were losers, as their gratitude for the valiant and persevering defence of the king, moved them to compliment him with their liberty, and render him one of the most despotic princes in *Christendom*°.

The Dutch  
take the island  
of Ceylon.

CARDINAL *Mazarin* now offered his mediation to reconcile his *Portuguese* majesty and *b* the states general; but the negotiations proved more difficult than the preceding year. When this matter had been before agitated, the only obstruction was the indemnification required by the *Dutch* for the loss sustained in the *Brazils*; now the *India* company had driven the *Portuguese* from the island of *Ceylon*, thereby engrossing the most valuable of all *c* the *India* spices, the cinnamon, which constitutes one of the most essential articles of their commerce. This invaluable acquisition was due to the diligence and valour of *M. Goben*s, counsellor of state at *Batavia*, who first made an attack upon some of the smaller *Portuguese* factories in the island; and encouraged by his success, and the invitation of the natives, grievously oppressed by the tyranny of their old masters, ventured upon an attempt in *Jaffanapatan*, the head settlement of the *Portuguese*. The situation of this place rendered a formal siege impracticable; however, by the force of bombs and red hot bullets, the *Dutch* forced the great lords of the country to abandon their magnificent palaces, and take shelter in the *Portuguese* fort, which was in a short time reduced by famine to extremities. In about fourteen weeks after the city was first invested, the besieged desired to capitulate, and the *Europeans* were permitted either to remove to *Goa* without their effects, or remain in the country in subjection to the conquerors. The king hated the *Portuguese*; but he was alarmed at the rapid progress the *Dutch* made, and the lofty manner in which they treated the vanquished *Portuguese* and the natives. He accordingly determined to crush them in the infancy of their establishment, raised an army for that purpose; but was overawed, and forced to relinquish his design, by the *Dutch* squadron. In the end, *d* he compromised matters with the company, and left the *Hollanders* in full possession of whatever the *Portuguese* had claimed in this delicious island.

THOUGH the articles of pacification with *Portugal* were rendered more intricate by the late conquest in *Ceylon*, yet it contributed to make his Faithful majesty more pliant. He found he could not with impunity attack the company, or avoid making restitution of the lands and merchandize taken from the republic in *Brazil*. Sensibly touched with the loss of the valuable settlements in *Ceylon*, he sent an ambassador to *Holland* with fresh proposals; and to facilitate the way to an accommodation, he applied to *Mazarin* for the mediation of the court of *France*. *Mazarin* committed this affair to *M. de Thou*, resident at the *Hague*; and that minister acted so warmly in the affair as to incur the displeasure of his *e* eminence, who apprehended that *Spain* would reject his taking part in the affairs of *Portugal*, at a time when the two courts were settling preliminaries for a durable peace, after a tedious, bloody, and ruinous war. Such was the situation of *Holland* with regard to *Portugal*, when fresh occasions of discontent arose. The *Portuguese* Jesuits traded, under a variety of shapes and disguises, to a prodigious extent in the *East Indies*. By a thousand arts and machinations they obstructed the *Dutch* commerce; and by the esteem in which they were held in the different countries of *India*, not only forestalled the markets, but even so far prejudiced the natives, that in many places they refused to hold any intercourse with the *Hollanders*. They not only insinuated themselves into the court of the emperor of *China*, by their address and skill in geometry, astronomy, and mechanics, but made pilgrimages to every kingdom in *India*, particularly to *Dehli*, where the grand mogul resided, and to *Golkonda*, whence they returned loaded with diamonds of the best water and size, and the most precious jewels. The arts used by the *Dutch* to counteract them, were not very justifiable. They were, however, perfectly consistent with the genius of this people, who stick at nothing to promote their interest. They are accused, and the charge hath never been disproved, of arresting clandestinely the Jesuit pilgrims, and strangling them privately: they are even charged with using poison in the most base and insidious manner. We have already explicitly related the progress of the *Dutch* commerce in *India*°, and it is not agreeable to us to repeat facts which disgrace humanity, and so deeply stain the character of a whole nation. Sufficient it is, that by a series of the darkest arts and *f* *g*



a intrigues, the *Dutch* firmly established themselves, ruined their adversaries, and formed a variety of advantageous treaties and alliances with the natives (A).

THE revolution which now happened in *England*, and the king's restoration, affected the politics of the states general, who had never been cordial with *Cromwell*, and since his death, were in a state of uncertainty about the conduct they were to observe to his son *Richard*. How differently now did they behave to *Charles II.* to what they had done some years before, when that fugitive monarch was in his deplorable condition denied the protection of the republic, and was forced to quit the court of his cousin the prince of *Orange*, without knowing where to find another retreat. The transactions in *England* were

*The states receive the king of England with great respect.*

b tion to congratulate him on his happy prospect, and welcome his majesty into the dominions of the republic. This deputation laid the foundation of a violent altercation between the states general and the states of *Holland*, the former insisting not only upon their precedency at *Breda*, but even in the province of *Holland*, as the representatives of the seven provinces, and the sovereign authority in the republic. Both resolved to have the lead in the intended public entry of the king into the *Hague*; but *Charles* interposed and happily reconciled the contending parties. He was oppressed with honours and civilities during his stay in *Holland*; and upon his departure, was followed by a splendid embassy to his newly recovered dominions. *M. de Beverwert* was appointed the first in this embassy; and a present, which was made by the king to the son of that gentleman, became the  
c subject of debate among the divines and politicians of the *United Provinces*. *Beverwert* acquainted the states with the present made to his son; but he said, it could not be regarded as a gratification to the ambassador, in any way contrary to the oath he had taken of receiving no bribes or presents, which would have the least tendency to bias his integrity. It was the king's unrelative gift to the son, from a mere regard to the person of that young gentleman, as some affirmed; while others were equally confident that the son and father were both included in the present, and incapable of being distinguished in any mark of respect. We mention this circumstance only to shew the delicacy of the government respecting the conduct of ambassadors. It is also a proof that the public had  
d nothing of considerable importance to gain attention, else it would not have canvassed so rigidly a trivial affair, while the most flagrant corruptions had been winked at in the assembly of the states, and in all the embassies during the protectorate of *Oliver Cromwell* <sup>a</sup>.

It was this year that the *French* king had taken violent possession of the principality of *Orange*, upon an antient claim which princes always find means to prove by the longest sword. The disputes between the princesses dowagers furnished a pretext for resuming this claim, and *Lewis* did not chuse to lose so fair an opportunity of extending his dominion. He alledged, that the princess governante had shewn him many instances of disrespect during the minority of her son the prince of *Orange*. He likewise maintained that he was performing a signal service to the prince, by easing him of the load of useless expensive garrisons. This opinion was supported by the enemies of the house of *Orange*,  
e who insisted that the finances of that family had been so mismanaged and misapplied since the regency, as to render the burthen of maintaining guards, garrisons, and fortifications, quite intolerable. They could not therefore conceive what design *Maurice* could have in fortifying, at the price of two millions, a place situated in the heart of the *French* dominions, which could prove of no use to the republic, as a barrier against the encroachments of *France*. Very little encouragement from the prince's enemies in *Holland* was sufficient to determine the king to undertake an enterprize to which he was before disposed. He was at that time in *Provence* upon other affairs, and resolved to seize this opportunity of making himself master of the principality of *Orange*. *M. de Milet* was sent to summon count *Dobna* to surrender his trust to the king, as mediator of the differences between the  
f princesses dowagers, and legitimate tutor, and protector of the young prince. Upon *Dobna's* answering, That he would only act by the orders of the princesses, who had vested him with the office of governor; *Milet* replied, That he was astonished at his presumption, in refusing obedience to the command of the king his master, adding, that the most Christian king would support his right with the irrefragable proof of twenty thousand men, who would make him repent his obstinacy. The count, without being moved at this menace, persevered in his duty, and sent notice of his situation to the *Hague*. The court of the young prince was instantly alarmed at the danger which threatened the here-

*The king of France seizes on the principality of Orange.*

<sup>a</sup> WICQUEFORT, lib. xiii. pag. 555.

(A) The treaty with the king of *Maccassar* was not concluded till the year 1662; but we have here mentioned all the transactions in *India* under one head, the better to preserve the connection, and avoid transitions to subjects that bear not the least relation to each other.



ditary dominions, and the friends to the family laboured to reconcile the princesses, as the only means which could ward off the impending blow; for as the king had made their differences the principal argument for his own proceedings, it was hoped their reconciliation would take away all pretext for so unjust and oppressive an invasion on the rights of a minor. Mean time the garrison was unprovided with stores and every necessary of a siege, while the king's army under the marechal *Plessis Pralin*, advanced to the gates of *Orange*. The count *de Dobna*, unable to make any defence, capitulated; and, with the consent and advice of the magistrates, delivered the keys into the hands of the marechal. The king promised to exercise justice in the prince's name, and to restore the principality, with all the stores, cannon, effects, &c. as soon as he arrived at age; or in case of his death, to the electress of *Brandenburgh*, or the nearest heirs: but he took care immediately to demolish the citadel, erected at a vast expence by prince *Maurice*. *Dobna* was accused of having yielded to the force of corruption, and the princesses exclaimed violently against the king's arbitrary proceedings, throwing themselves upon the protection of the states general, and imploring the aid and assistance of their high mightinesses, in defence of an helpless injured minor. They had no bounds to their complaints; they wrote in bitter terms to the king, accused him of violating the laws of nations, and taking advantage of a child, and the weakness of two women, his only protectresses.

*LEWIS*'s designs were too evident, and the case of too much importance for the states to pass it over unnoticed; but they dreaded the effects of the king's displeasure. However, instructions were sent relative to the principality, to their ambassadors in *France* and *England*. The princess herself visited *England*, not only to congratulate the king her brother upon his restoration, but to intercede with him in behalf of her son, his nephew. Before her departure, the states of *Zealand* shewed their attachment to the family of *Orange*, by proposing that the prince should be declared the first nobleman in the provinces, and vested with the authority of stadtholder, captain-general, and all the other titles and prerogatives held by his ancestors, and a pension of one hundred thousand florins. They also demanded that he should immediately be admitted a member of the council of state, in order to be early instructed in the arts of war and government, and the other qualifications necessary to his high birth and rank in the republic. They however allowed, that he should not enter upon the functions of his office, until he attained the age of eighteen years; and that neither the stadtholdership, nor any of the other prerogatives, should in the mean time be exercised by a lieutenant. To give more weight to their proposal, the zealous states of this province went in a body to the *Hague*, and presented themselves in a cavalcade of twenty coaches to the states general. *M. de Wit*, their pensioner, recited in a long-laboured oration, the services done the republic by the house of *Orange*, and the reason why the states of *Zealand* thought the acceptance of their proposal necessary to the security and quiet of the provinces. He did not omit a single argument that could enforce his subject; and his views were seconded by the states of *Friseland* and *Overyssel*. *Holland* however and the other provinces kept aloof; yet to shew their respect to the princesses and the king of *England*, they assigned the prince a yearly revenue of forty thousand florins, to support the dignity of his house, and the expences of his court and education. They even proceeded so far as to abolish the act of exclusion, which had raised such dissensions in the provinces, and was passed merely out of dread of *Oliver Cromwel*. In this manner did the complaisance of *Holland* prevent the other provinces from pushing their designs further at that time, and open the way to the young prince of *Orange*, to all the honours and dignities of his illustrious ancestors.

A. D. 1661.  
Treaty with  
Portugal.

NOTWITHSTANDING the *Dutch* had been extremely successful in the war against *Portugal*, though they had obtained all they could propose to themselves by the sword, and though the king had no hopes of recovering his losses by the continuance of the war, yet no peace had been concluded. As the hostilities were confined entirely to a distant country, it could not be expected to be carried on with the same vigour as if *Europe* had been the theatre of war. The difficulty of transporting troops into those remote regions, and of meeting with other fleets in that vast expanse of ocean, rendered their mutual operations languid, and decisive blows unfrequent; yet both parties were of opinion it was high time to sheath the sword, and turn their thoughts to a solid durable reconciliation. The *Dutch* especially gave way to these pacific sentiments, from a desire to taste the sweet fruits of their conquests, which could not be done with security, while the rupture continued with a kingdom still powerful by sea, though greatly declined; and the crowns of *France* and *England* promised their good intentions, from views widely different. His Christian majesty rejoiced at having this thorn in the side of the Catholic king, and was desirous by taking off the *Dutch*, to give *Portugal* weight in his negotiations for a peace



- a with the court of *Spain*; while the king of *England*, who was upon terms with *Catherine*, the infanta of *Portugal*, was eager to render so signal a service to a family with which he was soon to be linked in the closest alliance. The news of this intended marriage was received with more chagrin than surprize in *Holland*. It was obvious that such engagements must necessarily cement the king of *England* to the interest of *Portugal*. The states represented to the king by their ambassadors, the injustice done them by his *Portuguese* majesty, in refusing to make restitution of *Brasil*; but their remonstrances were coldly received; *Charles* even declared, upon hearing that great preparations were making in *Holland*, his intentions to assist the crown of *Portugal*. Though he expressed himself in polite and friendly terms, it was plain that his answer contained a menace, if the *Dutch* should longer pursue their resentments. At the same time he offered his mediation, which however was too much suspected to be cordially accepted. The truth was, the crowns of *France* and *England* were both meditating the means of supporting *Portugal*; while the minister of *Alphonso VI.* was diligently negotiating a peace at the *Hague*, where he had gained over a great number of friends. The great obstacle was the restitution of *Brasil*. This the states had long demanded in vain; it was now determined to relinquish the project, rather than prosecute hostilities against a crown so powerfully supported by *France* and *England*, and on the point of being reconciled with *Spain*. Four provinces, however, opposed this resolution upon late assurances from the *Spanish* court, that they were determined to come to no accommodation with *Portugal*, and that *Brasil* should be restored to the republic the moment his Catholic majesty should again become possessed of the kingdom of *Portugal*. *Zealand* in particular insisted, that, by the treaty of *Utrecht*, this resolution could only be carried into execution by an unanimity of voices, which was requisite in all matters of so high importance as the making peace or war. The debate was pushed to a great length, but it never broke off the conferences with the count *de Miranda*, the *Portuguese* minister. At length a treaty was concluded, by which his *Portuguese* majesty promised to pay the republic five hundred thousand livres annually, in money, sugar, and salt; and a million of money to indemnify her losses in the *Brasils*. He likewise consented that the *Dutch* should enjoy the same privileges of trade to *Portugal*, *Brasil*, and the coast of *Africa*, as the *English*. Hostilities were to cease in *Europe* two months before the exchange of ratifications, and in the *Indies*, immediately upon public notice of the treaty in those parts.

- ENGLAND* had already manifested no favourable disposition to the interest of the republic, in the bias the king plainly shewed for the court of *Portugal*: the intentions of that court became still more obvious by the proposal that was now made, of a triple alliance between the crowns of *England* and *France*, and the *United Provinces*. It was the manner rather than the terms of this proposition, which gave offence. The coldness was increased by the reception which the *Dutch* ambassadors met with at the court of *London*, where they were treated with distant respect, and affronted with the revival of all the claims made by the late protector. They wrote back to the *Hague* soon after their arrival, that their negotiations were likely to prove tedious and difficult, because the king insisted upon the conclusion of a treaty favourable to him, before he entered upon the subject of navigation and commerce. The first obstruction that occurred in course of the conferences, were the rights of fishing for herrings on the *British* coasts. The next was the prerogative assumed by the *English* in visiting and examining *Dutch* vessels at sea, as well as in the ports of the kingdom. It was above all things the wish of the *Hollanders* to abolish this custom, equally inconvenient to trade, and ignominious to the government; but it was a badge of superiority of which the *English* were extremely tenacious. The crown-jewels pledged in *Holland* by the late king, and the not delivering up to punishment all the murderers of the king's father, who had now taken shelter in *Holland*, together with certain hostilities committed by an *English* officer on the coast of *Africa*, all contributed to encrease the coldness between the two nations, and render the disputes of the commissaries fruitless. It was plain from the king's general behaviour, that his designs were rather to avail himself of the power of the republic, than live with her upon the antient footing of friendship. His supporting the claims of his nephew the prince of *Orange* to the stadtholdership, his reconciliation with the princess of *Orange*, with whom he had been at variance, and his entering into a closer union with the elector of *Brandenburgh*, excited the jealousy of the states, and persuaded them that *Charles* was no way affected to *Holland*, or disposed to promote the interest of the republic. Both the king and the states courted *Mazarin*; but in doing this, *Charles* embroiled himself with the pensioner *de Wit*, and inflamed the populace of *Holland*, by distressing their fisheries, at the time too when his nephew most wanted their assistance. But what gave the greatest offence, was the king's insisting

Transactions  
with Eng-  
land.

<sup>s</sup> WICQUEFORT, pag. 14. BASNAGE, pag. 635.



that the *India* company should allow free liberty to the *English* to trade to all the ports of *Asia*, not immediately in the possession of the *Dutch*, even with the kings and princes at war with the republic; and that the *English* factories should be an asylum for all the natives who sought protection of the *British* nation. Such demands, from a prince who pretended to court the alliance of the republic, could not but be regarded as acts of that authority which aspiring princes love to exercise over their neighbours, as well as their subjects; but it was the business of the states to suppress their resentment to a more seasonable opportunity. In complaisance to the king, three of the regicides were to be seized, in order to be delivered up to punishment. *Downing*, the *English* minister, threatened the deputies with the king's resentment, if they refused to sign an order to that purpose. He obtained the order; but the magistrates of several towns interposed, affirming it would be the greatest injury to the republic to violate the protection granted to all refugees; and that, in this instance, it would for many reasons be base and insidious. In despite however of their opposition, the regicides were taken into custody, embarked at the *Brille*, and sent to *London*. *De Wit* was the principal manager in this transaction, which greatly astonished all his friends, who were no strangers to his declared enmity to the king of *England* and the house of *Orange*.

The states of Holland seize upon the papers of the princess dowager.

ALREADY the tutelage of the prince of *Orange* had given birth to various dissensions, which were now renewed upon the death of the substitutes appointed by the princess, upon her departure for *England*. That she should nominate the king her brother among the guardians of the young prince, gave umbrage to the rigid republicans. The enemies to the house of *Orange*, some of whom were the leading men in the republic, resented highly her substituting the king of *England*, who, they said, would educate the prince in despotic principles, fill all the vacant offices in the towns dependent on the *Orange* family with his creatures, and sap the batteries they had been for years erecting in defence of public liberty. In a point of so vast importance, they thought themselves justified in exerting any means to ward off the danger, and striking what they called a blow of state. Accordingly they seized upon a strong box which the princess dowager left in her apartment, where they expected to find the clearest information of the intrigues carried on by the late prince, to establish his own sovereign authority, of the enterprize against *Amsterdam*, and the secret intercourse he was supposed to hold with divers members of the states general. *Charles* complained that the laws of nations had been grossly insulted by this action: he likewise alledged that his own dignity was affronted, by a violent attempt to extort the secrets of a sovereign family so nearly allied to him, and under the protection of the crown of *England*. To this the states of *Holland*, which had authorised the courts of justice to execute this affair, could make no reply, besides the interest they had in all that concerned the prince, and the authority that devolved on them, in consequence of the princess's departure. They found means, however, to shift off the restitution of the papers demanded, and to lodge them in the secretary's office. It is probable, that the occasion which the princess had for the assistance and countenance of the states, in her proposed journey to *France*, to procure restitution of the principality of *Orange*, made the king her brother insist less strenuously upon this point.

State of Holland, with respect to France.

THE death of cardinal *Mazarin*, which happened soon after the arrival of the *Dutch* ambassadors sent to demand restitution of *Orange*, occasioned great changes in the court of *Lewis XIV.* That prince was now, for the first time, actually a king. Every thing was conducted under his immediate direction. He used the assistance of his ministers; but he did not suffer them to govern him, as the cardinal had done: and this he evinced by the sudden disgrace of *M. Fouquet*, which the *Dutch* ambassadors were in expectation would turn out to the advantage of the republic. He had always opposed the treaty of alliance and commerce between the two nations; but the views of *Colbert*, who succeeded, greatly disappointed the hopes of the states general. After this affair had been long agitated, the ambassadors were on the point of departing, without advancing an inch in the negotiation. They perceived that the new sur-intendant had formed vast projects for the extension of the *French* commerce, which was altogether inconsistent with the treaty they required: however, they found that the interest of *M. Leguier*, *Tellier*, and the marshal *Villeroi*, might be able to procure their demands under certain modifications and restrictions. In effect, they persuaded the king, that it was for his interest to renew the ancient treaties and alliances with *Holland*; but *Colbert* guarded against their proving injurious to the commerce of the kingdom, and the design he had projected of raising the *French* marine to a respectable footing. The treaty of commerce imported, that all piracies should be checked, and the offenders punished; that the merchants of both nations should reciprocally trade to each other's ports, upon paying a certain duty, without any distinction of commodities, except



a whale-oil. Great difficulties arose about the king's guarantying the herring-fishery, which the court knew would give umbrage to the *English*. *Lewis*, under pretence that he could not guaranty a contested claim, without expressly declaring against one of the claimants, contented himself with general expressions; but the *Dutch* ambassadors, sensible that a general guarantee would be useless, made pressing instances that the conditions of the king's protection should be minutely specified. In the end, the treaty was signed upon this footing; but *Lewis* deferred the ratification <sup>b</sup>.

No sooner had the republic secured her commerce against the attacks of *French* pirates, by the treaty we have just mentioned, than she resolved to check the insolence of the *Algerines*, who had committed a variety of depredations on the high seas, confiscated the goods and shipping, and enslaved the subjects of the *United Provinces*, while the states and they were in profound peace with each other. For this purpose *de Ruyter* was dispatched to the *Mediterranean* with a powerful squadron. He fell in with a fleet of eight *Algerine* pirates, which he dispersed, after taking one, and sinking another. A violent storm, that arose in the middle of the engagement, prevented his destroying the whole squadron. It was upon this he received a challenge from the dey of *Algiers*, couched in the following terms: "Sir, although we differ in religion, I am in hopes we shall agree with respect to the following proposition, and that you will be ready to grant the demand I hereby make. You have three times given me chace; and if I have avoided fighting, I desire you will not attribute it to a deficiency in courage, but to the inequality of my strength. Mine is only a small bark, your's a large ship, and floating castle. It is for this reason I desire you will meet me upon equal terms, that we may prove our fortune and valour. If you conquer me, I shall be your slave; but if fortune should be propitious to my endeavours, I shall rest satisfied with the glory of victory. Grant me this request; and if I prove backward, rank me among the number of timid spirits. Receive the compliments which I send you." *Ruyter* accepted the challenge, and appointed the time and place for the engagement; but he heard no more of the *Algerine* bravo. His constancy on this occasion inspired the *Turks* with the highest opinion of his courage and generosity. They wished to be friends with the man whom they equally dreaded and admired. The prince of *Tunis* immediately made concessions; but the *Algerines* would have persisted in their defence, had their ships been any way proportioned to *de Ruyter's* strength. This inequality alone obliged them to bend the neck, make apologies for their conduct, give security for their future behaviour, and enter upon the strictest engagements not to molest the *Dutch* commerce <sup>c</sup>.

A. D. 1662.  
*Ruyter sent against the Algerines.*

EVERY foreign occurrence would seem to heal the divisions in the *United Provinces*; but this was only a temporary, not a radical cure. It suspended the animosity of the parties, but did not remove the cause of their mutual resentment, which gathered strength from their long continuance. The education of the prince became again the subject of vehement disputes between the provinces of *Holland* and *Zealand*. *Holland* insisted, that, by the *Roman* law, and the particular laws of the *Netherlands*, the tutelage of a nobleman, or young prince, rightly belonged to that sovereign power in whose obedience the father of the minor was at the time of his death. They affirmed, that *Zealand* had no pretensions, either by sovereign right, or testamentary election. The *Zealanders* replied, that the young prince of *Orange* was not to be regarded as a mere noble minor, subjected to certain laws, and chambers erected for factoring his estate: the prince's chief territories were situated in *Zealand*; it was therefore reasonable he should have his education under the direction of that province. This dispute begot other subjects of contention, which greatly disturbed all persons attached to the true interest of their country; though *de Wit* alone, whose influence was every day increasing, laboured to apply the proper remedies. The dissensions were not confined to *Holland* and *Zealand*; they spread themselves to *Groningen* and *Utrecht*, and at last terminated in an altercation with the duke of *Newburgh*, which was soon compromised <sup>d</sup>.

*FRANCE* and *Holland* appear at this period to have been under the direction of the same spirit, and to have co-operated in precisely the same measures. There subsisted a thorough understanding between the pensionary *de Wit* and the count *d'Estrades*: the letters of the most Christian king are full of acknowledgments of the services done him by the pensionary; and, speaking of the treaty in agitation between the crowns of *France* and *England*, he expressly declares, that nothing should be concluded in it contrary to the interest of the *United Provinces*. But this intimate union was neither formed nor continued without warm opposition and loud clamours. The *English* and *Spaniards* had each their faction in the states general, and both joined with the *Orange* family to distress *de Wit*, who was thus forced into a dependence on *France*, by which he triumphed for a time over all

A. D. 1663.  
*Collusion between the king of France and the pensionary de Wit.*

<sup>b</sup> LE CLERC, tom. ii. p. 305. BASNAGE, *ibid*.

<sup>c</sup> La Vie de Ruyter, p. 56.

<sup>d</sup> BASNAGE, p. 674.



his adversaries. *Spain*, jealous of the growing power of *France*, laboured to form a fœderal union between the republic and the other ten provinces, for their mutual security. This *d'Esstrades* traversed with all his address and influence with the pensionary. In consequence *de Wit* drew up a counter-project, the apparent design of which was to graft a new republic upon the old, though the effect would probably have been to gain *France* possession of the Ten Provinces, without the trouble, hazard, or expence of a war (A). *Lewis*, however, was unwilling to be put off with the bare possibility of obtaining what he was now contriving to possess: for this reason he continued the negotiation; but found a variety of pretences to avoid bringing it to an issue. When this could no longer be done, without exciting the jealousy of the states, he laid aside the mask and the project together.

Causes of a  
rupture be-  
tween Eng-  
land and the  
United Pro-  
vinces.

ALL this while Sir *George Downing*, the *English* ambassador, was supporting the negotiations of *Gamarra*, the *Spanish* minister, to form the league of the *Seventeen Provinces* we have already mentioned; but, incensed at the secret transactions between *de Wit* and *d'Esstrades*, he had instructions to demand reparation of the injuries done by the subjects of the states to the *British* commerce. A variety of circumstances indeed contributed to bring on a rupture between the two nations, to which this remonstrance was a prelude. They were rivals in commerce, and open enemies in every emporium of trade on the face of the globe. Reciprocal injuries were committed by fraud and violence, and each in his turn became the aggressor. *Holland* had, it is true, left unperformed several of the articles of the treaty of peace made with *Cromwel*; but *England* had ballanced these by similar neglects. One circumstance indeed highly reflected on the dignity of the *British* crown; namely, that no satisfaction was yet made for the depredations on her commerce in *Asia*, or atonement for the massacre at *Amboyna*, except the unexecuted promise of a trifling sum of money. The *Dutch* contented themselves with penitential protestations on this head, by which even *Cromwel* had been duped, and prevailed on to withhold punishment, when he had the whole nation at his mercy: can we wonder if the inconstant, irresolute *Charles*, with all his natural penetration and good sense, which he never exerted, should be over-reached by their artifice? The *Dutch*, perceiving the humour of the *English*, knew that the king would be forced into violent measures: they therefore published a long charge against the *English East*

<sup>c</sup> D'ABLANCOURT'S Memoirs, p. 162.

(A) As this point is curious, entirely omitted by *Dutch* writers, and only mentioned by the *French*, we shall present the reader with an abstract of *de Wit*'s project, which was to the following purpose. First, it was proposed, that endeavours should be used to prejudice the provinces under the dominion of *Spain*, in favour of a free republic; and that assurances should be given them of powerful succours from *France* and the republic. Secondly, That the revolution however should be effected by the voluntary consent of the inhabitants, and particularly the magistrates of the cities; and that, for this reason, no violence should be used, or arms introduced into the *ten Spanish Provinces*, as it was the intention of *France* and the republic to maintain their treaties with *Spain*. But in case of the king of *Spain*'s death, then the abovementioned provinces should be cantoned by force, if necessary, and formed into a free republic. Thirdly, That to secure the frontiers of the *United Provinces* against all foreign powers, all possible efforts should be used, in case the scheme for forming the *ten Provinces* into a republic succeeded, to put into the hands of the most Christian king the cities and places of *Cambray*, *St. Omer*, *Aix*, *Newport*, *Furnes*, *Bergues*, and *Linch*, with their depending lordships and counties: and into those of the states general of the *United Provinces*, the cities, towns, and places of *Ostend*, *Plassendal*, *Bruges*, *Danme*, *Blonquenbergue*, with that part of *Guelderland* now possessed by *Spain*, the four quarters of *Outremuse*, and the castles of *Navaigne* and *Argentaer*, with their dependencies. Fourthly, That if the proposed scheme of cantonment should succeed, either voluntarily before the decease of the king of *Spain*, or by compulsion after his death, both sides should heartily labour that the said places be put into the possession of *France* and the states general respectively, as well for the considerations before alledged, as for several other reasons of importance to the common welfare and peace of both states.

The alterations made by the court of *France* in this project, had an eye to the succession of the *Spanish* monarchy, and seemed to foresee what happened many years after, when the partition-treaty and triple alliance

were formed, to prevent the enormous growth of *France*, and preserve a just political ballance in *Europe*. Here the king already set aside the renunciation made by his queen of her right to the *Spanish* succession, calling it null and invalid, because extorted from her at *Fontarabia*, before she came to *France*. He, besides, accused *Spain* of a breach of contract, and the non-performance of several of the conditions stipulated between the two courts. He alledged, that these truths were so well known in *Flanders*, that the principal inhabitants had jointly debated upon the means of defending themselves against the impending evils; and the more prudent had proposed, as the most effectual method, to canton themselves into a free republic, allied to *France* and the states general. The king, therefore, out of his great moderation, proposed, in case of the king of *Spain*'s death, to wave his just claims in *Flanders*, and be contented that the people, who ought naturally to be under his government, should become free, and allied to the lords the states general, under his majesty's protection, except only some places, which lay commodious to the king, for protecting the frontiers of his kingdom. To this he desired the assent of the states general, and also their concurrence in preserving the treaties with *Spain*, during the life of the reigning monarch: and he further added, that, in case the succession of *Spain* devolved upon his queen, before the inhabitants had taken the resolution of forming themselves into a republic, that then his majesty should be at liberty to possess, for the greater security of his kingdom, such other places as might be thought necessary for the protection of his frontiers, besides those specified in the pensionary's proposal. Such was the ideal scheme planned by *M. de Wit* and the court of *France*; from which, however, both sides deduced no other consequences than those which publicly appeared. *England* got scent of those negotiations, and it proved one cause of the succeeding rupture between that kingdom and the *United Provinces*; for it was obvious that the execution of such a project would greatly extend the power of *France*, and prejudice the commerce of *Great Britain*. *Lettres d'Esstrades*, March 22, 1663.



- a *India* company, which likewise answered the purpose of an apology for their own conduct; and this was answered by a paper, proving that the charge was a deliberate assemblage of frivolous pretences, and unjust and insolent demands, made without any regard to honour, truth, reason, or the law of nations. Lists of damages were mutually delivered, which both sides supported by several strong memorials. We have already specified these particulars in the history of the *East India* companies<sup>f</sup>: it will therefore be unnecessary to say any more here, than that *Charles* declared to M. *Cuneas*, the *Dutch* resident in *London*, that he would receive no memorials from his hands, as he expected the states would send an ambassador in the manner promised by M. *Beverwert*, when he took his leave. His majesty, besides, laid a great restriction on trade, under pretence of a plague that raged in
- b *Holland*; and he considered it as a particular mark of his regard for *Amsterdam*, that he confined the usual time of performing quarantine to thirty days, instead of forty. The precaution would have been just, had the fact been true; but, in any event, it ought to have been extended to all the other maritime provinces as well as *Holland*, which, on this occasion, was singled out, in enmity to the pensionary and the states of that province.

- DOWNING*, indeed, by his violent remonstrances to the states, and the partial accounts remitted to *England* every day, widened the breach between the two nations. He insisted, in his memorials, of restitution of two *India* ships, called the *Bonadventure*, and *Good Hope*, as likewise of several other *English* ships, rather as scaffolds than the building, as collateral circumstances, but not the main foundation of the proposed rupture. This is
- c obvious, from that treaty concluded the preceding year between the two nations, in which not one of the forty five articles of damages now presented was contained. As to the *India* ships, the *English* were left, by agreement, to prosecute their claim; and eighty thousand florins were deposited by the *Dutch* company, by way of indemnification, should the decision turn out favourable to their adversaries. The *Dutch* alledged, that the *English* greatly over-rated their damages, particularly with respect to the *India* ships. They complained that the demand was exorbitant; but this was only a part of the dispute. Perhaps the real grounds of the war are to be found in the natural interest of both parties in the *Guiney* trade, and the extension of their commerce in *America*. Sir *Robert Holmes* had been dispatched with a squadron to the coast of *Africa*, to assert the rights of *Great Britain*,
- d and check the encroachments of the *Hollanders*. This he executed very effectually, by dispossessing them of *Cape Verd*, and *Cabo de Corso*; after which he proceeded in his voyage, and rendered himself master of *Nova Belgia*, since called *New York*. These hostilities the *Dutch* commissaries on the coast of *Guiney* resented, by detaining the *English* shipping and merchandise in the ports belonging to the republic. These vessels and effects belonged to the new-established *Africa* company, of which the duke of *York* was governor. *Downing* exclaimed against the insult offered to the king and duke, instead of giving satisfaction for the hostilities which had occasioned this retaliation. It is for this reason we cannot join issue with the *English* historians, who are unanimous in throwing the whole odium of the war upon the states general: Had they attributed it to *Charles's* resentment of the unatoned
- e barbarities committed in the *East Indies* upon *English* subjects, their plea would have been passable; but to charge the *Dutch* with being the aggressors on the coast of *Guiney*, evidently proceeds from natural prejudice, and a superficial enquiry into the facts asserted by both parties, and incontestibly proved by the *Hollanders* &c.

- The grievances of the *Dutch* were still greater on the side of *America*. *Hudson*, an *English* captain, had made a descent on the *Dutch* colonies, situated at the mouth of the river which now bears the name of that officer, towards the north side of the continent of *America*. This was in the reign of *James I.* From that time the claims of the *Dutch* and *English* were extremely intricate. The situation was too remote to admit of a clear state of the objects in dispute. Mutual hostilities passed, and each endeavoured not only to support
- f but to extend their settlements by force, fraud, and violence. *Holmes* attacked the *Dutch* by the king's authority; the *Dutch West India* company therefore carried their grievances before the states general: but before they could take any measures for redressing them, advice arrived that the *English* had landed on the island *Monchattan*, and had made themselves masters of the town of *New Amsterdam*. *Downing* not only supported this action, by affirming it was a consequence of the insults offered to *British* commerce on the coast of *Guiney*; but he so warmly espoused the interests of *Sweden* and *Denmark*, with respect to the *Baltic* trade, that it was manifest no terms could be long preserved. By this means he had the address to involve the states in disputes with the northern powers, the elector of *Brandenburg*, and even the *French* monarch, from whom *Sweden* received a subsidy. His conduct towards the house of *Orange* had inspired the elector with a personal animosity to the pensionary of *Holland*; the same cause had irritated the king of *England* against this mi-
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<sup>f</sup> Mod. Univ. Hist. vol. xvi. 8vo.

<sup>g</sup> BASNAGE, p. 713.



nister; *de Wit*, therefore, conceived the only method of guarding against the impending a  
blow was to unite closely with *France*, and sacrifice trivial claims to the real and necessary  
protection of that powerful prince. The project with respect to the cantonment of the  
*Spanish Netherlands* was again renewed; and the occasion seemed natural, as the king of  
*Spain*'s life was in great danger, and the infanta labouring under an ardent fever. Matters  
proceeded so far, that four deputies were sent from the *Ten Provinces*, to confer upon the  
subject with *M. de Wit*. At last, after several conferences and proposals, they were dis-  
missed, without coming to any resolution.

*Fresh intrigues  
with the court  
of France.*

No sooner the project of forming a new republic vanished, than another was substituted.  
*De Wit* laboured to conclude a treaty of partition with *France*, whereby the house of *Austria* b  
should be excluded the possession of the *Spanish Netherlands*, in case the emperor *Joseph*  
married the infanta of *Spain*. This was no other than a division of the provinces between  
*France* and the republic. But several difficulties arose in the execution. A mistake com-  
mitted by *d'Estrades*, in decyphering a letter of instructions from his court, had almost  
broke off the negotiation. The ambassador insisted, that *Ghent* and *Mechlin* should be  
assigned to the king, by which means the frontiers of the republic would be exposed to  
his mercy; but the king cleared up this blunder, by affirming, that he had never demanded  
the latter, and that his minister had mistaken the former for *Cambrey*. Now the greatest  
difficulty was to engage the deputies of the towns in his design, and this the pensionary  
effected by a very extraordinary stroke of policy, which, at the same time, displays his  
knowledge of mankind, and the ignorance of the deputies. He insinuated to them his c  
apprehensions lest the Infidels should, after conquering the empire, penetrate into the  
*Netherlands*, and establish a footing in the vicinage of the republic. The court of *France*  
laughed at the wildness of *M. de Wit*'s project; but they were astonished when they per-  
ceived the effects, and that he drew from it the very consequence he proposed. He per-  
suaded the deputies of the necessity of entering into a closer alliance with the king, whose  
power alone could stem the torrent of *Turkish* conquest, and protect the republic of *Hol-*  
*land*. To carry his point more clearly, under pretence of visiting his uncle, he made the  
tour of *Holland*, and conferred in person with all the magistrates, while *d'Estrades* was  
taking the same measures in some of the other provinces. A fortunate accident to promote  
his scheme happened at *Constantinople*, where the *Dutch* resident was arrested, because a d  
*Dutch* ship, freighted by the grand signor to *Alexandria*, had fallen into the hands of the  
*Maltese*. *Warner*, the resident, was at length forced to pay the damages, upon which he  
was set at liberty. *De Wit* turned this circumstance to his advantage, and enflamed the  
people to such a degree, that the states laid an additional duty on all commodities from the  
*Levant*, until the losses of the resident should be indemnified. All the magistrates of the  
principal towns were now unanimously of opinion, that the republic ought to enter into  
the strictest ties with the *French* king. Some towns, however, opposed the scheme of a  
partition of the *Netherlands*, from an apprehension that this must embarrass the republic  
with *Spain* and the emperor <sup>h</sup>.

A. D. 1664.

WHILE things were in this train, the rumour of a treaty between *France* and *England*, e  
and of an armament equipping by the former, said to be against the pontiff, excited  
jealousy in the states, and even alarmed the pensioner, lest *France* might have secret designs  
of becoming entirely master of the *Netherlands*. The *Spanish* minister at the *Hague* like-  
wise propagated a report, that a treaty between *Spain*, *France*, and *England*, was likewise in  
agitation, which produced an extraordinary effect upon the minds of the people. To this  
we may add, the revival of the old disputes between the provinces of *Holland* and the  
states general, upon the variety of topics already mentioned. Both *de Wit* and the states  
began to apprehend they might bewilder themselves in such a labyrinth of intrigues, as  
should incur the displeasure of all the other neighbouring powers, the emperor, the kings  
of *Spain* and *England*, while they could have no reliance upon the friendship of the *French* f  
monarch. This determined the pensioner to act with more caution, and to cast about for  
the means of avoiding a rupture with *England*, until the republic was fortified by alliances,  
or at least secured against the resentment of *Spain* and the empire. But this point was  
found impracticable. Hostilities had so long been pursued on the coast of *Africa*, and in  
*America*, that both nations were highly exasperated, and there appeared a necessity of ter-  
minating the quarrel by the sword. *Walchenberg*, director-general for the *Dutch East India*  
company on the coast of *Guiney*, had imprudently, not only in the name of the company,  
but even of the states general, set forth a claim to the whole coast, and prohibited all other  
nations from settling in that quarter. The insolence of this order extremely irritated the g  
*English* in particular. The affair came before the parliament, and that body resolved, that  
the wrongs, injuries, and indignities, done to his majesty by the subjects of the *United*

<sup>h</sup> Lettres de comte d'Estrades, June 1744.



a *Provinces*, by invading his rights in *India*, *Africa*, and *America*, and the damages done to the *English* commerce, were the greatest obstructions to all foreign trade; his majesty was therefore intreated to take speedy and effectual methods for redressing the grievances of the nation, the commons assuring him they would assist him with their lives and fortunes.

NOTWITHSTANDING the zeal of the *English* parliament, and the mutual resentment of the parties, it was still a doubt whether a rupture might ensue, as *de Wit* strenuously opposed the coming to extremities. The states, however, determined to provide against the worst, and make the necessary preparations for war. The *East India* company offered to defend the settlements on the coast of *Africa* at their own expence, on condition they were ceded to them in form. *D'Estrades* endeavoured to prevail on *de Wit*, and the leading per-  
b sonages, to embrace the proposal, as the most certain means of distressing the *English*, and putting the *African* trade on a respectable footing; but as *Ruyter* was now upon that coast with a squadron, the states were willing to be first acquainted with the success of his expedition. Mean time, a squadron commanded by admiral *Opdam* put to sea, and cruised upon the *Flemish* shore, to watch the designs of the *British* fleets; but he could not put a stop to the depredations committed by prince *Rupert*, who, before war was declared, had taken above an hundred *Dutch* merchantmen, laden with wine and fruit from *Bordeaux*, and other *French* harbours. It was this circumstance that determined the states to send *Van Buiningen* in quality of ambassador to *France*, to implore a more effectual mediation than the king's promised guarantee, and to signify, that *de Ruyter* had been sent to the coast of *America* not  
c to attack the ships, forts, and settlements of the *English*, but to protect the *Dutch* trade, and regain the losses of the *Dutch* merchants; an artifice which served only to exasperate the *English*, who now regarded the whole conduct of the states as insidious and designing. In the beginning of the year they had invited *Charles* to act, in concert with them, against the *Algerines*. The king complied, and a squadron was sent to the *Mediterranean* to join the *Dutch*. On the meeting of the squadrons, some difference arose about the honours of the sea: *Ruyter* complained that he was affronted; *Lawson*, the *English* admiral, denied it; but the *Dutchman*, under this pretext, parted company, sailed for the coast of *Africa*, and reduced all the places lately taken by the *English*, except the fortification at *Cape Coast*. He besides battered and seized upon fort *Cormantin*, which had always been an *English* settle-  
d ment. He also seized upon eight *English* merchantmen just arrived, and appropriated their cargoes to the *West India* company. To render their treacherous schemes still more unsuspected, they came to a resolution of communicating to the court of *London* their intention of sending a small squadron to the coast of *America*, such as could afford no apprehension that they proposed acting offensively. This, at least, is the charge of the *English* historians; and indeed it must be confessed, that the conduct of the states was extremely ambiguous; but whether from necessity, irresolution, or design, we cannot pretend to determine.

WHILE *Europe* was in suspense about the issue of the intrigues carried on in *France*, *England*, *Spain*, and *Holland*, the *Dutch*, upon the eve of a war with their great rival in  
e commerce, were disturbed by some alarms from *Denmark*, the empire, and the busy restless bishop of *Munster*. The *Danes* complained that the *Hollanders* had monopolized the trade of *Africa*; and every measure which might accelerate and insure the ruin of the republic was eagerly embraced by the court of *London*. It was artfully insinuated at *Copenhagen*, that the states proposed excluding all other nations from any communication with the coast of *Guinea*; the court of *Vienna* was reminded of the injuries and oppressions sustained by the subjects of the empire, of the enterprising disposition of the *Dutch*, and their tyranny over all the petty neighbouring princes; and the bishop of *Munster* was taught, that now the opportunity offered of revenging himself upon a republic, whose meddling policy had obstructed the accomplishment of his favourite projects. The *Danes* however  
f were awed by the importance of the *Dutch* trade to their dominions, and the revenue arising from the duties they paid in the *Sound*; the emperor's whole attention was employed on the means of repulsing the infidels: he even went so far as to propose an alliance to the states general, which they rejected, from an apprehension it might give umbrage to the *French* monarch. As to the bishop of *Munster*, *Downing* the *English* minister found him more ready to listen to his projects. This prelate was now engaged in a controversy about some lands, with the prince of *Lichtenstein*. The process was determined in his favour by the imperial chamber at *Spire*; and believing it necessary to profit by this award, the bishop used force, and thereby incurred the displeasure of the states general. He surprised fort *Eydeler*, garrisoned it, and repaired the fortifications. Alarmed at this pro-  
g ceeding, the states complained that their frontier was in danger; and the bishop replied, that the republic had no right to the fort, as her borders were sufficiently guarded by

*Dispute with  
the bishop of  
Munster.*



other fortifications. *France* and *Spain* wanted to accommodate the difference, and offered a their mediation; but the bishop rejected their offers, relying upon the protection of the emperor, who declared he would suffer no violence to be done the prelate, and the approaching war between *England* and *Holland*, which he foresaw would give sufficient employment to the states general.

INCENSED at the interposition of the emperor, and his evident partiality in favour of the bishop, the states presented spirited remonstrances to the court of *Vienna*, and shewed the necessity they were under of securing the frontiers of the republic, keeping at a distance so enterprising a neighbour as the bishop, and depriving him of his late acquisition. As this produced no effect, they wrote to the bishop, that unless he immediately withdrew his troops, they would march a body of forces to invest *Eydeler*. The firmness of b the states staggered the resolution of the bishop; he now dispatched an envoy to the *Hague*, begun a negotiation, and had the address to prevail on the states to recall the prince of *Nassau*, who was laying siege to the fort. However, the conferences were broke off, the war renewed, and the prince of *Nassau* sent with an army to lay siege to *Wilder-skans*, a strong place, before which he died of a putrid fever. We shall have occasion to relate the progress of the war in its proper place<sup>k</sup>.

A. D. 1665.  
The situation  
of the republic  
at the com-  
mencement of  
the war with  
England.

THE situation of the republic was now critical. She was engaged in actual war with a bold, restless, ambitious priest, protected by the emperor, and upon the verge of a rupture with *England*, the most powerful maritime power in *Europe*. The king of *England*, instigated by his brother the duke of *York*, who never forgot the usage he received at the c *Hague* during his exile, and was besides inflamed with a violent desire of signaling himself against a republic he mortally hated, had now determined to keep no terms with *Holland*, and to terminate the differences of the two nations by the sword. Mutual animosity rather than interest actuated both parties. Battles fought on land generally brought some advantage, and acquisition of territory to the victor; but the naval engagements which now cost such seas of blood, produced nothing but glory, and terminated wholly in twining laurels round the temples of a few general officers. Every superiority gained was dearly purchased; and it answered no other purpose, besides the destruction of a greater number of the human species, the sinking, burning, and blowing up of vessels, which had been built at the expence of oppressive taxes upon the subjects. The commerce, d even of the conqueror, must suffer irreparably, where the powers at war are upon a nearly equal footing in strength; and it may be questioned, whether the worst peace between trading nations be not preferable to the most successful war. The states were sensible of this truth, perhaps too late; and after the mutual hostilities committed, had fired both nations to a degree of resentment, not to be appeased but by repeated trials of skill and fortune. The prodigality of the king of *England* likewise urged him upon this expedient; from the supplies which might necessarily be granted for the prosecution of the war, he foresaw he should be able to withhold considerable sums for the support of his pleasures. Besides, that prince had a taste for ship-building, and a passion for equipping such an armament as should give law to all the maritime powers of *Europe*. e

NOTWITHSTANDING these obstacles, the states solicited the mediation of *France*, by means of *Van Buiningen*, whose vivacity, genius, and oratory, began now to give him distinction, and raise his reputation high in the esteem of *Lewis*. The *French* king seemed to yield to the intreaties of the *Dutchman*, at the very time it was suspected he was supplying his brother the king of *England* with money to maintain the war, which now appeared inevitable. Another circumstance likewise contributed to render the situation of the republic, with respect to *France*, very dubious. Several *French* ships, under various pretences, had been detained in the ports of *Holland*; particularly five large vessels bought up for the service of the *East India* company. These the *Dutch* fitted out for the use of their own company; they were reclaimed by *d'Estrades*, in divers fruitless memorials<sup>1</sup>; f but the states alledged, that the embargo which the approaching war with *England* rendered necessary, ought to extend to the shipping of all foreigners. Nothing can be more ambiguous than this conduct: the *Dutch* were soliciting the friendship of *France* publicly by their ambassador, they were imploring his mediation between them and the king of *England*, and yet they were privately taking such measures, as they ought to know must have confirmed *France* in the interest of their enemies. Such unsteadiness can only be accounted for, by the little harmony that subsisted among the different departments of the republic, and the factions supported by *de Wit* on the one hand, and the friends of the house of *Orange* on the other. That minister was fixed in the interest of *Lewis*, while the opposite party wavered between their respect for *England*, and the necessity of keeping g upon fair terms with *France*, at the same time that they secretly obstructed the designs

<sup>k</sup> BASNAGE, p. 723.

<sup>1</sup> WICQUEFORT, Hist. pag. 15. Lettres d'Estrades. du 23, m. 1665.



a and projects of the pensioner. This explains the detention of the shipping; a measure merely calculated to traverse *de Wit's* schemes. The nation in general had no opinion of the sincerity of *France*; they complained, that *Lewis* only watched an opportunity of seizing upon the *Netherlands*, and to gratify his indignation, and stop the cravings of his ambition, they joined issue with *de Wit* about restoring the shipping; which they did in terms the most honourable and submissive<sup>m</sup>.

NOR was this the only difference between the king and the republic. The dispute about the shipping was no obstacle to the negotiations of *Buiningen*, who kept his majesty steady in the overtures to *England*, of his mediation. However, the ambassador, by express order of the states, had given such a turn to affairs as highly displeased *Lewis*. While they pretended to relax in numberless points, they closely adhered in fact to their old terms, which obliged the king to complain, in the most lively manner, that they trifled with him, by offering to *England* conditions which that court had frequently before rejected; that, in the present state of affairs, he could not afford the least hope of accommodation; and that, if some proposals were not made relative to the future settlement of trade, he should have reason to suspect their designs were to engross the whole commerce of the world. This did not move the resolution of the states: they knew it was *Lewis's* interest to support the *Louvestein* faction against the prince of *Orange*, who naturally claimed the protection of his uncle the king of *England*; and, in fact, notwithstanding the firmness of the states, and the many causes of displeasure they had given, *Lewis*, strongly inclined in favour of the pensioner, and particularly respected the creature of that minister, *Van Buiningen*. Yet he was apprehensive of declaring against *Charles*, lest he should throw himself into the arms of *Spain*, whither that prince had now dispatched an ambassador. To gain time, this politic monarch sent the duke *de Verneuil*, at the head of a splendid embassy to *London*, with further orders of mediating a pacification; and the duke continued at that court for several months, though his conferences proved fruitless. The truth is, he found that the republic had not prepared a sufficient fleet to oppose the *English*; he had been misinformed as to the strength of the *Dutch* naval armament, and had strongly recommended a defensive war, and keeping close in their harbours. It was matter of astonishment to him, to find that the states had actually in commission a fleet of three hundred men of war, besides traders, yachts, and fireships, manned with twenty thousand seamen. The low condition of his own marine, when compared with that of *Holland*, made him now regard the republic with more respect. To find that such an armament should be equipped without any noise, or extraordinary means, could not fail to inspire him with sublime notions of her formidable naval power, and the vast extent of her commerce<sup>n</sup>.

WHILE the *French* king was thus ballancing between *England* and *Holland*, the duke of *York* set sail in the month of *May*, and cruised for fifteen days before the *Texel*, during which time he took a great number of the enemy's ships, homeward bound, before the *Dutch* fleet had assembled. On the duke's return to *Harwich*, the fleets of *Holland* and *Zealand* joined; but they were dispersed by a storm, and several ships forced into the *English* ports. Again they rendezvoused at the mouth of the *Meuse*, to the number of one hundred and twenty sail, exclusive of fireships, ketches, &c. under the command of admirals *Opdam*, *Evertzen*, *Cartemaar*, and *Van Tromp*, son to the celebrated *Tromp*, who had lost his life in the last war. The utmost resolution and spirit appeared in all the officers and seamen, all emulous of the opportunity of signalizing themselves, and of recovering the lost honour of the republic; for such they deemed the humble supplications made to the usurper *Cromwel*. The pensioner himself went on board the fleet to acquaint the officers with promises of rewards, and he accompanied it in a yacht for two leagues to sea, where he delivered the order of the states to fight the *English* at all hazards. *Opdam*, in compliance with his instructions, proceeded in quest of the enemy; but the wind blowing in such a manner as to give the *English* the weather-gage, he chose rather to deviate from the orders of the states, and bear away for the *Meuse*, than risk a defeat by fighting under a disadvantage. His conduct incensed the pensioner, whose interest now predominated in the republic. *De Wit* had resolved to hazard an engagement, knowing that even a defeat would induce *France* to declare for the states; he therefore obtained an order, requiring *Opdam*, under pain of death, to seek out the enemy and give battle. The admiral was piqued at instructions that strongly reflected on his courage: he perceived the orders had been dictated by *de Wit*, who had become his enemy on account of his attachment to the house of *Orange*, and resolved to take a glorious revenge, by faithfully discharging his duty, and demonstrating the injustice of the aspersions, and the prejudices of the pensioner. With this view he weighed anchor on the third day of *April*, and in a few hours fell in with the *English* fleet, of equal force, and under the conduct of the duke

<sup>m</sup> Lettres de comte d'Estades, p. 1665.

<sup>n</sup> BASNAGE, p. 742.



The Dutch  
fleet is defeated  
by the English.

of York, the earl of Sandwich, sir George Ascough, and the admirals Pen and Lawson, who had so eminently distinguished themselves under the protectorate. The fleets met between Yarmouth and Harwich; the engagement began at four in the morning, and both sides maintained it with their usual intrepidity, conduct, and animosity. *Opdam* is blamed for suffering the *English* to gain the weather-gage, but unjustly; circumstances would not suffer it should be otherwise, and yet he was under the necessity of fighting. He called a council of war, laid his own opinion before the officers, and shewed them his instructions. "We must, says he, pluck laurel or the cypress; there is no alternative." He would even seem to have some foreboding of the unfortunate event, for he sent all the money back to *Holland* immediately upon his clearing for battle. Never was a sea-fight more confused or terrible; scarce a ship kept to its proper station, yet all were deeply engaged. Both admirals committed egregious blunders, which they endeavoured to regain by valour. The duke and *Opdam*, by a reciprocal mistake, fought ship to ship with the most desperate firing. Three persons of quality were killed by the side of the duke of York, and his cloaths covered over with their blood; and soon after admiral *Opdam*, with a great number of volunteers of distinction, were blown up into the air, and crumbled into ashes. Above six hundred men perished by this accident, which arose from a spark of fire falling into the powder-room. His flag was hoisted by *Cartemaar*, who was soon killed by a cannon ball, that carried away his leg. Still, however, the battle raged with doubtful event, and it is probable the night would have separated the combatants, had not several *Dutch* captains withdrawn themselves. They had been promoted, by the interest of the prevailing faction, as spies on the conduct of *Opdam*, without any regard to merit. Many were deficient in ability, and some in courage. The enemy profited by their negligence, and pushed with redoubled vigour the ships that continued in the line. *Evertzen*, and even *Tromp*, defended themselves with the utmost obstinacy; but the former was obliged to shift his flag, and have his ship towed away. This circumstance, and the destruction of several of the ships, either devoured by the flames, or swallowed up by the ocean, first introduced confusion, which was succeeded by an unusual despondency: in a word, the *Dutch* were defeated with the loss of eighteen ships, either sunk, burnt, or blown up in the action, with near six thousand mariners, besides two of the best admirals in *Holland*. *Van Tromp*, however, made an admirable retreat, and by his valour, and the skill of his disposition, prevented the enemy from pursuing a victory they had purchased with the loss of the brave admiral *Lawson*, two thousand seamen, and seven capital ships.

ADMIRAL *Evertzen* was the first who brought the report of this defeat to the *Brille*, where the people were so exasperated as to attempt his life, though they had every reason to approve his conduct. It was with the utmost difficulty he could pass under cover of the night to the *Hague*, to lay the situation of affairs before the states: his narrative overwhelmed them with consternation. The *Orange* party demanded an immediate peace with *England*, and the elevation of the prince of *Orange* to the stadtholdership. *M. de Wit* was greatly disappointed in his sanguine hopes of victory. However, he supported his opinions with a resolution, that shewed he was prepared for the worst that could happen. He did not, nevertheless, openly oppose the faction; but he answered their demands, by affirming, that now was the time to expect the open declaration of the *French* king. He procured an immediate order for *Van Tromp* to keep the sea, with the remains of the fleet, in order to diminish the glory of the conquerors, sustain the reputation of the republic, and persuade the people that the defeat was less decisive than the enemies of the government had reported. Three deputies were accordingly sent to *Tromp*; but he refused to run further hazards with officers, in whose skill, courage, or fidelity, he could have no dependence. Upon this several captains were tried for cowardice and neglect of duty; three were shot, four had their swords ignominiously broken over their heads by the common hangman, two were superseded and declared incapable of service, and the chief pilot was sentenced to walk under a gibbet with a rope about his neck, after which he was banished.

By these rigid and just punishments the states gratified the officers of merit, answered the public expectation, and inspired the seamen with a spirit of emulation, a dread of the consequences of neglect, and with respect for the officers promoted in the room of the delinquents. The utmost expedition was used in repairing the fleet, as it was known that the enemy lay in wait for *de Ruyter*, daily expected from the coast of *Africa*, with his greatly inferior squadron. The armament was manned with little difficulty, but it was no easy matter to fix upon an admiral every way unexceptionable. *Van Tromp* had skill, courage, and popularity; he was exceedingly beloved by the seamen, but he had disobeyed the deputies sent with orders from the states. He was besides attached to the house of *Orange*,



a which, in rendering him suspected by the pensioner, proved a great obstacle to his elevation. It was not, however, upon this occasion only that *de Wit* subjected his private resentments to the public good; he had often raised merit without respect to party, though where an equality appeared in candidates of opposite principles, he gave the preference to the friend of his own faction. *Van Tromp* was now without a rival in talents, and he was set at the head of the navy until the arrival of *de Ruyter*, an old officer, of at least equal merit, equally beloved by the nation, and particularly esteemed by the pensioner. In this post he had not continued long, when *Ruyter* arrived, after having happily escaped under cover of a thick fog. He was no sooner arrived in the port of *Delfzil*, in *Groningen*, than the sailors mutinied, insisting upon being set on shore and disbanded, before  
b any orders came from the states. They were disgusted with the toilsome, tedious, and sickly voyage: they dreaded being immediately again sent to encounter with fatigue and danger, and they pretended they were told that the *English* had used their prisoners, after their late defeat, with great barbarity. At length the confidence, which the admiral reposed in their honour, the leave he gave them to visit their friends upon their promise to return on the first notice, secured them in his interest so strongly, that not an individual deserted.

THE safe arrival of *de Ruyter's* squadron diffused the utmost satisfaction and spirits; it was particularly agreeable to the pensioner, whose intention was to give him the chief command of the armament now equipping, and to raise him to the rank of lieutenant-admiral-general. The council of state made the proposal to the states of *Holland*, who  
c immediately accepted it, ordering *de Ruyter* to take the oaths, receive his commission, and enter upon his employment. *Tromp* complained of the preference given to his rival, and refused to serve in a subordinate capacity; but the states sent orders for the fleet to sail immediately to sea, for *Tromp* to keep the station appointed him, and denounced vengeance against the least opposition to their will, being determined to pursue the general good, without regarding the humours of party, and of disappointed ambition. So impatient was *de Wit* for the departure of the fleet, that to accelerate matters he accompanied the other deputies on board, though he exposed thereby his fortune and character to the  
d censure of his enemies, who did not fail to make a handle of his desertion of his proper business on so critical an occasion. The *French* king was alarmed at so unprecedented a measure; and his own party imagining he intended serving in the expedition, being left without a head, sunk into despondency. His friends applied to him, and *M. de Wit's* answer plainly indicated what were his resolutions. He resolved to hazard his life, and replied, "My person and my interest are inseparable from the preservation of the state; a second naval engagement will determine the fate of my country. *Tromp* has ability  
" and courage; but he may be wanting in obedience to the orders of his superior, and  
" in experience to conduct an important action. The impetuosity and ardor of the officers may blind their judgment and occasion the loss of the fairest opportunities, and  
" those rivalships may generate divisions; I therefore think my honour, my conscience,  
e " and my duty to my country, require that I should prevent the fatal consequences either  
" of too much pride, or too much valour."

*DE WIT's* inflexibility raised an universal clamour; he was accused of having brought the republic into the most imminent danger, and then deserting the helm, at the moment his steadiness and ability were most required. At *Paris* it was believed, that he took this step to avoid the persecution of his enemies. The clergy in *Holland*, always attached to the house of *Orange*, declaimed violently from the pulpit against the administration, and the states were under the necessity of prohibiting them to meddle with public affairs: however they still persisted, and some of them were suspended by authority. As an addition to the calamities of the state, a mutiny broke out among the sailors, which could  
f only be appeased by violent remedies, and the execution of the ringleaders. Afterwards the fleet was detained by adverse winds, shallow water, and other accidents, while the king of *England* was meditating a project, the success of which must deeply affect the commerce of *Holland*, and strike at the being of the republic. A vast fleet of *East India* and *Turkey* merchantmen, having sailed north-about to avoid the *English* cruizers, put into *Bergen* in *Norway*, where they proposed laying until *de Ruyter* should conduct them to *Holland*. It was proposed to the king of *Denmark*, by the *English* envoy at *Copenhagen*, that he should seize upon that rich fleet, by way of indemnification of his losses in the *Swedish* war, in which the *Dutch* had involved him. The Northern monarch could not withstand the powerful temptation; but he told the envoy, that though he thought the measure  
g highly prudent and convenient, he was in no condition to execute so important an enterprise. This was directly his language to the *Dutch* some years before, when they advised the seizure of the *English* merchantmen put into *Copenhagen*, to avoid their squadrons. It was giving the envoy an opportunity of making offers of the king of *England's* assistance, which



which he did not fail to embrace; upon this the bargain was concluded, on condition that the prize should be equally divided. Lord *Sandwich* had orders to sail immediately to *Norway* to execute the project; but he contented himself with dispatching part of the fleet, under an inferior officer, who attacked the *Dutch* with great impetuosity. As the governor of *Bergen* had not yet received orders to join the *English*, or even remain passive, he thought himself bound by the laws of nations, to protect a fleet that had taken shelter in a neutral port; accordingly he joined the *Hollanders*, and gave so warm a reception to the *English* admiral, as forced him, with considerable damage, to abandon the enterprize; both kings reaping only the dishonour of so base a compact.

SCARCE had the count *d'Alfeldt* delivered the *Dutch* merchants from the hands of the *English*, when he put them in equal danger, by the demand of a large sum of money, by way of indemnification of the damage his *Danish* majesty sustained upon their account. This unjust claim he was preparing to enforce by violent measures, when, fortunately, *de Ruyter* arrived, and took them under his protection; upon which the whole fleet set sail for *Holland*. In the voyage they were overtaken by a violent storm, dispersed, shattered, and some of the ships thrown into the hands of the *English*, the remainder arriving in a wretched plight, in different parts of the *United Provinces*. The utmost expedition was used in collecting and repairing the ships, so that in a short time a more powerful squadron than the former put to sea, under the same commanders, and with much the same fortune. A storm arose more furious than before, and drove the admiral back into port with his shattered armament.

NOTWITHSTANDING the elements seemed combined against the republic, the states, encouraged by *de Wit*, resolved upon one more effort, for fear the *English*, who had suffered in the same tempest, should have time to refit, or before they could be enriched by captures, and the spoils of the *Dutch* commerce. The vigilance and activity of the pensioner met with the thanks of the states: he was the actuating spring of every motion, and laboured now with the utmost diligence to strike some decisive blow, which might at the same time silence the clamours of his enemies, and oblige the enemy to listen to reasonable terms of accommodation. It must, however, be confessed, that the terrible plague which was at this time desolating the capital of *Great Britain*, contributed more to the security of *Holland*, than all the endeavours of the states and *M. de Wit*. This dreadful calamity, together with the natural indolence of the king's disposition, damped the spirit of the *English*, enfeebled every resolution, and infused a languor into the councils of that nation.

WHILE the third expedition was preparing, the states general proposed revoking the commission granted to the deputies *de Wit*, *Huygen*, and *Boreel*, to attend the armament, which they believed dispirited the officers, and rendered men who had not studied the art of war, the chief directors of military operations. This was opposed by the states of *Holland*, who not only refused to comply with the states general, but confirmed and enlarged the former powers of the deputies: however, as the winter was far advanced, the pensioner resigned his naval employment. *Ruyter* was recompensed for his services, with a present from the admiralty of *Amsterdam*, and invited to sit as president of that college, until the season permitted his putting to sea.

ALL this time the king of *France* kept aloof. He apprehended lest *de Wit*'s party should, in his absence, be forced to sink under the weight and popularity of the opposite faction, now greatly strengthened by the pensioner's quitting his civil employment, to act in a military capacity. *Van Buiningen* plied his majesty closely, and endeavoured by every artifice to draw *France* into the quarrel; but could obtain only general assurances, until the arrival of *M. de Vaal* from *Bergen*, when he ordered his ambassador to declare to the states, that he was determined to keep up to the conditions of the promised guarantee. To give this declaration the stronger air of sincerity, the ambassador presented to the states a memorial, drawn up by his court, respecting the operations of war, should it be found necessary to come to an absolute rupture with *England*. Here it was examined whether the war ought to be pushed with vigour, and determined by general battles, or spun out, in order to tire the *English* nation, and rouse the clamours of the people against the government. *Lewis* hoped, he said, to become master in the *Mediterranean*, with a fleet of twelve *French* men of war, joined by an equal number of the ships of the republic. He proposed blocking up *Tangier*, now annexed to the crown of *England*, by the king's marriage with the infant of *Portugal*, and thereby to disturb and annoy the *British* trade to the *Levant*. As to the grand fleets, *Lewis* proposed maintaining a squadron of thirty-two capital men of war, to act in conjunction with the *Dutch* fleet, which he expected should at least be as numerous as it was before he entered into a treaty of alliance with the republic. A variety of schemes were likewise proposed for distressing the common enemy; though, in fact, *Lewis* had not yet finally resolved to break with *England*, and was actually mediating a pacification, by which



a which he hoped to obtain greater advantages than if he came to extremities, and forced Charles into an union with Spain.

In this fluctuating situation was France, upon the return of M. de Wit, and his resuming the employment of pensioner. It soon appeared what the presence of one great man can effect in a state, whose councils are languid, and distracted by opposite opinions and interests. The pensioner no sooner arrived at the Hague than the face of affairs were changed, and fresh vigour and spirit re-animated every department of the republic. The murmurs of party were silenced, and all joined in admiring the activity, the wisdom, the policy, and the sagacity of the pensioner, who now was deemed the life and soul of the states. The enemies of the republic were multiplying; but her resources and strength b seemed likewise augmented by the ardour inspired by de Wit, who made sure that his return would engage France openly to declare against Great Britain. Van Galen, bishop of Munster, excited by ambition, and engaged by a considerable subsidy from Charles II. de- War with the  
bishop of Mun-  
ster.  
termined to pursue his inflexible animosity to the states. This prelate perceived that the whole attention of the provinces was employed in equipping a powerful naval armament, and that they had neglected repairing and garrisoning their strong holds, in order the more readily to man and fit out their squadrons. In Guelderland and Overijssel the fortifications were totally neglected, and all considerations for so petty, though implacable an enemy, as the bishop of Munster, absorbed in the more important object of a vigorous defence against the powerful monarchy of Great Britain. Van Galen resolved either to profit by this c conjuncture, or to lose his life in the attempt. With this view he made an irruption into the province of Overijssel, at the head of eight thousand men, seizing upon Alenelo, and other places, before any measures were concerted to stop his progress. Berkelo alone made any resistance. Here the commanding officer, after a vigorous defence, capitulated upon honourable conditions, which were little regarded by the bishop, who, as soon as he had it in his power, slaughtered in cold blood the soldiers and burghers, without distinction. Terror diffused itself through all the provinces; and the states of Holland, and the pensioner, laboured diligently to apply remedies to a disorder, observed when too late. New levies were made, a treaty struck up with the duke of Lunenburgh, and instructions sent to Van Buiningen to demand of the French king the six thousand auxiliaries stipulated by d treaty.

EVERY day the bishop was increasing his strength, and acquiring fresh vigour by his successes. Not satisfied with ravaging Overijssel, he meditated an enterprize against the city of Groningen, the capital of a province of that name. Leaving a part of his army to resist the forces raising by the dukes of Lunenburgh, Zell, and the bishop of Osnabrug, he marched into the heart of Groningen, with intention first of surprising Delfzil, in which the English promised to assist him; but a party of his troops being repulsed with loss, by a small corps formed out of the neighbouring garrisons, defeated his design. However, he proceeded, after ravaging the territory of Drent, to lay siege to Groningen, into which the princess of Friseland threw herself and family, to animate the garrison by her presence; a e resolution worthy of the daughter of prince Frederic-Henry of Orange. She had sold her plate and jewels to raise a sufficient body of men for the defence of the city, and took such vigorous measures as retarded the operations of the enemy, and gave time for the Dutch forces and the French auxiliaries to come to her relief. In a word, her attachment to her country prevailed over maternal duty and affection, and she was the instrument of the safety of Groningen, expressly contrary to the commands of the princess of Orange, who wished to see the bishop successful, that the administration of the pensioner might become more odious. On the approach of the allied army, the bishop was forced to raise the siege, retire into winter-quarters, and defer his operations to the ensuing campaign.

LEWIS's first step towards a declaration in favour of Holland, was the body of auxi- A. D. 1666.  
f liaries he had sent to check the aspiring views of the bishop of Munster. He now went farther, recalling his ambassadors from England, and taking every measure that portended an entire rupture with that nation. The suspense he was under which faction might prevail, and his high opinion of the wealth, and consequently the power of the republic, occasioned his so long deferring his declaration. He feared driving king Charles into an union with Spain; but he now was more apprehensive of the ruin of the republic, since the real state of affairs had been presented to him by the count d'Estrades, who demonstrated, that the strength of a commercial people was not always to be estimated by their wealth, as the king had always before imagined. It was immediately upon this that he recalled his ambassador from London, and in the month of January declared war against England, g though he never entered heartily into the quarrel, or supported his allies with the expected vigour and spirit. The states found means likewise to engage the king of Denmark in their



interest, by virtue of a large subsidy; in consideration of which he obliged himself to maintain a fleet of thirty sail for their service. The judicious distribution of their money had indeed wrought a thorough change in their favour; and the bishop of *Münster*, who had lately been so formidable an enemy, was now flying before the powers raised against him by the republic. Little confidence however was placed in the doubtful conduct of *Lewis*, who seemed equally inclinable to serve the states, and avoid entering the lists with *Charles*. Friends and enemies in vain looked out for the *French* fleet, to give the *English* battle, and join the *Dutch* squadron; but the admiral had the address never to be found, while his court was stipulating with the states about the command of an imaginary junction, and whether it should belong to *Beaufort* the king's admiral, or to the lieutenant-admiral of *Holland*. The mode of operations were likewise disputed, and at last each determined to pursue their own particular views and interests, without regard to the common cause. It was the design of the *Hollanders* to come to a general engagement, to which *Lewis* was averse, lest his own infant marine might be destroyed, or the *English* power sustain such a blow as would give too great a naval superiority to the republic.

Sea-fight between the Dutch and English, which continued for four days.

WHEN the *Dutch* fleet was ready, *Ruyter* put to sea, in three divisions, assisted by the admirals *Evertzen*, *Tromp*, *Meppel*, *Nes*, and *Vries*, the whole fleet consisting of eighty-three capital men of war, besides the ketches, tenders, and fireships. To prevent confusion, each of these squadrons was subdivided under the conduct of an admiral, the signals were all agreed upon, and in this order they proceeded in quest of the enemy. As to the *English*, they were equal in number; but the duke of *York* declined taking the command, because his force would be unequal, should the *French* fleet join itself to the *Hollanders*: the command therefore was given to prince *Rupert*, and the duke of *Albemarle*, the same officer who had distinguished himself by the name of *Monk* in the last war. On advice that the *French* squadron approached, prince *Rupert* sailed with twenty-five ships in quest of the duke of *Beaufort*, who was said to be cruising off *Belleisle*, ready to enter the Channel. By this separation the advantage was greatly on the side of the *Hollanders*: however, *Albemarle* bravely resolved upon giving battle; for which purpose he bore down upon *Ruyter* on the first day of *June*, with the advantage of the weather-gage. The *Dutch* admirals, no less eager to engage, split their cables, that they might be the more able to close with the enemy. Both sides were determined to exert their utmost valour; and, indeed, the event left it doubtful which had shewn the most skill, obstinacy, or conduct. The battle began with unparalleled fury, and was maintained with unexampled intrepidity. *Tromp* and *de Ruyter* were both forced to shift their flags, because their ships had sustained such damage as rendered them unfit for service. While Sir *William Berkeley*, an *English* admiral, sailed with his division into the midst of the *Dutch* fleet, where, after a gallant resistance, he was killed, and his ship taken; *Evertzen* was engaged in person with *Albemarle*, and after an obstinate engagement killed, just as two of his ships blew up. Several ships were sunk and destroyed on both sides; yet the battle raged with unremitting fury, until night parted the combatants, leaving the admirals on either side full of admiration of each others ability, intrepidity, and obstinate resistance.

NEXT day the weather proved more moderate, and the fight was renewed with redoubled violence. *Van Tromp*, as if the preceding engagement had only whetted his ardor, desperately crowded into the midst of the *English*, attacking with the utmost efforts of valour, guided by conduct; but his strength proving unequal, he was reduced to the last extremity, when *de Ruyter*, his mortal enemy, generously came up to his relief, rushed in among the enemy, and brought off his rival in glory and interest, with a dignity of mind that cannot be sufficiently applauded. By this time the *Dutch* were reinforced with sixteen ships, and the *English* shattered in such a manner, that not above thirty sail remained fit for action. This determined the duke of *Albemarle*, who, though in the vale of life, had fought with the fire and ardour of a youthful warrior, to make the best of his way for *England*, and leave the glory of victory to the *Dutch*, after he had shewn them how deserving their enemies were of the empire of the ocean. He drew off his fleet in the best order possible, and was closely pursued by *de Ruyter*, when a calm ensued, that prevented the *Hollanders* from beginning a fresh attack.

Nor all the horrors of the battle, which was desperate beyond description, could discourage the *Dutch*: they determined to pursue the advantage obtained by their superiority; while the duke of *Albemarle*, calling a council of flag-officers, was, by their advice, disposing his fleet in a rear-line of battle, to make a fighting retreat. A breeze springing up about four next morning, *Ruyter* bore down a third time, and begun the action; when the duke discovered prince *Rupert* and his squadron to the southward, making all the sail in his power to come in for a share in the action. Immediately he hauled upon a wind to join this



- a seasonable reinforcement, and baffled all the endeavours of *Ruyter* to prevent their junction, though with the loss of a first rate, commanded by admiral *Ayscough*, that had the misfortune to strike upon the *Gallopers-Sands*, where she was surrounded, attacked, and taken, after a vigorous resistance. The endeavours of the several admirals to gain the advantage of the weather-gage, by a variety of different motions, consumed the third day; but on the fourth the battle was again renewed with the same impetuosity, as if all the ships had come fresh to the engagement. Four successive charges were sustained and given by both admirals, who, like *Cæsar* and *Pompey*, fought as if the one would not suffer a superior, or the other an equal: at last, a thick fog interposed, under cover of which the *English* retired; but with so formidable an appearance as gave them some title to dispute the victory, which the *Dutch* claimed. *Ruyter* twice broke the enemy's line in the last day's engagement, and obtained immortal honour. During the four days he took eleven great ships, and burnt or sunk an equal number. The slaughter on both sides was prodigious, and hardly a ship of either side escaped undamaged: in a word, it was the opinion of *de Wit*, who was no friend to the *English*, "That, if they were defeated, their misfortune redounded more to their honour than all their former victories. No fleet but theirs, after the severe usage of the first day, would have continued an engagement for three successive days longer. *Englishmen* may be killed, *English* ships may be burned, but *English* courage is invincible." Such a testimony from an inveterate and judicious enemy, reflects real honour on the nation (A).
- c THOUGH, in consequence of these bloody engagements, neither the *English* nor *Dutch* were able to keep the sea, both had vast resources: they exerted them to the utmost, and both fleets soon set sail as formidable as before. *De Ruyter* had orders to join the *French* squadron under the duke of *Beaufort*, who had artfully suffered the two great maritime powers to weaken each other, before he ventured to engage the king's squadron in the quarrel. Even the *English* themselves allow, that had he joined *de Ruyter* when he might, the victory must have been decisive, and the consequence fatal to the naval power of *Great Britain*, which however was by no means the intention of the most Christian monarch. *De Wit* applied with his usual activity to repair the fleet; and the great object of the states was to destroy the *English* shipping, in the docks and yards, in the river *Thames*. With this intention they set sail on the tenth of *July*; but some accounts received from *England*, and the ignorance of the pilots with respect to the soundings, obliged him to lay aside the enterprize. It was next proposed to make a descent on the coast of *England*, near *Harwich*; but all the places of debarkation were found so well lined with troops, that this scheme too was found impracticable, and a resolution formed to wait for the enemy, and decide the fortune of war by another general engagement. By the twenty-fourth he fell in with the duke of *Albemarle* and prince *Rupert*, who commanded a fleet of one hundred sail, while *de Ruyter's* did not amount to eighty-two men of war and some fireships. Flushed by the late victory, the van advanced with too great impetuosity, and for a time the battle was maintained with equal zeal, emulation, and spirit; but *Evertzen*, brother to the admiral of that name killed in the last engagement, was at length surrounded, overpowered, and defeated by Sir *Thomas Allen*, vice-admiral of the white, with the loss of three inferior admirals, and dreadful slaughter of the seamen. *Van Tromp*, in the mean time, engaged and defeated Sir *Jeremy Smith*, admiral of the blue squadron; but, pursuing the chase too eagerly, he was entirely cut off and separated from the center, where the battle raged with unparalleled fury between *de Ruyter* and the duke of *Albemarle*. Here *Ruyter* sustained for three hours the utmost efforts of the whole *British* fleet, maintained the fight with seven ships only in the line, and at last yielded the victory, not until his men were so wounded, faint, and exhausted, as to be unable to work the ships, and keep up a continued regular

\* SMOLLETT, lib. vii. cap. i. p. 36. BASNAGE, p. 775. D'ESTRADES Lettres, die 17 Juin, 1666.

(A) Though bonfires were made in *London*, and thanksgivings for the victory ordered to be observed in all the churches, candor must confess, that victory declared clearly on the side of *Holland*, though obtained with the most terrible carnage. Three admirals and seven captains were killed; above two thousand seamen were thrown dead into the sea, to clear the decks, and a greater number were wounded. They had no ships taken by the enemy, but seven were sunk, or otherwise destroyed, and the whole miserably shattered. *Ruyter* and *Van Tromp* had shifted their flags to six different ships; but the trophies which they earned were thought a full recompense of all the danger and labour they had undergone. Lord *Arlington*, the *English* secretary of state, in fact, acknowledges that the king's fleet was defeated.

In a letter to Sir *William Temple* he expresses himself thus: "Neither do I take pleasure in repeating any thing of this engagement. This advantage, I am sure, they had of us, that they have carried home their trophies; whereas we have not one, what we took being all drowned or burnt." He might have added still more indisputable proofs, though this testimony from a minister will alone appear sufficient. As to what bishop *Burnet* and other writers alledge, of the pensionary *de Wit's* being in the engagement, it has no foundation in truth. The pensionary, indeed, visited the fleet before it set sail; but the clamours raised against his last expedition, deterred him from repeating the experiment.



fire. It was now only he made that signal to retreat, which was readily observed by all the fleet, which was saved from destruction by the seasonable calm that ensued. *De Ruyter's* disposition, however, was so excellent as to deter the victors from pursuing; and indeed his conduct through the whole action was so cool, resolute, and determined, that even his defeat added lustre to his former glory. Had he been duly supported by *Tromp*, the victory would at least have proved doubtful. a

Now the *English* crowded in pursuit of *Van Tromp*, who had been separated from the main fleet ever since that desperate effort by which he broke through their line. They discovered him near *Harwich*, and attacked him with vigour; but that gallant officer sustained the shock with such admirable firmness as foiled all attempts, and enabled him to retreat with little loss to the *Texel*: notwithstanding which loud complaints were made by *Ruyter* to the states, that the loss of the battle was owing to his rashness and misconduct. b The number of killed and wounded was very considerable on both sides: some writers allege, that the *Dutch* lost above two thousand men, besides three admirals. How warmly *Ruyter* had been engaged, we may judge from the loss on board his own ship, in which two hundred men were killed, and near an equal number wounded. Twelve captains were besides slain, and seven ships sunk and destroyed, but none taken. Upon the whole, we may judge of the certainty and value of the victory to the *English* by its consequences. The *Dutch* took sanctuary in their ports, before which the enemy rode in triumph, terrifying their coasts, and interrupting their commerce. The late rejoicings of the states were turned into mourning; and as the expectations of the populace are always sanguine upon every instance of prosperity, their clamours and discontents rise in proportion upon any change of fortune. To embarrass the government still more, the animosity between the two best admirals of the republic broke out with redoubled violence; their resentments were now implacable, and their hatred mortal. The seamen likewise, entering into the quarrel of their commanders, formed two opposite factions, came to blows, and threatened the dissolution of the government. *Tromp* was supported by the house of *Orange*, and greatly beloved, on account of his generosity and valour, by all the seamen; yet had the states courage enough to supersede him, and prosecute his family for a paper they published in his justification, because it reflected on their conduct. The *French* king, however, did justice to his merit, by sending him the order of *St. Michael*, his picture finely set with diamonds, and a letter of compliment wrote with his own hand, testifying his sense of that gallant conduct which had brought off a small squadron of no more than eight ships, though furiously attacked by thirty ships of the enemy. It was nevertheless true, that his impetuosity in the beginning of the action had occasioned the succeeding misfortunes, though he now gloriously effaced that error. In his defence he says, "I cannot suffer *de* *Ruyter*, actuated by envy and animosity, to stain my honour with so disagreeable a reflection, as to attribute the enemy's success to my wilful misconduct. Errors I may have committed; but my private resentments shall ever yield to the interest of my country. The most glorious triumph I could wish over my rival, would be to approve myself worthy of his esteem and gratitude." c

MEANTIME *M. Buat*, a discarded domestic of the prince of *Orange*, had, by the instigation of lord *Arlington*, the *English* minister, entered into secret measures for concluding a peace, separating *France* from *Holland*, and restoring the prince of *Orange* to all the honours held by his ancestors. This plot was discovered by a blunder committed by *Buat*, who, instead of another letter, delivered lord *Arlington's* to the pensionary. *De Wit* was astonished with the contents, which were afterwards confirmed by *Buat*, who was seized, imprisoned, and tortured. While he was upon the rack, he named above sixty accomplices, some of them the principal personages in *Holland*; but it was thought proper to wink at his information, and attribute it to the criminal's desire of saving his own life, many of the persons pointed out having great influence and popularity. In the end, *Buat* suffered upon a public scaffold, and the plot was suppressed. d

To fill up the measure of the calamities of the republic at this period, a detachment from the *English* fleet entered the road of *Vlie*, under Sir *Robert Holmes*, piloted by a *Dutch* skipper, and burned one hundred and forty merchantmen, two men of war, and a village on the coast (B), the whole damage being computed at six millions. It is the opinion of some writers, that this enterprize formed a part of the conspiracy for which *Buat* was executed; but the conjecture is rejected by the best historians. The merchants, on whom this immense loss fell, raised loud clamours against the government, and endeavoured to e

\* BASNAGE, pag. 775.

(B) This village was called *Brondaris*, in the island now reduced to extreme misery, their effects having been pillaged, or consumed in the flames.  
of *Schelling*, a rich, populous, and flourishing place, containing above a thousand families, all of which were



- a stir up the people to revolt. The *Orange* faction reared up her head; and it was natural to expect that the republic, overwhelmed with such a torrent of misfortune, would now have humbled herself, and implored a pacification; but the spirit of *de Wit* was invincible, and the resources of his genius inexhaustible. He applied himself diligently to the means of quieting the seditions in the provinces, and the factions in the government, in order to prosecute the war with vigour. In this design he gained the provinces of *Holland* and *Zealand*, and paid little regard to the murmurs of the other provinces, as they contributed but little towards the public expence. He approved himself master of the art of governing parties, by a due attention to their passions and interests. By the proper and judicious distribution of a large sum of money, he appeased all the mutineers in the fleet, and the
- b discontents among the seamen; while *d'Estrades*, the *French* minister, was no less successful in his practices upon the states. Had the court of *France* intended the destruction of the republic, as is intimated by some writers, it needed only to withdraw her countenance upon this occasion. The very existence of the states depended on the pleasure of *Lewis*; his sentiments determined the fortune of the whole nation. It was his policy, however, to preserve a rival to the maritime power of *England*: accordingly, the king no sooner received advice of the defeat of the *Dutch* fleet, and the dispirited condition of the government, than he determined to risque his infant naval force, the first and dearest child of his policy, reared by the hand of the sage *Colbert*. The duke *de Beaufort* now had express orders to join the *Dutch* fleet, and to act in the most vigorous manner against the common enemy.
- c Accordingly he returned to *Rochelle*, there to wait the proper opportunity of effecting a junction, as soon as the allies of *France* should be ready to put to sea. *M. Bellefonte* was dispatched to the *Hague*, to concert with the pensionary and the count *d'Estrades* the most probable means of accomplishing this delicate and important measure, with the utmost safety and expedition; yet, after all, *de Wit* harboured suspicions of the *French* sincerity, and a warm altercation passed between him and *M. de Lionne*.

- THESE disputes did not divert the pensioner's attention from the principal object. The fleet was refitted by his indefatigable diligence in an incredible short time. It put again to sea under *de Ruyter*, with instructions to cruise between the streights of *Dover* and the mouth of the river *Thames*, to watch every motion of the *English*, until it was certainly
- d known in what manner the *French* king intended to dispose of the duke *de Beaufort's* squadron. *Ruyter* set sail on the tenth of *September*, and had no sooner arrived at his station than prince *Rupert's* fleet was descried at a distance, bearing down full sail before a favourable gale. The *Dutch* writers alledge, that *de Ruyter* had thrown out the signal to engage, and his ships were clearing for that purpose, when the interposition of night, and abating of the wind, obliged prince *Rupert* to retire. Others go so far as to affirm, that his disposition disconcerted the prince, forced him to retire, and gave *Ruyter* an opportunity of clearing for several hours; the very contrary of which is reported by *English* historians. It is certain that a storm came on, which damaged both fleets considerably, and reduced the *Dutch* admiral to take shelter in *St. John's* road, near *Boulogne*. Here he was
- e seized with a fever, and the whole fleet grew sickly; upon which the states sent orders for him to return to *Holland*. As to the duke of *Beaufort*, he sailed up the Channel as far as *Dieppe*, upon a supposition that the *Dutch* were still in the neighbourhood of *Boulogne*; and finding his mistake, directed his course to the coast of *Britanny*, where three ships in the rear of the squadron fell in with the *English*, maintained an obstinate engagement, and were defeated with the loss of one man of war.

- It was upon the return of the fleet that the states resolved to send three deputies on board, with full powers to regulate the naval operations, with the assistance of a council of the principal officers. The provinces of *Zealand* and *Friseland*, which were each to send a deputy, disapproved of the measure. This determined *M. de Wit*, nominated by *Holland*,
- f to charge himself with the whole care and conduct of the armament. On his arrival he found *Ruyter* in so bad a state of health, that he was sent to *Amsterdam*, where he remained until the month of *September*. However, the fleet proceeded to sea, under admiral *Van Nes*, subject to *de Wit's* orders, arrived on the coast of *England*, with intention to fight the enemy, and was a second time driven back by a furious tempest, which occasioned the *French* king to complain that his squadron was exposed to the mercy of the *English*. In fact, however, the *English* were incapable of embracing the opportunities that offered. A terrible fire had destroyed great part of the capital; public credit was affected; universal despondency seized the minds of the people, and all was fear, suspicion, distrust, and dissension, the ministry and the nation being divided among themselves. The conflagration,
- g which had destroyed above six hundred streets, was supposed to be the effect of malicious



Proposals of  
peace made by  
the king of  
England.

design, and erroneously attributed to the *Roman Catholics* and the *Republicans*, as the stream of faction happened to be directed. Hence arose the jealousies and dissensions we have mentioned, which were augmented by the disturbances in *Scotland*, arising from the persecution of the *Presbyterians* in that kingdom, and the decline of parliamentary complaisance for the king and ministry. This situation of the *British* nation was the great security of the republic. *Charles*, now tired of a war grown irksome to the nation, from which he had not reaped the proposed private advantages, made overtures of peace, and the king of *Sweden* offered his mediation. Yet still he kept in view the antient pretensions of his crown, and the indemnification required at the commencement of the rupture, for the damages done his trading subjects in *India*, and elsewhere. He demanded that the states should send their deputies to *London*, to adjust the preliminaries of a peace. Other marks of submission were besides required, which produced various opinions in the provinces. Some asserted, that the advantages gained by *England* were not so considerable as to give them a right to dictate; while others thought those instances of an assumed superiority and pride of too little consequence to obstruct a necessary accommodation. The states however declared, that they had no objection to the proposal of holding the congress at *London*, but the consideration for their allies the kings of *France* and *Denmark*, who refused to treat in any part of *England*. Several towns of *Holland* and *Zealand* were earnest for a congress, without regard to punctilios; but *de Wit* found means to secure the states, and exerted his utmost influence with the court of *France* to keep her firm in the alliance, and difficult with respect to the terms of negotiation. *Lewis*, however, had now sufficiently established his credit in *Holland*, and disappointed the extensive schemes of *England*. Growing jealous of lord *Sandwich's* negotiation at *Madrid*, and that an union between *Spain* and *Great Britain* might take place, he resolved to establish peace; and for this purpose not only recommended, but enjoined the states, not to be too delicate about formalities. Nor was this all; he permitted *Ruvigny* to correspond with the earl of *St. Albans*, to bring the court of *London* to the most pacific dispositions; with which view a letter was directed to that nobleman, in such terms as should excite the jealousy of the *Hollanders*. However, that the states might have no reason to tax the king of *France* with duplicity, the letter was first communicated to the pensioner, and he found it so general and ambiguous, that it was impossible to make objections. On receipt of *Ruvigny's* letter, the earl of *St. Albans* signified to the court of *France*, that his *Britannic* majesty was not averse to treating in a neutral place, provided *France* would preserve a neutrality. The *English* ministry took advantage of this clandestine correspondence to insinuate notions, that his most Christian majesty was treating without the participation of his allies. This alarmed the provinces in general, and especially the towns and cities of *Holland*, who cried out, that the republic was betrayed. To refute the report, and stop the torrent of abuse thrown out in *Holland* against the insidious conduct of his ministry, the king ordered the count *d'Estrades* to give the states the most solemn assurances of his resolution to adhere strictly to the terms of his alliance, though he was desirous of effecting a peace, in which he should chiefly have an eye to the good of the republic.

A. D. 1667.

In the mean time the king of *England*, as if perfectly satisfied with the apology made by the states for declining to open the congress in *London*, immediately veered round, and offered to treat of preliminaries at the *Hague*, where the ambassadors of the allies then resided. This motion gave the alarm to *M. de Wit* and the *French* party, who concluded that it must imply some deep and dangerous scheme to divide the republic, and dissolve the confederacy. The proposal immediately begot dissension, no less than four provinces taking the occasion of expressing their animosity to the pensioner. To oppose so growing and imminent an evil, the utmost address of the *French* and *Dutch* ministry were necessary. It was not thought advisable to shew any suspicion of the king of *England's* design: a letter was therefore sent to him from the states, recommending the choice of *Maestricht*, *Boisleduc*, or *Breda*, for holding the congress, as more convenient and secure than the *Hague*, which, being an open town, afforded no protection to the ministers of the different powers; that consequently, while those powers were at variance, they were exposed to a variety of fatal accidents, too many melancholy instances of which had already happened, in violation of justice, and defiance of government. They concluded with thanking his majesty for the honour intended them, which they were obliged to decline, for the considerations mentioned. To this letter from the states to the king of *England*, succeeded one from the *French* king to the states; in which he enlarges upon the danger, to a popular government, of admitting the ministers of an hostile prince, who would not fail to raise suspicions, foment divisions, and promote cabals, among a people equally open to the impressions of

<sup>a</sup> BASNAGE, p. 779. SMOLLETT, lib. ix. cap. i. CARTE'S Life of the Duke of Ormond, vol. ii.



a false and real suggestions. Afterwards he proceeds to recommend *Dover*, as a place not improper for carrying on the negotiation; though it appears, from *Lionne's* letter to *d'Estrades*, that the court was sensible that the proposal would not be relished in *England*.

It was plain, from the strange conduct of *Lewis*, that he must have farther designs than mere friendship to the states; and indeed the *Orange* faction began thus early to declare their suspicions, that he would approve himself more dangerous as an ally than he could as an open enemy. The pensioner was, perhaps, not blind to the motives of the *French* king; but he was now deeply engaged with that prince, and his countenance afforded the best support against the house of *Orange*, bent upon his ruin. It was visible indeed to all *Europe*, that the court of *France* was paving the way for the execution of their schemes upon *Flanders*. The emperor, who had a reversionary claim to this fine country, began likewise to think it his interest to interpose in the quarrel of the two maritime powers. In pursuance of this opinion, the baron *d'Isola* was dispatched to the court of *London*, under pretence of offering his imperial majesty's mediation; though it is probable the real business was to dissuade *Charles* from an accommodation, as *Lewis* would thereby have less leisure to pursue his ambitious projects. Some attribute to this consummate politician the proposal made by *Charles* of opening the congress at the *Hague*; and, indeed, he could not have formed a more effectual measure for keeping up the resentments of both nations, and frustrating the pacific intentions of the more moderate and prudent members of either state. The superficial politicians regarded it as the highest compliment ever paid to the states, to have the honour of bringing the ambassadors of the three greatest powers in *Europe* to treat of peace in the dominions of the republic; while the more discerning viewed the overture in a very different light. Even the first mention of the proposal set the provinces at variance; *Holland* and *Friseland* positively refusing to furnish their contingents, if it were rejected<sup>a</sup>. At length *Breda* was fixed upon, all parties agreeing that the conferences should be opened in this city; and thither the several parties sent their plenipotentiaries.

THE first point debated at the congress was the restitution of the two *English* ships, *Congress at Breda.* which had partly given birth to the war; and of the island of *Polemon* in the *East Indies*, which had been first violently wrested from *England*, then restored by a subsequent treaty, and now retaken since the commencement of the present rupture. Upon this *Charles* insisted as an essential preliminary; but the *Dutch* deputies appearing determined in their refusal, he relaxed in the last article, and thought there would now occur so little difficulty, that he looked upon the peace as in a manner concluded. Full of these sentiments, and eager to appropriate to his own use the sums granted by parliament for the prosecution of the war, he ordered all his large ships to be laid up and unrigged, keeping only a small squadron of cruizers for the protection of the coasts. Of this precipitation *de Wit* resolved to make his advantage, retrieve his own reputation with the republic, and oblige *Charles* to make peace upon such conditions as should be thought requisite for the honour and security of the republic. While he cruized the preceding year upon the *English* coast, he had taken care to have the mouth of the *Thames* exactly sounded, with a view probably of pushing his way into that wealthy river, whenever an opportunity should offer. Now he determined to execute his project, and to attend the expedition in person. *France* disapproved his quitting the helm of state to direct warlike operations; and the arguments urged by *d'Estrades* prevailed on the pensioner to substitute his brother, *Cornelius de Wit*, in his room, to assist *de Ruyter* to regulate and determine his motions. The fleet set sail from the *Texel* in the beginning of *June*, and was hardly out of sight of the coast when it was driven back by a furious tempest, in which four transports filled with soldiers perished. *The Dutch enter the river Medway.* When the storm abated, *Ruyter* again set sail with a fleet of fifty large ships, besides frigates and transports, steering directly for the river *Thames*, at the mouth of which he arrived on the tenth of *June*. He began his operations with reducing *Sheerness* fort, which he effected with little difficulty. Next he broke down a strong boom, laid across the mouth of the river *Medway*, and destroyed three guard-ships, moored within side for its protection. *M. de Ghent*, advancing in boats as far as *Rocheester*, burnt and carried off a great number of small vessels, which rode in the river without apprehension of danger. *De Ruyter* cleared a passage through some vessels which had been sunk, by order of the duke of *Albemarle*, in the Channel: then sailed up as far as *Upnor-castle*, which he took and demolished. His last exploit was the burning three ships of the line, in executing which he met with an obstinate resistance; and then he fell down the *Medway*, with intention of attempting the river *Thames*<sup>b</sup>.

<sup>a</sup> Aust. supra citat.

<sup>b</sup> Id. ibid.



THE sailors, who had escaped the conflagration at *Chatham*, spread the alarm through *a* *London*, and filled that capital, not yet recovered from the dreadful devastation made by fire the preceding year, with consternation. Troops immediately filed off towards *Gravefend*, ships were sunk at *Woolwich* and *Blackwall*; platforms were raised in different places, and mounted with artillery; the train-bands were drawn out, and the city put into the best posture of defence that circumstances would admit. Yet it must be confessed, that, after all the preparations made, nothing could have prevented *de Ruyter* from pillaging and destroying the most flourishing city in *Europe*, besides the want of a sufficient number of boats, and of land-forces. Without these he found it impossible to succeed, and therefore set sail for *Portsmouth*, which he attempted in vain to reduce: then he directed his course to *Torbay*, where he made prize of a great number of vessels, with which he proceeded to bombard *Plymouth*. This enterprize failing, he sailed up the Channel, insulted *Harwich*, gave chase to a squadron commanded by Sir *Edward Spragge*, once more entered the *Thames*, and overwhelmed the whole kingdom in terror and confusion: after which glorious exploits he returned to *Holland*, where he was presented by the states with a rich gold cup, upon which was engraved the actions at *Sheerness*, *Chatham*, and *Upnor-castle*. He made a kind of triumphal entry at *Dort*, amidst the acclamations of the people, the roar of cannon, and the blaze of bonfires, attended by all the magistrates, and supported by the two oldest burgomasters. *De Wit* met with the same honours, and had besides the particular thanks of the states general. Nor was M. *Van Ghent*, the lieutenant-admiral, forgot. He had the thanks of the states, and a cup of gold, with his own exploits engraved round his arms. *b* *c*

THE kings of *England* and *France* equally exclaimed against this expedition, while the *English* nation was fired with indignation at seeing itself exposed to the insult of an enemy to whom it had always given law. *Charles* complained, that the *Dutch*, taking advantage of his security, ravaged his coasts with the utmost barbarity, while he was treating of peace with them in a friendly manner. He alledged, they had violated the faith of treaties, though, in fact, no armistice had been agreed upon. On the other hand, *Lewis* disapproved of an enterprize which tended to retard the pacification; and at the same time reproached, by implication, his bias towards the interest of *England*, and little regard to the alliance contracted with the republic. It was obvious, however, that this expedition, instead of retarding, served actually to accelerate the pacification. The power of *de Ruyter's* squadron, the bad terms upon which the king of *England* stood with his subjects, and the defenceless state in which he left the nation by laying up all the large men of war, obliged him to set aside all airs of superiority, and treat with the *Dutch* deputies upon a footing of equality. By this means every difficulty vanished, and the peace was signed upon the following conditions: that *Acadia* should be yielded to the *French* king, who had agreed to restore to the *English* the island of *St. Christopher's*, and some other considerable conquests he had made in the *West Indies*: that *England* and *Holland* should reciprocally retain their acquisitions, by which means the colony of *New York* in *North America* remained with the former, and the island of *Poleoron*, one of the *Moluccas*, with the latter. *d* *e*

The rights of the flag were the most difficult to adjust: though merely titular, it was thought of more importance than even the real advantage of additional territories. *France* was so sensible of the consequences of these honours, that she now insisted upon being equalled with the two great maritime powers. *Lewis* refused to suffer his men of war to lower their topsails to those of *England*. *Charles* pleaded his right to this mark of regard. Both were obstinate; and, to avoid its breaking off the negotiation, this article was omitted in the treaty, whence violent contentions some years afterwards ensued.

WHILE *France*, *England*, and *Holland*, were negotiating at *Breda* the tranquillity of *Europe*, *Lewis* was meditating the execution of a project, which, by aiming at universal empire, again threatened to involve Christendom in the flames of war, and particularly the empire, *Spain*, and the *United Provinces*. His ambition grasped at every thing, and his power enabled him to gratify every aspiring wish. On the death of his father-in-law *Philip IV.* he prepared to invade the *Netherlands*, though, before the solemnization of his marriage, he had formally renounced all pretensions to the *Spanish* succession. His claim was examined by the clergy, and pronounced legitimate; and their decision was supported by the secular arm, and M. *Turenne* at the head of forty thousand men. Already *Aeth*, *Lisle*, *Tournay*, *Courtray*, *Charleroi*, and *Oudenarde*, confessed his power, by receiving his garrisons; and *Lewis* waited only for the death of the sickly *Charles II.* of *Spain*, to lay claim to the whole monarchy. Every state in *Europe* took the alarm. The *Dutch*, from the nature of their situation, were immediately exposed to his designs: they wished for nothing more than an opportunity of uniting with *England* in a confederacy, that should be able to oppose a sufficient barrier to the soaring ambition of the *French* monarch. Now, when

Peace concluded at  
Breda.



- a when too late, the artifice of *Lewis's* friendship was discovered : still, however, the states A. D. 1668. imagined they could prevail on him to adhere to the moderate terms he had often promised ; and that by ceding *Courtray, St. Omer, Aire, and Franche Comté* to *France*, the rest of the *Netherlands* might be put under the protection of the empire, *England*, and the republic. It was the *Dutch* that suggested the idea of the triple alliance, which took place soon after. The king of *England*, finding his credit on the wain with his subjects, willingly embraced any measure that was likely to retrieve his popularity ; and no scheme promised so fair as his becoming the head of a league, formed in support of the liberties of *Europe*. The court of *Spain* too was indefatigable in her endeavours to raise a powerful confederacy against *Lewis* : though she entertained the highest opinion of her own strength, and the courage and ability of her forces ; yet it was impossible to avoid seeing the superiority of the *French*, as far as could be judged from the most rapid successes. The *Spanish* ambassadors represented to *Holland* the proximity of the danger, while they flattered *England* with the glory of holding the balance of power. True policy, indeed, required that a barrier should be formed to stop the progress of *Turenne* ; and with this view it was that the triple alliance was formed, by the address of Sir *William Temple*, who subdued all the scruples of M. *de Wit*, the pensioner, with a facility that will ever bear ample testimony to the abilities of that elegant and refined statesman. At first, *England* and *Holland* were only the contracting powers ; but *Sweden* soon acceded to the treaty as a principal. Then the confederates assumed to themselves the office of arbiters in the differences between *France* and *Spain*, with respect to the *Low Countries*. They even pretended to take cognizance of the dispute between *Spain* and *Portugal*. The object was to restrain the power of *Lewis*, support the tottering *Spanish* monarchy, and prevent the direful consequences of a war, in which all *Europe* would probably be involved <sup>a</sup>.

Treaty at Aix-la-Chapelle.

- The next step was to repair the fortifications of the frontier towns, and to set the army upon a respectable footing. For some years all military employments were held by the children of burgomasters, because they were generally in the interest of the pensioner ; while the old experienced officers were laid aside, on account of their attachment to the prince of *Orange*, under whose ancestors they had acquired all their knowledge. The bishop of *Munster's* late invasion convinced the people, that troops ill commanded were perfectly useless : they therefore began to clamour about the distribution of commissions ; and to insist that all the old officers should be restored to their employments, and promoted, as if they had remained constantly in the service. It was with reluctance the pensioner had yielded to the necessity of the late treaty concluded against *France* : the blow now meditated struck deeper at his power, and tended obviously to change the scale in favour of the opposite faction. It was impossible, however, to stem the tide of popularity : he therefore determined to divide its force, and, by making it flow in different channels, weaken its influence. With this view he united all the republicans in the opinion, that the chief command of the army should be conferred on a foreigner, notwithstanding this preference was offering the greatest injury to prince *Maurice of Nassau*, to whose valour, conduct, and fidelity, there could be no reasonable objection. After violent contentions, the command was divided among a number of officers, by which both parties were in some measure gratified.

- As the triple alliance was formed merely to oblige *Lewis* to execute the proposals he had made to the court of *Spain*, of relinquishing the rights of his queen, provided the *Spaniards* would either consent to his keeping the conquests he had already made in the *Low Countries*, or in lieu of those cede to him the *Franche-Comté*, with the towns already specified ; the queen-regent of *Spain* kept aloof, in expectation of engaging the *Dutch* and the king of *England* in a war with *Lewis*, under pretence that he refused standing by the alternative which they guaranteed. But finding herself disappointed in this hope, she consented to his retaining his conquests, on the supposition, that, should he ever attempt to extend them, he would necessarily engage the enmity of the two maritime powers. This cession paved the way to a congress, which was immediately appointed at *Aix-la-Chapelle*. We have already specified the particulars of this treaty <sup>b</sup>. It will therefore be sufficient to observe, that the *Dutch* ordered a pompous medal to be struck, in which they arrogated to themselves the whole honour of having given peace to *Europe* <sup>c</sup> (A). Nothing

Designs of the different powers.

<sup>a</sup> BASNAGE, pag. 789.

<sup>b</sup> Vol xxv. Mod. Hist. octavo.

<sup>c</sup> LE CLERC, pag. 94. Hist. Medal.

Sir WILLIAM TEMPLE's Lett. pag. 79. tom. ii.

(A) This medal is preserved by M. *Le Clerc*. Here *Holland* is represented by a young beautiful female figure, surrounded by trophies, holding in her hand a

pike or javelin, the one end of which is adorned with a hat, as an emblem of Liberty, and the other with the republican arms of the *United Provinces*. On the reverse



thing could be more absurd than such an instance of unnecessary vanity, at a period too when *de Wit* was proposing a new alliance to *d'Estrades* between *France* and the republic, jointly to oppose the pretensions of his *Britannic* majesty to the sovereignty of the ocean, and to oblige his ships to pay the due honours to the *French* flag. To facilitate this measure, which must have inevitably kindled a new war with *England*, he reminded the *French* minister of the conduct of the *English* admiral, *Sir Thomas Allen*, towards *de la Rooke* at *St. Helen's*; an indignity, he said, which, if winked at, would encourage that proud nation to commit further insults. *D'Estrades* supported this opinion, and represented to his court, that nothing but embracing the proposal could prevent the pensioner's being forced into the interest of *England*, however contrary to his resolutions, and disagreeable to his sentiments and inclinations. How far *M. de Wit* was serious in this proposal, can only be conjectured: perhaps he had already reason to suspect that *Charles* was falling into his old bias of cultivating the closest union with *France*. This might therefore be either an expedient to sound the dispositions of *Lewis*, or frustrate the overtures made by the king of *England*. Be this as it may, it is certain that *Lewis* allowed little weight to the request of the pensioner, though supported by all the arguments his own ambassador *d'Estrades* could urge. On the contrary, he sent *M. Colbert de Croissy*, brother to the celebrated minister of that name, his ambassador to the court of *London*, and recalled *d'Estrades* from the *Hague*: yet the harmony between *England* and *Holland* still subsisted. *Sir William Temple* was dispatched to the states, vested with a higher character than he had formerly borne, not only to give the strongest assurances of the continuance of the king of *England's* good intentions towards the republic, but to negotiate a treaty of commerce, and concert a treaty of guarantee, on the plan of the late triple alliance <sup>a</sup>.

A. D. 1669.

*FRANCE* was quick-sighted in discerning her own interest, and alert in pursuing it. The acquisitions which *Lewis* had made in *Flanders*, served only to inflame his ambition to possess the remainder of that valuable country, and particularly the *Franche-Comté*, the very name of which district seemed to give him a kind of claim. His views were to dissolve the triple alliance, as a necessary prelude to his other designs; and *Spain*, by refusing to pay the *Swedish* subsidy, furnished the means of accomplishing this important affair. Such progress indeed had *Colbert* made at the court of *London*, that *M. Puffendorf*, the *Swedish* ambassador at the *Hague*, acquainted the pensioner, as early as the month of *January*, 1669, that *England* was already changed, with respect to all those councils she had formed in conjunction with *Sweden* and *Holland*, notwithstanding the secret was yet in few hands; and lord *Arlington* confessed, about the same time, that a rumour was prevalent about court, that the *Swedes* were gained over to the *French* interest. This intimation was followed by a variety of circumstances, which more plainly indicated the designs of his *Britannic* majesty. Besides the refusal of a proposal made by the states of a defensive and offensive alliance, *Sir William Temple* was suddenly recalled; and, as if the king had sought an opportunity of coming to a rupture, orders were given to the captain of the yacht, sent for lady *Temple*, to sail through the *Dutch* fleet, then in the Channel, insist on the admiral's lowering his topsails, and continue firing upon him until all due honours should be paid to the *British* flag. It is evident, that *Lewis* had now fully digested his project to invade the *Netherlands*; that he had gained the king of *England*, whose necessities made him the pensioner of *France*; and that these instructions to the captain of the yacht were intended as a plausible excuse to the nation for entering upon a war, equally unjust, unnecessary, and imprudent. *Lewis* practised the most insinuating arts to seduce *Charles* from his real interest, to engage him as a tool in aggrandizing the *French* monarchy, and blind him to the consequences of his ambitious projects. Besides the private subsidies remitted to support the king of *England* in his extravagant pleasures, the duchess of *Orleans* was sent to *England*, upon a visit to her brother, where she spent a fortnight in a continual round of diversions. She was accompanied by mademoiselle *Queroüaille*, a young lady of extraordinary beauty, bewitching address, elegant accomplishments, and a fund of wit and vivacity sufficient to engage a heart more insensible

A. D. 1670.

Alliance of  
England and  
France.<sup>a</sup> LE CLERC, *ibid.*

reverse is the following inscription: 'After having confirmed the laws, reformed the abuses in religion, assisted, defended, and conciliated kings, secured the liberty of the ocean, established by valour and dint of arms a glorious peace, restored tranquillity to Europe, the states general of the United Provinces have ordered this medal to be struck, in the year 1668.' This pompous inscription gave equal offence to the kings of *France* and *England*; but what chiefly incensed

*Lewis*, was the insolence of *Joshua Van Buiningen*, the *Dutch* plenipotentiary at the congress. This minister had the weak vanity to have a medal struck, in which he compared himself to *Joshua* stopping the course of the sun, which was the device of the *French* monarch. This fact we have upon the authority of the best *French* and *English* writers, though *Le Clerc* omits the medal in his curious historical collection.

than



a than that of *Charles*. This lady was carried with him to *London*, created duchess of *Portsmouth*, and retained in the highest favour during the whole course of his life, suffering her to govern his conduct with a sway that rather proved him the tender lover than the prudent monarch. It was by means of this artful visit, and the address of mademoiselle *Querouaille*, that *Lewis* first gained the intire ascendant over his *Britannic* majesty, and made him the instrument of those bonds he was forging for the liberties of *Europe* <sup>a</sup>.

Thus stood affairs when Sir *George Downing*, less beloved by the pensioner, less in the friendship of the states, and the interest of the republic, was sent to *Holland* to succeed Sir *William Temple*, and probably to complete the rupture begun by the captain of the yacht, b who was committed to the Tower for not having sufficiently asserted the dignity of the *British* crown, and resting satisfied with a salute from the guns of the *Dutch* admiral. The prince of *Orange*'s visit to *England* made no alteration in the councils of that nation; for after that event Mr. *Coventry* was sent to *Stockholm*, to exert his utmost abilities in drawing off the king from the triple alliance, so inconsistent with his *Britannic* majesty's engagements to *Lewis*. These changes in the *English* ambassadors were deemed ominous by the more discerning. *De Wit* had the greatest friendship for Sir *William Temple*; but he regarded his successor as a mean tool of the court, a turbulent firebrand, and an implacable enemy of the republic, and was particularly jealous of his high reputation with the states. *Downing*, indeed, on his first arrival solemnly protested, that the king his master was determined strictly c to adhere to every article of the triple alliance. He gave the strongest assurances, that *Charles* had no other design in the powerful armaments he was equipping, than to render himself respectable among his neighbours, and guard against the designs of the most Christian king, whom he had good reasons to distrust; and, indeed, this was all that *Charles* had acknowledged to the parliament when he demanded supplies, and intimated his intention of taking fifty ships of the line into commission, besides the cruisers and the squadron already in the *Mediterranean*. Nor was *Downing* satisfied with these insidious declarations; he complained of the backwardness of the states, in fulfilling an article of the late treaty, which respected the colony in *Surinam*, and specified some causes of difference between the *English* merchants and the *Dutch East-India* company. The pensioner had too much d penetration to be deceived by appearances; he had the best intelligence of the transactions in the *British* cabinet, and was well informed of every circumstance of the negotiation between the courts of *France* and *England*: he, therefore, considered every change of measures as a step towards an approaching rupture. But he most dreaded the ambitious projects of *France*, as they threatened the United Provinces not only with all the horrors of an invasion, but those of domestic faction and confusion. The smallest alarms on the side of *Flanders* would stir up the populace to demand the restitution of their former honours to the *Orange* family; than which nothing appeared more dreadful to the pensioner, in regard to its consequences on public liberty, and the freedom of the republic. On the other hand, should *Lewis* pursue his designs, how could the provinces provide for their e own security without a military force? and how could that force be raised, regulated, paid, and disciplined, while the republic was divided, and the more popular party excluded from all public employments? Under these embarrassments he sought the friendship of *Spain*, tho' his advances were but coldly received, until the joint views of *Lewis* and *Charles* became so very apparent, that the *Spanish* ministry were at length reduced to the necessity of ordering Don *Emanuel de Lira*, the king's ambassador at the *Hague*, to enter into a defensive treaty with the republic. This affair was conducted by *de Lira*, and count *Monteroy* with so great secrecy, that it remained for some time unknown to all the powers in *Europe* besides the contracting parties <sup>b</sup>. Both *de Lira* and *Monteroy* were the declared enemies of *France*: the former detested the perfidy of her politics, the ambitious schemes of her ministry, and the insidious methods she practised to destroy the liberties of Christendom, and establish universal empire: the latter was the son of Don *Lewis d'Haro*, and consequently no friend to measures erected upon the foundation laid by cardinal *Mazarin*, the implacable rival of his family.

A. D. 1671.

Treaty between Spain and the republic.

f WHEN the treaty between *Spain* and the republic was divulged, ambassadors were sent from *France* and *England*, to use the utmost efforts to render it void. *France* spoke in a high strain of authority, while the *British* ambassador endeavoured to sap the foundation of the alliance; but neither the artifice of the one, nor the insolence of the other, could prevail. The court of *Spain* ordered *Lira* and *Monteroy* to proceed in the treaty with the republic, and use every method to draw the knot of union harder, and so blend the interests of g the two nations as to render them inseparable. The firmness of *Spain* proved extremely

<sup>a</sup> LE CLERC's Hist. Med. p. 93.

<sup>b</sup> Sir WILLIAM TEMPLE's Letters, ibid.



State of parties in the provinces.

encouraging to the states; but it was no equivalent to the powerful league formed against them between the crowns of *France* and *England*, the elector of *Cologne* and the turbulent, ambitious, enterprising, and warlike *Van Galen*, bishop of *Munster*, who embraced every opportunity of displaying his implacable animosity to the republic. Besides, the *Orange* faction openly espoused the claims of *England*, insisting that the required satisfaction should be given to his majesty, in hopes not only of warding off the impending storm from that quarter, but of cementing the two nations in a strict union of interests. Had *Charles* studied his own dignity, the good of his kingdoms, and the interests of *Europe* in general, the fairest opportunity now offered of nipping in the bud all the aspiring projects of *Lewis*, which afterwards filled Christendom with blood and carnage. On the other hand, the states, under the influence of *de Wit*, sought to pacify the indignation of the most Christian king, who highly resented the insolence of the republic, that broke out in various instances, subsequent to the peace of *Aix la-Chapelle*. They made the most abject submissions; they disavowed the medals which had given so much offence; and they promised immediately to redress all his majesty's complaints, to remove from the councils every person who had incurred his displeasure, and to square their conduct intirely to his royal will. But *Lewis* had another object in view besides the mere gratification of revenge; and this opposite conduct of the two factions was meant not as compliments to *Lewis* and *Charles*, but as measures to destroy each other. Could *France* be appeased, the *Orange* family must remain in obscurity; and could the king of *England* be gained over, there would probably be an end to the influence of the pensioner and his party. Neither side appeared to have any thoughts of preserving the republic by a coalition, or even a suspension of their animosity, perhaps from a conviction that it was impracticable; and while the states hesitated about making these submissions to *Charles* which *Lewis* refused, the alliance was formed by which their territories were to be invaded by the troops of *France*, *Cologne*, and *Munster*, their commerce ruined, and their fleets destroyed by the combined squadrons of *France* and *England*. Nothing retarded the immediate commencement of hostilities but the indigence of *Charles*, who was always receiving supplies from his parliament, and always needy and distressed.

Attempt on the Smyrna fleet. A. D. 1672.

Among the schemes projected to fill the royal coffers, one may be regarded as a barefaced act of piracy against the *Dutch*, with whom he had hitherto come to no open rupture. The attempt was equally perfidious and unsuccessful: before any declaration of war, and previous to the departure of Sir *George Downing* from the *Hague*, it was proposed to intercept the *Dutch* fleet of merchant ships from *Smyrna*, estimated worth two millions of money. Sir *Robert Holmes* was sent in this service, with a small squadron. In his voyage he fell in with *Spragge*, returning with his squadron from the *Mediterranean*; but resolving to monopolize the whole honour and profit of this action to himself, he concealed his purpose from the other *British* admiral, suffered him to pursue his voyage, and thereby failed in the enterprize, because his strength was too inconsiderable. *Van Nes*, who convoyed the merchant fleet with five men of war, no sooner descried the *English* flag, than he put his little squadron into an admirable posture of defence. *Holmes* attacked him with great fury, and the engagement was maintained the whole day with equal valour, skill, and obstinacy. The fight was renewed in the morning, and maintained with the same fury, until night separated the combatants. On the third day the action was again renewed; but *Van Nes* had taken such measures, that he now got off with the loss of one man of war and four merchantmen, which, however, were sunk and useless to the enemy, disappointed in all their sanguine hopes, and left only the dishonour of having, unsuccessfully, violated the most solemn laws of nature and nations. The *Dutch* exclaimed against the baseness of an action which would have disgraced one of the piratical states of *Africa*; and the court endeavoured to reconcile it to the public as a casual rencounter, occasioned by the obstinate refusal of the *Hollanders* to pay the due honours to the *British* flag. *Holmes*, however, though he was the instrument of a perfidious attempt, had too much honour to certify the court relation of the engagement: he even acknowledged that the *Dutch* admiral had actually lowered his topsails, and paid him the usual compliment.

England declares war.

By this action the states were convinced they had nothing to expect from *Charles*, and that their diligence must be redoubled, in preparing for a rupture between the two nations. The seizure or confiscation of four of their *East-India* ships corroborated these sentiments, which were soon confirmed by the king's declaration of war against the republic. In this frivolous and impertinent piece the world is desired to believe that nothing but absolute necessity, a regard to the liberties of his subjects and the dignity of his crown, could have driven his majesty to carry matters to extremities: but the evasions of the states with regard to the claims of the *British East-India* company, their refusal to send home the *English* families settled at *Surinam*, agreeable to the treaty of *Breda*, their denying to pay the due honour



- a honour to his flag, their ridiculing the king and people of *England* in arrogant medals and inscriptions, had obliged him to use the power delegated to him by the Almighty, to check their insolence and secure the rights and honour of his crown and kingdom. Two very remarkable circumstances were mentioned in this declaration; viz. that the states had made a proposal of acknowledging the king's superiority by sea, provided he would join them against *France*, and never use their concessions upon this occasion as a precedent to their disadvantage; and that they had sent to *England* an ambassador extraordinary, who in positive terms refused giving the satisfaction required, and indeed promised in former treaties. Notwithstanding these pretences, it is certain that Sir *George Downing*, when sent to the *Hague*, was bound by his instructions not to accept any satisfaction after a certain
- b number of days prescribed; a method of proceeding in ambassies always irregular and unusual, especially in *Holland*, where the very nature of the constitution renders all deliberations tedious. In a word, there was so much chicane and artifice in the conduct of the ministers, that the whole people of *England* clamoured against the war, their ancient animosity to the *Dutch* being absorbed in their resentments against the measures of the administration. As to the *Dutch*, they answered the king's declaration with great propriety and strength of argument, refusing irrefragably almost every article it contained. They denied that the *English* families in *Surinam* were detained, and demonstrated that they had refused to quit the colony: they affirmed, that no treaty had obliged their admirals to strike sail on their own coast to an *English* pleasure boat; this alluded to the affair of the
- c yatch: they asserted their never having countenanced any medals, pictures, or inscriptions, reflecting upon the king or people of *England*: they declared it had always been their study to cultivate the friendship of *Great Britain*, to maintain their engagements, and to procure the repose of both nations, upon which their commerce and the very existence of their republic depended. Next they painted, in the strongest colours, the insolence of *Downing*, the *English* minister at the *Hague*; the intention of the *English* ministry in recalling Sir *William Temple*, who had engaged the affection of the states, by the justice, honour, and openness of his proceedings, as well as the amiableness of his character, the iniquitous attempt upon their *Smyrna* fleet, and the insidious capture and unjust detention of their *East India* shipping<sup>a</sup>.

- d THE court of *Spain* could not be persuaded that *England* would ever come to extremities with the *Dutch*, and enter upon an iniquitous war upon groundless and at best but frivolous pretences. Even *France* could hardly depend upon the promises and engagements of a monarch incapable of constancy and perseverance. Nor did the states imagine their calamities were so near: all *Europe*, indeed, stood astonished at this thunder-clap, which was the more dreadful as it was sudden and unexpected.

- LEWIS* now entered upon the scene of action, with such an air of superiority, that *Charles* seemed little more than the harbinger to usher in the giant. His declaration of war against the states-general was published in the month of *April*, under the superb title of *An Ordonnance by the King*. His money and influence had not only drawn over the king of *England* to his interest, but he retained *Sweden* by his subsidies, and armed the other princes on the frontiers of the United Provinces against the republic. He did not condescend to specify particulars in his ordonnance: it was sufficient that the insolence of the states had incurred his displeasure, and merited chastisement. It was in this lofty stile his minister *de Gremonville* talked to the emperor when he desired the court of *Vienna* might not interpose in his quarrel with the *Hollanders*. At other Roman Catholic courts he pretended to call it a religious affair, reproaching the *Dutch* with the name of heretics, though he was linked in the closest alliance with a heretic monarch, and the head of the Protestant church; though four hundred thousand crowns were given annually for the friendship of a nation which had by severe laws prohibited the residence of Catholics in the kingdom (A). Scarce any thing can convey a higher idea of the power, weight, and importance of the republic, than a consideration of the variety of precautions taken by the two kings before they ventured to declare their hostile intentions. *Lewis's* power was unrivaled by land, and *Charles* might justly regard himself as the most potent maritime prince in *Europe*. *Holland* was divided by faction at home, and had scarce time to form any solid

<sup>a</sup> LE CLERC, ubi supra.

(A) This was the subsidy paid to *Sweden* by the allies, for holding herself in readiness to act against the emperor or the empire, should they offer to interpose. If the *Swedes* took the field, the subsidy was to be augmented to six hundred thousand crowns (1).

(1) *Le Clerc*, p. 102. *Newville*, t. iii. p. 54.



measures for the security of the state: yet were the efforts of this republic sufficient to a  
baffle all the attempts of the most formidable combination *Europe* had beheld since the  
famous league of *Cambray*, against another republic, contemptible in respect of power,  
grandeur, and territory, to her enemies. The bishop of *Munster* declared war against the  
*Dutch*, under pretence of their having attempted to corrupt the governors of his towns;  
and the elector of *Cologne* received a body of *French* troops into his dominions, under the  
pretext of providing for his own security.

Preparations  
in Holland.

THE commonwealth of the United Provinces seemed now to be devoted to destruction.  
Nothing appeared capable of suspending its fall. *Lewis* was ready with three armies to  
burst like a torrent into the heart of the republic's dominions, while on her side there was b  
no army, no general, no fortifications, no unanimity to oppose the inundation; the whole  
valour and power of the state consisting in her navy, upon which the pensioner had be-  
stowed all his attention. *France* had no sooner veered round than *de Wit* lost his credit,  
and with some degree of reason, as enmity to the prince of *Orange* had certainly carried  
him too far in his opposition to *England*, and complaisance to the court of *France* had oc-  
casioned his extinguishing every spark of military spirit in the republic, disbanding the  
greater part of the army, and filling up all commissions in the remainder with the sons and  
kinsmen of his own friends, raw unexperienced youths, who had never beheld the face of  
an enemy. His confidence in *France* prevented his acting with his usual vigilance and  
caution. Fear of giving offence, by suspicion, hindered his making preparations against  
the impending invasion. The populace demanded that the prince of *Orange*, a youth just c  
attained to the age of manhood, might be placed at the head of the army, if a body of  
twelve thousand men, little better disciplined than militia, merited that name. There was  
no resisting the voice of a whole nation; *de Wit* yielded, and resolved to make one power-  
ful effort by sea, while the prince was endeavouring to augment the army, raise the spirits  
of the people, revive discipline, repair the fortifications, and provide every necessary for a  
vigorous resistance. The great difficulty was to form a judgment where the storm would  
fall, and where to direct the strength of the republic, which was too inconsiderable to ad-  
mit of being divided. Every thing was kept so close in *France*, that not a syllable about d  
the army transpired; no letter was suffered to pass into *Holland* that contained the most  
distant hint of the intended invasion. It was the general opinion that the king would lay  
siege to *Maastricht*: we have shewn the reasons why he declined this measure<sup>a</sup>, and rather  
chose to penetrate in three divisions into the provinces, take advantage of the present for-  
lorn and dispirited condition of the enemy, and by one great effort destroy all presence of  
mind and hope of resistance. We have seen with what rapidity he over-ran the *Netherlands*,  
and reduced the *Dutch* to the necessity of laying their country under water. All *Europe*  
stood amazed at the king's irresistible progress, while the republic was given up for lost,  
and without the smallest prospect of deliverance. The preparations of the states could not  
keep pace with their calamities. The auxiliaries received from *Flanders* were just sufficient  
to draw complaints against the court of *Spain*, from the two allied kings, but too incon-  
siderable to do the republic real service. Tho' the states were negotiating a treaty offen- e  
sive and defensive at *Vienna* and *Madrid*, it was probable their fate would be determined  
before it could take place. They were besides harrassed in every step by the enemy, and  
their applications to the elector of *Brandenburg* and the princes of *Lunenburg*, it was feared  
would be frustrated by the machinations of *Lewis*, and the terror of the *French* arms<sup>c</sup>.

IN this situation it was hoped a bold push with the fleet might produce some favourable  
change. The ships of the republic were as numerous, her stores as full, her mariners as  
abundant, and her commanders as brave and experienced as ever: it was therefore resolved  
to employ them in the most vigorous manner for the preservation of the last remains of  
the commonwealth. *Ruyter* was accordingly sent to sea with ninety ships of war, and forty  
frigates and storeships, *Cornelius de Wit* acting on board as deputy from the states. f  
The first intention was to prevent the junction of the *French* and *English* squadrons; but this  
was already effected: the united fleet lay at anchor in *Solebay*, under the command of the  
duke of *York*, the earl of *Sandwich*, and the count *D'Estrees*, to the amount of one hundred  
and thirty ships of the line. The chief authority was vested in the duke of *York*, who im-  
prudently affronted the earl of *Sandwich*, for representing that the ships lay in great disorder,  
and exposed to the utmost danger, if attacked in that situation. He refused standing out  
to sea, as the earl advised; and, indeed, regarded nothing besides his pleasures, which some  
political *English* historians relate he carried, on this occasion, to unusual excess. It is certain,

[<sup>a</sup> Mod. Hist. 8vo. vol. xxv.

<sup>c</sup> NEUVILLE, t. iii.



- a the *Dutch* began to attack early in the morning, before the combined fleet could be properly ranged: several ships were forced to cut their cables with the utmost precipitation, in order to form the line; and the whole was in such confusion, that the vessels ran foul of each other. *Van Ghent* opposed himself to the earl of *Sandwich*, who led the van of the enemy, and a most dreadful action ensued, in which the *Dutch* admiral was killed, after performing prodigies of valour. *Sandwich* sustained for a while the whole weight of the *Dutch* fleet, that the duke might have time to reduce the rest of the ships into order. He destroyed a large man of war which had attempted to board him; he sunk three fire-ships, before they approached near enough to grapple with his rigging, though his whole crew was almost killed or wounded: he continued to ply his artillery with unremitting ardour,
- b until another fire-ship ran him aboard on the quarter. Even now he might have escaped into another vessel; but he disdained to live after the injury done to his honour by the duke of *York*: his ship was blown up, and the earl and every person on board were destroyed. The benefit of the disposition he had made was felt after his death: Sir *Joseph Jordan*, his vice-admiral, still pursued the same plan of gaining the windward, and at last succeeded; by which he was enabled to come to the assistance of the duke of *York*, who was hotly engaged with *de Ruyter*. Now the engagement was so close for above two hours, that the *Dutch* admiral afterwards declared it was the most obstinate of two and thirty actions in which he had been concerned. Both sides fought like men accustomed to dispute the empire of the ocean. The duke and *Ruyter* each shifted their flags twice;
- c but the duke did not return afterwards to the engagement. Night came on, the battle was drawn, victory was claimed by the *English* and *Dutch*; but it belonged to the latter, if we may judge by consequences; for *Ruyter*, without interruption, convoyed a prodigious fleet of merchantmen safe into the *Texel*, and overflowed his country with wealth on the one side, while it sunk under the pressure of misfortunes on the other (A).

- A DISPUTED victory, however, could not serve the purpose of *de Wit*, as affairs were then circumstanced. He had no prospect of standing his ground, and frustrating the views of the young prince of *Orange*, except by some signal success and decisive blow on the ocean. To have failed in this, was to him equivalent to a total defeat, as he knew it would be impossible to put the fleet again to sea with sufficient expedition to remedy the
- d mischief that arose from the present disappointment. He saw the *French* king extending his conquests on all sides, three provinces wholly subdued, and *Lewis* exercising not only the power of the conqueror, but the authority of a sovereign; changing constitutions, enacting laws, publishing edicts, creating magistrates, receiving homage, and, in a word, transferring to himself the allegiance due only to the majesty of the states general. Believing longer resistance fruitless, and perhaps dreading more to become vassals to the prince of *Orange* than tributaries to *France*, the *Lovestein* faction determined, as the last resource, to appease by supplications the power they were unable to withstand. Accordingly deputies were dispatched to *Lewis* and *Charles*, with hopes at least of breaking their union, if they should fail in subduing their resentments. On the arrival of *De Groot* at the
- e *French* court, his proposals were demanded; but he answered, he was come to know the king's pleasure, his masters deeming it more respectful to receive than to offer conditions. He was told, however, that *Lewis* expected proposals, in which the states should consider all that his majesty had already conquered as his own, and make allowances for the farther progress of his arms during the remainder of the campaign. With this answer the deputy returned to the *Hague*, and was immediately sent back with full power to treat, and conclude a peace on the best terms that could be obtained.

*They implore peace.*

- AFTER repeated conferences, *Louvois* gave the deputy a plan of pacification, or rather the pretensions of the king his master, upon granting which he was ready to return to his former amity with the republic. Though the apprehensions of the states were so extravagant as to offer that every thing should be surrendered to the conqueror, provided their liberty, religion, and sovereign power could be preserved; though they offered to cede the whole frontier, and defray the expences of the war, yet this was insufficient. *Lewis* demanded that the commodities of *France* should be imported, free of duty, into all the provinces; that the states should permit the free exercise of the Catholic religion, share the churches between them and the Protestants, and appoint regular salaries for the *Romish*
- f

(A) Some *French* writers alledge, that *D'Estrees* was hotly engaged with his whole squadron of thirty ships, with the division of *Flushing*, whose fire he sustained with the utmost resolution and valour. The truth is, only a few *French* ships were engaged, and in all probability the count had orders to keep aloof, that the two maritime powers might destroy each other. *Voltaire* confesses as much (1).

(1) *Daniel*, t. v. p. 115. *Volt. Sicc.* t. i. p. 143.



priests; that they should cede not only all the frontier towns, but *Skunk, Nimeguen, Knot-* a  
*zemburg*, part of *Guelderland*, the islands of *Bommel* and *Voorn*, and the forts of *St. Andrew*,  
*Lovestein*, and *Crevecoeur*; in a word, that they should make him as completely master of  
 all the provinces, as if they had already been conquered by the sword: and, besides, pay  
 an immense sum of money to indemnify his expences; send a yearly embassy to *Paris* with  
 a golden medal, confessing the subjection of the republic, and that to the king she owed  
 the preservation of that liberty which his ancestors had enabled her to acquire. Finally,  
 that in the space of ten days the states should signify their assent to these insolent proposals,  
 in which case he would withdraw his forces<sup>a</sup>. Here it is remarkable, that not the least  
 mention was made of *England*: we shall see how that court seemed to be wholly directed by  
 the will and pleasure of *Lewis*.

Proposals made  
by the kings.

THE deputies sent to *England* were met at *Gravesend*, forbid entering *London*, and con- b  
 veyed directly to *Hampton-court*, where they met with a very harsh reception, though they  
 excited the compassion of a generous people, seduced into an unjust war against a republic  
 with which they had no real quarrel. At *Hampton* they were kept in a kind of honourable  
 confinement, until the pleasure of *Lewis* should be known, and whether they were to be  
 favoured with an audience, or upon what terms it might be proper to treat of an accom-  
 modation. Bishop *Burnet* intimates, that the deputies gave lord *Arlington* to understand, c  
 that the states were disposed to advance the prince of *Orange* to the dignity of stadtholder,  
 and all the other offices possessed by his ancestors, as was plain from their giving him the  
 intire command of the army. They requested, that his majesty would appoint plenipo-  
 tentiaries to treat jointly of a peace with the *French* monarch; and their petition was  
 granted, merely because *Charles* was at a loss in what manner to act singly, and before he  
 had his instructions from *Lewis*. The duke of *Buckingham* and lord *Arlington* were accord-  
 ingly nominated to attend the *French* king, at that time with his whole court at *Utrecht*. It  
 would seem, however, that though *Charles* did not chuse to treat separately of a peace,  
 that he felt uneasiness at the rapid progress of his ally, and at the high strain of authority  
 in which he talked; that he foresaw the intire conquest of the provinces would be a for-  
 midable accession of power to *Lewis*, who might forget his engagements, and think it his  
 interest to have the king of *England* dependent on his subjects. Besides, *Charles* shewed an d  
 inclination to share in the spoils of the republic. Poverty had made him avaricious, and  
 now was the opportunity of gratifying the new-born passion, and of administering to the  
 gratification of all his pleasures. *Holland* was in such a situation, that he doubted not of  
 procuring whatever conditions he should think fit to prescribe. His demands were exor-  
 bitant. In concert with the court of *France*, the plenipotentiaries delivered the following  
 preliminaries to the *Dutch* deputies: That the states should do honour to the *British* flag,  
 without limitation; that whole fleets should strike their colours, and lower their topmasts, to  
 any single king's ship in the *British* seas, or on the coasts of *Holland*; that his majesty's  
 subjects at *Surinam* should have liberty to quit the colony, on the terms prescribed by the  
 treaty of *Breda*; that all the king's enemies and calumniators should for ever be banished e  
 the republic; that the prince of *Orange* and his descendants should enjoy, by hereditary  
 right, the dignities of captain and admiral general, and of stadtholder of the United Pro-  
 vinces, in as ample a manner as they had ever been held by his ancestors; that a million  
 sterling should be paid to the king, to indemnify the charges of the war, as well as ten  
 thousand pounds annually, merely for liberty to fish in the *British* seas; that a treaty of  
 commerce should immediately be set on foot, wherein all his majesty's claims, respecting  
 the affairs of *India*, should be acknowledged, without contradiction; and that the isles of  
*Valcheren*, *Cadfant*, *Goree*, and *Voorn*, with the town and castle of *Sluys*, and their depen-  
 dencies, should be put into the king of *England*'s hands, by way of security for the per-  
 formance of the several articles of this treaty<sup>b</sup>.

GRIEVOUS as these terms were, to the prince of *Orange* alone it was owing they were not f  
 accepted. He had infused such a spirit into the people, that on him depended the alter-  
 native of embracing or rejecting the proposals. Nor were the allied kings ignorant of  
 this. They addressed themselves chiefly to him: they knew his ambition, and they plied  
 him on that side with all the batteries in their power, fully convinced, that, in the end, he  
 must yield to the temptation. The sovereignty of the provinces was presented to his view,  
 to dazzle his eyes with the lustre of the object; but *William*'s ambition aspired higher.  
 Eager to become the saviour of his country, he spurned the thoughts of trampling on her  
 liberties, at a time when she most wanted his assistance: he despised owing his elevation to  
 tyrants, and sacrificing his honour and integrity to the petty reward of a tributary sove-  
 reignty. He called to mind the unhappy fate of the duke of *Lorrain*: the example was g

<sup>a</sup> VOLTAIRE Siecle. NEUVILLE, ibid.

<sup>b</sup> RAPIN, SMOLLETT, TEMPLE, &c.



- a recent, striking, and sufficient to deter any inferior prince from relying upon the friendship, the equity, or the gratitude of a powerful monarch, whose ambition grasped at sub-  
jecting all the neighbouring powers. Full of these heroic sentiments, he declared he would defend the liberties of his country, or perish in the last dyke. The spirit of the prince infused life and vigour into his party; and he took this opportunity of inflaming the passions of the populace against the pensioner and his brother, who had now become the objects of hatred and execration, on account of their adherence to *France*. To this, and the subjection in which the house of *Orange* was kept, were all the misfortunes of the commonwealth attributed. In their most prosperous condition the vulgar panted for a stadtholder, with the glitter of whose authority they were dazzled: in adversity, they knew no  
b other relief than from an application to the descendants of those heroes who had by perseverance, valour, and magnanimity, rescued the state from the insolent dominion of the house of *Austria*, and established religion and liberty on a solid basis.

- THE pensioner *de Wit* was deemed the source of the strong tide of public calamity, that now flowed with a violence sufficient to overwhelm the constitution. He inherited no titles, no royal blood, from his ancestors: his nobility arose solely from merit, inflexible virtue, and vast abilities; but he was subject to the frailties of humanity. His staunch republican principles, and opposition to the aspiring views of the house of *Orange*, obliged him to fall into an extreme equally dangerous to his country. His enmity to the king of *England*, and the prince his nephew, threw him into the arms of *Lewis*, by whom he was now deserted and betrayed. In the full lustre of prosperity, the pensioner was envied and  
c admired; in his decline, he was loaded with the execrations of a people, who placed to his account that their commerce was a prey to the *English*, that their towns were swallowed up by the *French*, the dignity of the republic lost, and public liberty and religion tottering. He was presumed to be, as a *Dutch* writer expresses it, the *Jonas* of the state, whom by throwing overboard the storm would be appeased. Actuated by these prejudices, the provinces fell into the most violent ferment: the dregs of the people, buoyed up to the surface, floated like scories upon the superficies, and dictated to their masters. The states were disregarded, the whole hope of the public centered in the house of *Orange*, and the universal cry was a stadtholder. Every voice demanded the repeal of the perpetual edict,  
d by which they had engaged, upon oath, never to acknowledge the prince of *Orange* as governor-general, or to vest him with the dignities possessed by his ancestors. The two brothers, *John* and *Cornelius*, still continued to oppose the repeal from motives of true patriotism: they saw the madness of the people, and apprehended that, in the transports of their zeal for the prince, they might dispose of their liberty, and, by one act of indiscretion, afford matter of perpetual inquietude. At length the populace broke through all restraint. At *Dort*, where *Cornelius de Wit* was ancient burgomaster, the citizens ran to arms, invited the prince of *Orange* to come thither, and forced the magistrates to invest him with all the dignities belonging to his family. Five days after (*June 30*) the same scene was acted at *Rotterdam*, *Amsterdam*, the *Hague*, *Middlburg*, and in general through  
e all the provinces. Nor did the popular fury stop here: they purged the public offices of all disagreeable persons, called upon the prince to fill the vacancies, introduced into the magistracy all the adherents of his family, and insisted that their own deputies should have seats in the administration, contrary to the fundamental laws of the constitution. At *Amsterdam* the populace were in continual tumults. In one riot the magistrate, equivalent to high sheriff, was wounded; and a burgomaster carried off in triumph, insulted, and confined prisoner in the town-house. At *Dort* the pictures and statues, erected in honour of *Cornelius de Wit*, were pulled down and broken. Their rage against both the brothers was inexpressible; but it seems to have risen to the greatest height against *Cornelius*, who had first refused to sign the instrument whereby the prince was elevated to the stadtholdership.  
f *John de Wit* had, between resentment and despair, resigned the office of pensioner, after having been assaulted by four ruffians, and left for dead in the street. The gallant *de Ruyter* was attacked in the same manner at *Amsterdam*; and *Cornelius de Wit* was beset in his own house, and, being confined to his sick-bed, was with the utmost difficulty protected by his servants. It was a short time after that this honest patriot was accused, by an infamous barber, of having offered him thirty-two thousand guilders for attempting the life of the prince of *Orange*. The charge was improbable and absurd; but the times favoured the accuser, and prevented the magistrates from doing justice to the accused. So strong was the current of faction, that the judges, intimidated by menaces, were forced, against their conviction, to condemn him to the torture, to confiscate his estate, divest him of his dig-  
g nities and employments, and sentence him to perpetual banishment. His constancy never shrunk under the most excruciating pains, which he bore with unshaken fortitude, protesting his innocence; and, at every respite from the pangs of torture, repeating that beau-

*Tumult at the Hague, in which the de Wits are maj- sacred.*



tiful ode of *Horace*, beginning with *Iustum & tenacem propositi virum*. His brother the pensioner, with truly fraternal affection, not only countenanced him through the whole proceeding, wiped away his tears, and consoled him in his adversity, but determined to share his misfortunes, by accompanying him in his exile<sup>c</sup>. While he was visiting him in prison, the deluded multitude assembled in a tumultuous manner, broke open the prison-doors, dragged out the unfortunate brothers, embued their savage hands in the blood of those sons of liberty, who had merited so well of their country, and treated their dead bodies with the most inhuman indignity (A).

THE elevation of the prince of *Orange* was almost an immediate consequence of the tragical end of his two greatest enemies. He was promoted, with all possible demonstrations of joy on the side of the people, to the whole administration of *Holland* and *Zealand*. *Utrecht*, *Guelderland*, and *Overyssel*, were in the hands of the enemy; and the young prince *John-Casimir* of *Nassau*, now under the guardianship of his mother, had already been in possession of the government of *Friesland* and *Groninguen*. But the insolence of the populace did not subside with this favourable change of measures. Their prosperity rather increased their arrogance. At *Amsterdam* the following demands were posted up on the exchange: That the colonels, captains, and other officers of the burgomasters, be immediately cashiered, and their commissions be given to such persons as the prince-stadtholder shall judge worthy: that henceforward none of the burgomasters shall be appointed directors of the *East India* company, and that those who at present enjoy that office be cashiered: that an account of all money received and expended be laid before the burghers: that all the privileges of the burghers, respecting the liberty of fishing round the towns, be confirmed: that those who refuse to accede to these conditions, shall be treated in the same manner as the *de Wits* were at the *Hague*: and that whoever shall presume to pull down this writing, may expect immediate capital punishment. In a word, the power of the nobility was every where the object of jealousy; and the great design seems to have been to share the government between the stadtholder and the populace. Whatever demands were made by the people, the prince immediately granted. All authority was vested in his highness, the

<sup>c</sup> NEUVILLE, *ibid.* BASNAGE *Introduct.* LE CLERC, p. 93. Gazette *Amster.* N<sup>o</sup>. 104.

(A) Most writers have related, that with this sacrifice the popular rage was appeased, and tranquillity once more restored; but the opinion is erroneous. Like the waves of the sea, their passions rolled high, after the tempest had ceased. When the criminal magistrate at the *Hague* had desired and obtained leave of the prince of *Orange*, to make inquiry after the principal actors in this tragedy, and for that purpose asked their names of the captain of the burghers, the people replied, "We are all guilty; if you are dissatisfied with our conduct you shall share the same fate." They even proceeded so far as to depose him immediately from his office, in resentment of the compassion he had shewn for the deceased virtuous patriots. For the reader's farther satisfaction, we shall beg leave to subjoin the following natural and affecting account of a transaction, which will always be regarded as a material incident in the annals of human nature, and perused with that eager curiosity which accompanies tragical events and scenes of horror and bloodshed. 'I tremble when I take pen in hand to acquaint you with the sad spectacle here exhibited in the persons of *Cornelius* and *John de Wit*, the former having the same day received sentence, whereby he was declared incapable of holding any employments in the state, and banished for ever. The barber who accused him, being set at liberty, went up and down the streets, telling the people that *Cornelius's* punishment was by no means adequate to the heinous nature of his crime. About the same time the pensioner *de Wit* going in his coach to the prison, to carry away his brother, they were both, as they were coming away, stopped by the watch, who would have discharged their muskets upon them, had they not immediately retired to the prison. In the mean time, the people being highly dissatisfied with the lenity of the above sentence, and it being reported that the boors were coming, with no good intention, to the *Hague*, the drums were beat for assembling the burghers under arms. Six companies posted themselves before the prison-doors,

where they continued almost the whole day, when they began to break down the prison doors, notwithstanding three troops of horse were drawn out to prevent disorder. These the burghers kept off with their pikes, afterwards obliged them to retire, then broke into the prison, dragged out the brothers, wounded them in divers places, trampled them under foot, and ignominiously dragged the dead bodies round the streets. First, their two fingers, which they had held up at swearing to the perpetual edict, were cut off; and their ears, which were taken up by some boys, and presented as a gift to the first person they met of distinction. After this they hung the dead bodies by the heels on a gibbet, their cloaths being all torn off, and their flesh mangled in a barbarous manner, every one striving to come in for a piece, which they afterwards sold up and down the town. One joint of a finger sold for twelve stivers, a whole finger for fifteen, a piece of an ear for twenty-five stivers, and so in proportion. In this manner the bodies remained hanging till midnight, exposed to the brutal insolence and more than savage cruelty of the mob, when several persons in disguise came and removed them. A sadder spectacle hath never been seen in this or any other country. It is said, that a woman coming from *Sebeveling*, being informed of what had happened, fell upon her knees and thanked God for it; so strongly were the people enraged against two patriots, whose names will be transmitted with those of the most renowned heroes to the latest posterity.' Nothing, indeed, can more strongly characterize the cool, deliberate, phlegmatic barbarity of the people than this simple narration, which bears all the marks of authenticity. We have, in a former volume, given our sentiments upon the share the prince of *Orange* probably had in this horrible transaction. It would be disagreeable and unnecessary to repeat truths which bear hard upon the memory of that great soldier and statesman.

states



a states were scarce ever named, the legislative and executive power were wholly at his mercy, and the constitution seemed intirely unhinged.

THE first good effect which this change of measures produced, was the putting an immediate stop to the treaty with *France*. At an extraordinary assembly of the states, assembled merely for the sake of form, the young stadtholder represented, in a speech that held three hours, the pernicious consequences of accepting the terms proposed by *Lewis*: he encouraged them to hope, that valour and perseverance would be able to triumph over all difficulties, and yet rescue their liberties: he demonstrated the possibility of raising the necessary supplies for the enormous expence of the war; and concluded with observing, that too great a price could not be paid for the security of religion and liberty. His knowledge was so extensive, his judgment so solid, his arguments so irrefragable, his calculations so clear, and his nervous manner so animating, that the states appeared at the same time astonished and convinced. New spirits seemed to flow through every department of the government; all were inspired with courage and hope, from the intrepidity and cool valour of the young stadtholder: that grief and despondency which had long clouded every face, were now dispelled before the radiance of his rising sun: they recovered the faculty of recollection, which seemed to be buried under their misfortunes, and all began to exert themselves with vigour in defence of their country. Wise deliberations paved the way to vigorous resolutions: the proposals of the two kings were rejected, the deputies recalled, and every necessary disposition made for defending themselves to the last extremity. It was even resolved, rather than submit, to transport themselves, their families, and effects to the *East Indies*, where the diligence and providence of this republic would appear to have secured a retreat against the greatest calamities.

*The stadtholder encourages the states to prosecute the war.*

By this time several of the neighbouring powers, alarmed at the rapidity of the *French* conquests, began to arm for the protection of the republic; and the prince of *Orange* had made surprising efforts to assemble an army capable of taking the field. His first attempt was on *Naerden*; but the vigilance of marechal *Luxemburg* rendered it unsuccessful. Still, however, the chief hopes of *Holland* centered in the *English* parliament, which it was believed would thwart the king's inclinations, oblige him to break off from *Lewis*, and pursue the real interest of the nation. This expectation, though well founded, proved vain, as was soon perceived by the new levies made in *England*, and the vast armament sent to sea under the conduct of prince *Rupert*, the earl of *Offory*, and Sir *Edward Spragge*, who immediately joined the *French* squadron commanded by *d'Etrees*. It was now that the project was formed of invading *Zealand*. A considerable body of land-forces was put on board the fleet, and such dispositions made as threatened the republic with unavoidable destruction. Never did any plan bid fairer for success. The *Dutch* fleet was not yet put to sea; the prince of *Orange* could possibly make no detachment from his little army, already greatly inferior to the enemy; the coast was covered with the ships of the invaders, and nothing appeared to give them any interruption: but it pleased the Divine Providence to interpose in defence of this injured and oppressed republic. A tempest came on, which drove the enemy from the shore, and forced them, in a shattered condition, to shelter themselves in their own ports. Nor was this all: the same storm which had removed danger, brought the most seasonable relief to the provinces. In the absence of the combined squadrons, a large fleet of *India* merchant-ships, richly laden, entered the *Texel*, and added nerves to all the operations of war, and measures of defence. Twice in the same war the states were saved from certain ruin by the immediate interposition of the hand of the Almighty. *Luxemburg* was on his march over the ice to attack *Amsterdam* and the *Hague*, when a sudden thaw had almost ruined himself and his army. To proceed was impossible; to return was attended with a thousand difficulties, had the *Dutch* officer of a fort stood firm, and discharged his duty: but his cowardice opened the way to the safety of *Luxemburg*, who was equally astonished at the conduct of his dastardly enemy, and his own good fortune. These are events which the republic has cause to remember with gratitude and admiration<sup>d</sup>.

At this time scarce a single power in *Europe*, of any consideration, pursued its real interest. The policy of all was false and delusive. *France* grasped at so much, that there was danger of exciting a combination of enemies, who would despoil her of all her conquests, and leave her feeble, exhausted, and emaciated, with the loss of blood and treasure spent in the fruitless pursuit of ideal projects. *England* acted in direct opposition to common sense in joining *France*, and endeavouring to exalt the house of *Bourbon* above that of *Austria*. The emperor, the empire, and *Spain*, lost many opportunities of rescuing *Europe* from the impending bondage. Their tedious deliberations suffered *Lewis* to ac-

<sup>d</sup> VOLTAIRE, Siècle.



Sea fight be-  
tween the  
English and  
Dutch.

quire strength, *Holland* to be reduced to the last gasp, and the foundation of a bloody a  
general war to be laid, when one seasonable vigorous effort would have checked the pride  
of *France*, and secured the tranquillity of *Europe*. *Holland* herself committed the grossest  
blunders. At first her whole attention was given to her marine, and the means of opposing  
*England*, though it was impossible to avoid seeing a storm gathering in another quarter.  
She connected herself with *France*, relied upon the faith of treaties, and shut her eyes to  
all consequences. Now, however, she determined to repair her errors by a series of the  
most spirited conduct. *Ruyter* was sent to sea with a powerful fleet in quest of the *English*,  
whom he found on the coast of *Holland*, under the command of prince *Rupert*. Before the  
action the *French* squadron had joined the prince; but *Ruyter* was not deterred from his b  
purpose. He made the signal to attack, bore down with the most undaunted resolution,  
and maintained an obstinate bloody engagement with his usual intrepidity and conduct.  
The fleets parted before victory declared in favour of either side, though both claimed an  
advantage. They put into their ports to refit, and soon appeared again, with intention to  
finish the dispute more decisively. On the fourteenth of *June* they met a second time off  
*Flushing*, and began to cannonade with great fury; but were prevented from coming to a  
general engagement by tempestuous weather. Prince *Rupert* was, indeed, supposed to be  
averse to the war, and for that reason less eager to exert himself than usual, agreeable to  
his impetuous courage and well-known ardour. *Ruyter* would have come to an engage-  
ment; but the prince, being destitute of many necessaries, had retired into port. He c  
was no sooner supplied than he again appeared on the coast of *Holland*, and was attacked  
by *de Ruyter* and *Van Tromp*, now perfectly reconciled by the mediation of the stadtholder,  
who laboured to unite all parties in the service of their country. The action was scarce  
begun when each of the *Dutch* admirals singled out the commanders of the combined fleet.  
*De Ruyter* opposed himself to the prince, *Van Tromp* engaged Sir *Edward Spragge*, and  
rear-admiral *Bronkert* attacked *d'Etrées*, the *French* admiral. Never did greater emulation  
appear between the officers of the different nations: all fought with that regulated ardor,  
and determined courage, which distinguishes true military genius. *Bronkert* shot a-head  
of the *French* division, separated prince *Rupert* from the division of Sir *John Chicheley*, and  
closed him between two fires; *Ruyter* plying him with fury on the one side, while the rear-  
admiral attacked him on the other. Though quite surrounded, *Rupert* fought with un- d  
daunted valour and presence of mind, which seemed to rise with the danger. After several  
desperate efforts, he at length extricated himself; and joining *Chicheley*, bore down to the  
assistance of *Spragge*, almost overpowered by *Van Tromp*. He had shifted his flag from  
the *Royal Prince*, in which he had fought until the ship was beat to pieces with the enemy's  
shot. He then engaged in the *St. George*, and fought her while she could swim; but  
going in the pinnace to shift his flag on board a fresh ship, he was sunk by a cannon-ball,  
after having gained the esteem and admiration of all men by his gallant behaviour. *Van*  
*Tromp* had been in much the same situation: he had twice shifted his flag, after his ships  
had been disabled; and at last bore so hard upon the earl of *Offory*, who succeeded *Spragge*,  
that he forced him to retire. *English* writers however alledge, that had the *French* obeyed e  
prince *Rupert*'s signal to engage, when he put the *Dutch* fleet in confusion by his fireships,  
the victory would have been undisputed. This, however, is conjecture; and all that we  
know for certain is, that, finding himself extremely roughly handled, he collected his  
straggled ships, and hauled off to the *English* coast. *Ruyter* was greatly carested for his  
conduct: the stadtholder wrote him a letter of thanks with his own hand, though he had  
been the inveterate enemy of his family, and the fast friend of the pensioner *de Wit* (A).  
Happily, indeed, the spirit of party seemed now extinguished, and all men united in the  
common defence of their country.

EVERY thing began to take a turn favourable to *Holland*. *Spain* renewed her alliance f  
with the states, was raising an army, and upon the point of coming to a rupture with  
*France*. The emperor had sent the famous *Montecuculi* into the field, to oppose his great  
rival *Turenne*. The elector of *Brandenburg* was at the head of a body of troops, making  
a diversion in favour of the republic; and the prince of *Orange* took *Naerden*, and by a  
series of masterly motions, and judicious encampments, left all the *French* generals behind  
him, joined the Imperialists, and invested and reduced *Bonne* in the space of a few days.  
The bishop of *Munster* had been driven out of *Groningen*, and several places in the electo-

\* LE CLERC, *ibid.* VOLT. c. x. SMOLLETT, b. vii. c. ii.

(A) It was after this battle that *d'Etrées* wrote to M. *Colbert*, "I would have sold my life for half the  
"glory which *de Ruyter* has obtained (1)."

(1) *Voltaire*, tom. i. p. 150.



- a rate of *Cologne*, and forced to receive *Dutch* garrisons; in consequence of which *Lewis* was forced to abandon all his conquests, and withdraw his army from the provinces, the communication being cut off with *France*. Immediately upon this event the king of *Sweden*, seeing the parties grow more equal, and *Europe* likely to be involved in a tedious ruinous war, offered his mediation, and pleaded so heartily for peace, that a congress was opened at *Cologne*. The *Dutch* were no longer under the necessity of abjectly imploring compassion. They refused listening to terms, unless the two kings would recede from the insolent conditions they had before prescribed: they sunk in their own offers; and their ambassadors now again began to assume a more firm and elevated tone, and greater dignity of carriage. The *French* endeavoured to protract the negotiation; but at last, finding themselves greatly embarrassed, they retired from *Cologne* with their allies, on pretence of the violence offered to the count of *Furstenberg*, plenipotentiary for the elector of *Cologne*, and now apprehended by an order of the court of *Vienna*, as a subject of the empire, who had betrayed his country.

- THOUGH the elector of *Brandenburg* and the duke of *Hanover* had suffered themselves to be seduced from the interests of *Europe*, the one signing a neutrality with the court of *France*, the other suffering his troops to enter into the pay of the two kings; yet still *Holland* was sufficiently supported not to be discouraged. The treaties with *Spain* and the empire were full, explicit, and favourable as could be desired: there every measure of defence was stipulated, and a variety of offensive schemes concerted. In the treaty with *Spain*, the first seven articles provided for a reciprocal guarantee and mutual assistance, in case either party was attacked. The proportion, time, manner, and other circumstances of such mutual aid, were likewise specified. In the three next articles it was provided, that no peace should be concluded by either contracting party, without the consent of the other; and also, that no engagements should be formed that were not perfectly consistent with the present treaty. In the eleventh and twelfth articles, the emperor and certain other powers were invited to accede to the alliance; and provision was made for the due observance of the treaty of *Munster*, the guarantee of the treaty of *Aix*, and the triple league, when the war with his *Britannic* majesty should be terminated. In the thirteenth article, the king of *Spain* promises not only to co-operate with the states general, in their endeavours to procure an equitable peace; but engages, should their proposals be rejected, to declare open war against *France*; and that his governor-general shall, in the mean time, contrive to assist the prince of *Orange* with all the strength of the *Spanish Netherlands*. In the fifteenth article it was stipulated, that no peace should be negotiated without full restitution made of all towns, cities, and countries, which had or might be taken from the states; the republic, on the other hand, entering upon the same engagements, until all that had been taken from *Spain*, since the peace of the *Pyrenees*, should be restored. By the eighteenth article, the states engaged to surrender the town of *Maëstricht*, the territory of *Ufenhove*, and all they possessed beyond the *Meuse*, to his majesty, together with their pretensions to the villages of redemption. By the nineteenth article, the treaty was to subsist for the space of twenty years, and the ratifications to be exchanged in two months. What respects *Great Britain* is very particular, and therefore deserves to be inserted at full length, especially as we find it but imperfectly related in the bulk of *English* historians.

Conditions of  
the treaty with  
Spain.

- NOTWITHSTANDING, by the present treaty between the most Catholic king and the republic of the United Provinces, his majesty only engages to declare war against *France*, should the propositions of peace be rejected; yet the king will find himself under the necessity of coming to a rupture with his *Britannic* majesty likewise, since every thing plainly indicates that he co-operates with *France* in obstructing the pacification, and since it would be impossible effectually to assist the states general, and keep upon friendly terms with *Great Britain*. It is therefore agreed, that if the means of pacification, proposed by his Catholic majesty, should prove fruitless, his majesty shall then declare war against the king of *Great Britain*, in the same manner as against his most Christian majesty. Nevertheless, to shew his good inclinations towards his *Britannic* majesty, the states general are required to make one last effort to bring the king to a peace, offering him such conditions as must appear reasonable. This almost was followed by the subsequent proposals; first, that the affair of the flag be adjusted to the satisfaction of the king of *England*: secondly, that restitution be made of all places that have or may be taken by the states general from *Great Britain*, since the commencement of the present war; by this article are understood places out of *Europe*, of which the restitution shall be reciprocal: thirdly, that a sum of four, five, six, or more, thousand doubloons be made payable at the following instalments, viz. a fourth upon exchange of the ratifications; another fourth at the close of the first year after the peace; and the remainder in the two subsequent years<sup>a</sup>.

<sup>a</sup> LE CLERC, tom. ii. p. 97.



A. D. 1674.

Peace with  
England.

SUCH was the treaty by which *Spain* and *Holland* became again united in the same cause, after they had been at variance and open war for near the space of a century. In consequence of this treaty, to which the emperor immediately acceded, the two courts of *Vienna* and *Madrid* denounced war against *France*, and became the avowed protectors of the republic, which they had, during the preceding campaign, assisted with their forces. It was likewise to the peremptoriness of this treaty, and the determined resolution of the Catholic king, that the states owed the peace soon after concluded with *Great Britain*. The parliament, and the nation in general, exclaimed against the ruinous measures supported by the *English* ministers. They were incensed at the conduct of the *French* admiral, who never engaged heartily in any of the naval engagements. They attributed the unprosperous issue of the last action to the artifice of *d'Estrees*, who paid no regard to prince *Rupert's* signal. They clearly penetrated into the designs of the *French* monarch, and determined, by refusing the supplies, to force the court to an accommodation with the *United Provinces*: but first it was resolved to wait the event of an enterprize formed by the earl of *Offory* upon *Helvoetsluys*. As this scheme came to nothing, the *Dutch* commissioners and the *Spanish* ambassador renewed their application to detach *England* from *France*, and they succeeded. As this was a matter of the highest importance, the states did not scruple writing a submissive letter to *Charles*, and empowering the marquis *de Fresno* to conclude peace upon terms nearly similar to those recited in the treaty between *Spain* and the republic. *Charles*, finding it would be impossible to support the war without the consent of his parliament, yielded to the inclinations of his people, and the solicitations of the *Spanish* minister. He made a virtue of necessity, communicated the proposals sent him by the states to the two houses of parliament, and demanded their advice. Their sentiments were well known: they exhorted his majesty to put an end to the war. Accordingly the marquis *de Fresno* was referred to Sir *William Temple*, and at three meetings the whole affair was finished. The treaty of *Breda*, and the commercial treaty in 1668, formed the basis of the present pacification. Little more was added, than that the states should compliment the king's flag, whether in fleets or in single vessels; and that they should pay a sum of money to defray the king's expences. How little they regarded the article respecting the flag, appears from a man of war's refusing to strike to a king's yacht, with an *English* ambassador on board; an incident that happened before the ratifications were exchanged. The truth is, the states were perfectly informed of the temper of the *British* nation and parliament, the breach between them and the court; and they resolved to profit by this circumstance, and to improve their terms in proportion to the king's necessities. This appeared more obviously from the supercilious air with which the *English* ambassadors were treated at the *Hague*. On their return from *Cologne* they waited on the prince of *Orange*, to know his sentiments of the king's mediation with *France*: they were forced to solicit this audience by the interposition of Sir *Gabriel Sylvius*, and to wait several days before it was granted. It was indeed the deepest reflection on the weakness of the *English* administration, to see the ambassadors of the *British* crown supplicating an audience of a prince of *Orange*.

THOUGH *Charles* had negotiated the peace with *Holland* in a dirty, clandestine manner, the *French* king's pride was by this time so mortified, that he did not resent the ill usage received from his ally. On the contrary, he readily accepted the mediation offered by *Charles*, from whom he had reason to expect some partiality and indulgence, as he obliged the *English* monarch with an annual pension of one hundred thousand pounds. *Charles* made the offer, to qualify his desertion, and *Lewis* accepted it, as the most rational means of warding against the danger that threatened his crown from a cloud of enemies combined to retrench his power. But the same reasons that induced him to relish the proposed mediation, rendered the overtures from the *British* king distasteful to the emperor, *Spain*, and *Holland*, who scrupled not avowing that the court of *England* retained the same attachments it formerly had to the *French* king's interest, though the king's immediate necessities obliged him to accommodate matters with the states general. This it was, which had probably occasioned the prince of *Orange's* cool behaviour to Sir *Joseph Williamson*, the *English* ambassador.

WHILE the mediation was in suspense, the prince of *Orange* took the field with a numerous army, and tried every stratagem of war to bring the prince of *Condé* to a battle: we have seen the progress of this campaign, and the manner in which *William* of *Orange* exposed a wing of his army at *Seneffe*, of which the vigilant *Condé* did not fail taking advantage. The conduct of both generals was such as engaged their mutual esteem; both claimed the victory, and neither had a right to any more than the glory of deserving

<sup>b</sup> Univ. Mod Hist. vol. xxv. octavo.



- a it. The encounter however was decisive in one respect; it frustrated the scheme of the confederates to carry the war into the heart of *France*, and disappointed that project upon which the prince of *Orange* had set his heart, of drinking wine in *Champagne*, before the end of the season. It likewise facilitated the operations of the enemy in another quarter, and enabled the *French* to penetrate into *Franche-Comté*, which they soon reduced. *Turenne* was superior to the allies in *Alsace*; he defeated the duke of *Lorraine* and *Caprara* at *Zintzheim*, attacked and routed a body of *Germans* at *Mulhausen*, drove the elector of *Brandenburgh* from *Colmar*, obtained a victory over him at *Turkheim*, and at length forced the enemy to repass the *Rhine*, and abandon their design of invading the king's frontiers, with damage and disgrace.
- b THESE successes did not prevent the king of *England* from persisting in the offers of his mediation, or animate *Lewis* to prosecute the war, could reasonable terms be obtained. The states general themselves were disposed to accommodate matters; but the courts of *Vicna* and *Madrid* formed ambitious projects, of clipping the soaring wings of *Bourbon*, and of humbling the pride of *Lewis*. The stadtholder too was inflamed with the desire of military glory, and he pushed his resentment to *France* so far, that the pensioner *Fagel* acknowledged, it would not be possible to convince him of the propriety of concluding a peace, before he had settled the balance of *Europe*, on such a footing, as must for years check the elevation of the *French* monarch. Animosity, ambition, and policy, united to confirm *William* in those sentiments, and we find he already stretched the general plan
- c of that grand alliance, which afterwards took effect, when he was king of *Great Britain*. Actuated by these principles, he carefully avoided all conference with the *English* ministers during the campaign, and at last told them, until *France* received further mortifications, nothing salutary to the peace of *Europe* could flow from a negotiation. In the second conference, he explained that maxim which had afterwards cost *England* and *Holland* such an A. D. 1675. immensity of blood and treasure, that it was the interest of both to set bounds to the power of *France*; whence he took occasion to urge, that the king should actually embark in the alliance, in order to convince *Lewis* that he had the same views with the other confederates; namely, the security of the repose of *Europe*, and not a mere temporary pacification. The prince was the more encouraged to pursue his design, that the elector of
- d *Brandenburgh* had again broke with the *French* king, and joined his troops, amounting to eighteen thousand men, to the confederate army. Yet was this reinforcement scarce sufficient to balance the inconveniences arising from dissensions among the generals, and troops of different princes, since the battle of *Zintzheim*. The *Lunenburghers* had openly condemned the conduct of the Imperialists in this action; for several hours they singly sustained the whole weight of the enemy, they had suffered extremely, and were with reason loud in their complaints. The *Brandenburghers* embraced their cause against the Imperialists; a diversity of interests produced a diversity of opinions; councils only created confusion, and every transaction was as perfectly known to *Turenne* as if he had been present. However, upon the whole, the campaign proved fortunate to the allies. *Montecuculi*
- e again resumed the command, opposed himself to *Turenne*, reduced all things to order, displayed the most extensive capacity, held the scale equal for a time, and, upon the unfortunate death of his great rival, suddenly turned it in favour of the confederates, and then resigned the command, because the enemy had no general worthy of opposing the man who had shewn himself equal to the great *Turenne*. At this time the illustrious *Condé* was employed in *Flanders*, where, with an inferior army, he had kept at bay the prince of *Orange* for the whole campaign. He was sent to succeed *Turenne*, but the same reasons which had prevailed with *Montecuculi* to withdraw, now influenced *Condé*. He retrieved the king's affairs, and then resigned, with the dignity of a hero<sup>c</sup>.
- f It was during the recess from military operations, that the sovereignty of *Guelderland* had been offered the prince of *Orange*, under the antient title of duke, which it was pretended had been formerly in his family. This affair occasioned various conjectures. Those who had no opinion of *William's* patriotism, and attributed whatever appeared great in his character to ambition, alledged that he was himself the main spring in the intrigue, and had by divers means influenced the states of *Guelderland* to make the proposal. His friends and admirers were of contrary sentiments. They insisted that the motion proceeded from gratitude, and that the reward was no more than was due to a hero, who had so bravely driven a powerful enemy out of the country, and rescued almost beyond probability the liberties of the *United Provinces*. *William* wisely deliberated on the offer, and submitted it to the states of *Holland*, *Zealand*, and *Utrecht*. The last temporised, and
- g were for his accepting it; the second were as positive, in dissuading him from being dazzled with a title which would afford his enemies a handle to asperse his character, and

<sup>c</sup> Univ. Mod. Hist. vol. xxv. octavo.



tain real patriotism with the infamous blot of hypocrisy. Before *Holland* came to any resolution, the prince thought fit to decline an honour, which would have cost more than it was worth, by diminishing his popularity, while it increased his power, and added to his dignities. What ingratiated him particularly with the states of *Utrecht*, was his conduct in that province, upon his first resolution after he had been elevated to the stadtholdership. In order to reform abuses, and settle the government upon the antient principles of the constitution, he convened an assembly of the provincial states. Here it was determined, that new members should be elected to compose the body of the nobility and the magistracy. The prince delivered a plan he had drawn up, for the better government of the provinces: it was examined, approved, and put in execution. In consequence the old constitution was revived, agreeable to which the provincial government was vested in three distinct societies, the counsellors elect, the body of the nobility, and the deputies of the towns and cities. The judicious behaviour of the prince of *Orange* upon this occasion rendered him the darling of the people, and gave rise to the motion of rendering the stadtholdership hereditary in the heirs-male of his body. The *Louvestein* faction was now wholly suppressed, and there scarce was heard a murmur against a proposal in which the gratitude of the people, and the interest of the republic, appeared interested. The instrument for this provision was made out, and the example was followed by some of the other provinces.

Congress appointed at Nimeguen.  
A. D. 1676.

THE calamities of war, which had almost depopulated the empire and the *Netherlands*, excited the compassion of divers princes, who laboured to establish a negotiation. In this none was so hearty as the king of *England*, for the reasons we have mentioned, rather than from any regard to the interests of *Europe*. His mediation at last operated so powerfully, that the contending parties all agreed to send plenipotentiaries to *Nimeguen*, where a congress was appointed about the beginning of the year. It was obvious, however, that the courts of *Vienna*, *Madrid*, and *Berlin*, would willingly have protracted the time, in expectation of obtaining such advantages as would induce the *French* monarch to acquiesce in more moderate conditions than they could expect in his present situation. The states general, likewise influenced by the stadtholder, did not express that forwardness for a negotiation which became their former professions. Hence it was that the armies of every side took the field, and military operations were pushed with vigour, while the ministers were treating about peace in the cabinet. *Lewis* appeared early at the head of numerous forces, and reduced *Condé*, *Aire*, and *Bouchain*. The prince of *Orange* retaliated, by laying siege to *Maastricht*, which he pushed with the utmost impetuosity, until the judicious motions of the enemy, and the scarcity of forage, obliged him to abandon the enterprize. With this event ended the campaign in the *Netherlands*, when immediately the eyes of all *Europe* were again turned upon the congress at *Nimeguen*<sup>a</sup>.

THE *Spaniards* were averse to peace, from a full conviction that the court of *England* could not long remain blind to the interests of *Europe*. They persuaded themselves, that rather than see *Lewis* in possession of the *Spanish Netherlands*, *Charles* would join the confederates. On the other hand, the *French* monarch was bent upon dividing the allies, and concluding a separate peace with *Holland*. *Charles* assisted in this design; the states general lent an ear to the proposal; but the stadtholder of himself refused to enter upon a measure which might have incurred the imputation of treachery, and given the confederates a fair handle to complain that they were betrayed by the republic, in whose defence they engaged in the quarrel. It was a bad recompence of their generous services, and seasonable interposition, to be now deserted, and left to extricate themselves out of a dangerous war, by the best means in their power. Perhaps ambition and revenge, as some writers assert, might have some influence with the prince; yet it must be confessed, that his sentiments are founded upon justice and generosity. Besides, he perceived that the *English* nation in general detested their sovereign's attachment to *France*; and that the people were now highly inflamed by the indiscriminate depredations of the *French* privateers, who made no distinction between *Dutch* and *English* merchant-ships, and regarded as lawful prizes whatever fell in their way. In fact, the prince was extremely popular in *England*. His valour, steadiness, zeal for the good of *Europe*, implacable resentment to *France*, and unvariable attachment to liberty, raised him extremely high in the opinion of a people enamoured above all others of patriotism, and oftener the dupes of hypocrisy than any other nation. The ill-humour of the *English* was increased by an indignity put on the flag by a *French* squadron, which refused the compliment to captain *Herbert* of the *Cambridge*. The tame conduct of *Charles*, who contented himself with demanding satisfaction by a letter, further incensed the people, and at last the house of commons exhorted the king to contract such alliances as would be sufficient to check the ambition of the *French* monarch.

<sup>a</sup> Univ. Mod. Hist. vol. xxv. LE CLERC, pag. 99.



a ANOTHER circumstance, likewise contributed to prevent the separate peace between *France* and *Holland*: so successfully had the *French* ministry laboured in establishing the navy, that *France* might now be regarded as one of the principal maritime powers in *Europe*. One of the first remarkable instances of the strength and spirit of her navy, appeared off the coast of *Sicily*. *Messina* had lately revolted from the *Spaniards*, and the duke *de Vivonne* was sent with a squadron to support the citizens in their rebellion. This occasioned the junction of the *Spanish* and *Dutch* fleets, who set sail to oppose *Vivonne*. On the seventh of *January* they fell in with the enemy, consisting of twenty-two men of war, six fire-ships, and several bomb-ketches. The engagement began next morning, before which time the wind freshened, and the sea rolled so high, that the *Spanish* galleys were forced to put into *Lipari*. *Ruyter*, however, did not decline the combat: he bore down upon the enemy, begun the action early, and sustained it with admirable constancy until five in the evening, when the *French* found means to withdraw, and accomplish their design of succouring *Messina*. *Ruyter* upon this separated himself from the *Spaniards*, and repaired to *Leghorn*; where, upon his arrival, he found an order to continue co-operating with the Catholic king's squadron, which produced a second junction of the fleets, and a resolution to lay siege to *Augusta* by sea and land. This was undertaken under the direction of the *Spanish* viceroy. Three days after the place was invested, the *French* squadron quitted the port of *Messina*, for the relief of the besieged. The fleets were nearly equal in strength, and the action was maintained with all the fire which might be expected from combatants, the one determined to gain, and the other resolved not to lose the empire of the ocean. The *Spaniards* fired at too great a distance, and did little execution; *de Ruyter* with his division supported the brunt of the engagement; broke the *French* line, gave chase for an hour, and obtained the honour of a victory, when he was wounded in the heel by a shot from the stern-chace of a *French* ship. A fever ensued, by which this gallant officer was carried off, in the space of a week, to the irreparable loss of his country. He yielded his last breath in *Syracuse*, lamented as the ornament of *Holland*, esteemed by all *Europe*, and recorded by the ablest pens as an example for posterity, of valour, conduct, integrity, and rigid republican patriotism. This contributed to render the prince of *Orange* strenuous against concluding a peace until *France* should be humbled. He saw *Lewis* aspiring after maritime power, which of consequence must ruin the commerce of the republic, upon which depended her grandeur and riches, and he hoped to combine *England* with *Holland* in destroying his marine; while the confederate land-forces were retrenching his frontiers, and limiting his ambition on the side of *Germany* and the *Netherlands*.

THE event which soon followed justified the prince's zealous enmity to the house of *Bourbon*, and his dread of the rising naval power of *France*. After the late action, the combined fleets of *Spain* and *Holland* proceeded from *Syracuse* to *Palermo*, where they were pursued by the duke *de Vivonne*. The allies appeared without the mole drawn up in a line, composed of twenty-seven men of war, nineteen galleys, and four fireships. The mole was on their left, the bastions of the town on the right, and the fortress of *Castle Mare* composed the centre. This disposition was good, and the appearance formidable; yet *Vivonne*, or rather *du Quesne*, the greatest genius of his age, ventured to attack them in this situation, with a squadron scarce equal in strength or numbers. The action began with great vigour, and was bravely sustained on both sides, when the *French*, taking advantage of a favourable wind, sent their fireships among the allies, obliged them to cut their cables, and run a-ground, which however rather accelerated their misfortunes. In a word, twelve capital men of war were burnt or blown up into the air. Five thousand men perished on this occasion; and, to the astonishment of all *Europe*, *Lewis* became master of the *Mediterranean*, and justly claimed the empire of the ocean. We have thrown these facts together, though they happened at different periods, to give the reader a more distinct view of the policy by which the prince of *Orange* was influenced in his opposition to the negotiations of a separate peace.

*WILLIAM* had great reason to expect that the king of *England* would at length find A. D. 1678. himself under the necessity of declaring against *Lewis*. The nation in general expressed the utmost aversion to the measures of the administration, and the house of commons addressed his majesty to break off his connections with the court of *France*. Some of the leading persons of the kingdom were in the prince's interest, and negotiating a marriage between him and the princess *Mary*, eldest daughter of the duke of *York*. The earl of *Denby*, by the suggestions of Sir *William Temple*, first proposed the match to the king and the prince. At first the king was averse to it, then neutral, and at last well disposed to

\* LE CLERC, pag. 102, 103, vol. ii. SMOLLETT, lib. vii. passim.



the alliance, in hopes it might engage *William* to favour his designs, and listen to the separate peace proposed by the *French* monarch, while the prince always relished the prospect, because he imagined it would engage the *English* the more strongly to espouse his interest, and enter into his views, with respect to the war. It was from this consideration he accepted the invitation his majesty had given him of visiting *England*, as soon as the campaign should be finished. He accordingly arrived in the month of *October*, and repaired to the court at *Newmarket*; and after various difficulties celebrated his nuptials with the prince: after which he entered upon conferences for a plan of pacification with the duke of *York*, the earl of *Denby*, and Sir *William Temple*. Now it was agreed that *Lewis* should restore all he had wrested from the emperor and duke of *Lorraine*; that there should be a reciprocal restitution between *France* and *Holland*, and that *Spain* should have certain terms specified. This point the prince gained, that *Charles* solemnly engaged to renounce all connection with *Lewis*, and openly to espouse the confederate cause, should he refuse to accept of the conditions concerted in this general plan of pacification. All these projects, however, had almost been disconcerted by the king's unsteadiness, who was cajoled by the *French* court to forget all he had promised to his people, and the prince of *Orange*. It was the earnest wish of *Charles* to be set above the necessity of applying to his parliament for money, and *Lewis* artfully turned those inclinations to his own advantage, by granting him a yearly subsidy to a considerable amount. To dazzle the eyes of *Europe*, he struck up a defensive alliance with *Holland*; but this neither satisfied the prince of *Orange* nor the commons. Both insisted that he would denounce war against *France*, unless *Lewis* accepted the plan drawn up by the prince of *Orange* and the *English* ministry.

Peace of Nimeguen.

WHILE the king was thus involved with his parliament, and the republic in suspense whether she was to rely on the good offices of *England*, in listening to the proposals made by *France*, the armies took the field with the same views as in the preceding campaign, of obtaining some advantage which might give the negotiators a turn in their favour. The military operations of this year have already been related: we shall only observe, in this place, that towards the close of the season, the states general came to a resolution of accepting peace for themselves and the *Spaniards*, provided certain towns were ceded to the latter, and ample restitution made to the former. Just as the treaty was on the point of being signed, *Lewis's* tergiversation had almost broke up the congress. He refused making the required cession to *Spain*, unless certain advantages, not mentioned before, were previously granted to *Sweden*. This difficulty was at length got over by the firmness of the states; the treaty was concluded, the frontier of the *United Provinces* was secured, the tranquillity of the republic established, and in a few months all *Europe* enjoyed the benefit of a pacification. Such was the issue of a war, which had brought the *United Provinces* to the verge of desperation, and almost established the *French* monarch in that universal empire, after which he eagerly aspired<sup>f</sup> (A).

<sup>f</sup> Mod. Univ. Hist. vol. xxv. octavo.

(A) We have declined giving the particulars of this treaty, as they have already been related in the history of *France*. Our intention is no more than to convey a just idea of the policy of the republic.



S E C T. XII.

*Comprehending the affairs of the republic from the peace of Nimeguen, to the general treaty of pacification at Ryfwick.*

- <sup>a</sup> **A**N embassy, sent to *France* by the republic immediately after the peace had been signed at *Nimeguen*, gave birth to certain disputes about the honours due to the representatives of their high mightinesses, who seemed already to have forgot, that arrogance, pride, and insolent inscriptions and devices, had occasioned all their late calamities. Because the king's guards were not drawn up in the court of the *Louvre*, with drums beating and colours flying, as the ambassadors passed, they refused proceeding to the audience, though *Lewis* was expecting them, until they should be received with the same honours as the last embassy sent by the republic. They were told, that the compliment which they now demanded was never paid, except to the ministers of emperors and kings; and though it happened to the former ambassadors, it was merely the effect of chance, the guards possibly being relieving as they passed. This was denied by the ambassadors, who proved; by the registers of former ministers, that the compliment had been paid, and not only to the republic of the *United Provinces*, but to *Venice* and the duke of *Savoy*, and cantons of *Switzerland*. At last this affair was adjusted to their entire satisfaction, and the ambassadors were introduced with all the honours of shew and respect they required.
- <sup>b</sup> *LEWIS* had his designs in this condescension. He was labouring a defensive treaty with the states, and had given instructions to that effect to his ambassador at the *Hague*, the count *d'Avaux*. To this Mr. *Sidney*, the *English* envoy, opposed himself, declaring, in positive terms, that his majesty should regard this treaty as a league against *Great-Britain*, and a resolution again to disturb the peace *Europe*. A whole year had passed in negotiating the point, and *France* had made no progress; the states contenting themselves with general expressions of esteem and regard for his majesty. Enraged at the disappointment, *Lewis* ordered *d'Avaux* to have recourse to menaces, where solicitation and intreaty had failed. An attempt was made to awake the antient terrors of the republic; by a thundering memorial delivered to the states by the ambassador. Here he represented the king's astonishment and displeasure at the ambiguous artful conduct of the states; his resolution to wait only a few days for their answer, and afterwards, not only to drop mentioning the subject, but to refuse all proposals relative to the defensive alliance, so beneficial to both nations. He added, that if they neglected embracing this opportunity
- <sup>c</sup> of securing his majesty's friendship, they must expect he would alter his conduct, and turn circumstances to the best advantage he could to his own subjects, and the advancement of the commercial interests of his kingdom. Mr. *Sidney* perceived the drift of *d'Avaux's* memorial, and resolved to frustrate its effects by a memorial in behalf of his *Britannic* majesty, which was presented next day to the states of *Holland*. This piece was drawn up by a masterly pen, and produced the consequence proposed. The states rejected the *French* proposals, and ordered their deputies to declare their sentiments to the states general, from whom the count *d'Avaux* was to receive his answer. Before their high mightinesses could be prevailed upon to communicate the resolution of the states of *Holland*, a great number of libels were dispersed by the friends of *France* and *England*; and it again appeared that the *Louvestein* faction, always attached to the *French* monarch, was not yet wholly subdued. The hydra faction again recovered its head, and the opposition to *England* arose solely from a desire of harrassing the views of the prince of *Orange*. The defensive treaty proposed became the subject of all conversation, upon which every
- <sup>d</sup> man expressed himself agreeable to his connections, interests, or prejudices. Those who approved the defensive alliance with *Lewis*, insisted that the *United Provinces* could not remain neutral, because they had already entered into a defensive treaty with *England* in the year 1678, by which the contracting parties were bound to assist each other if attacked, and in the space of two months to come to an open rupture with the enemies of either nation. What reason, they asked, could be urged for increasing the resentment of *Lewis*, by refusing him the same terms which had been given to *Charles*? Besides, *England* was so torn with civil dissensions, that the republic could have little dependance from that quarter, should she be attacked. It was otherwise with *France*; it was not only in the power of *Lewis*, but it was his interest to defend the republic against all the neighbouring powers. The faction did not recollect that *Lewis* himself was the only dan-
- <sup>e</sup> *The Dutch dispute about the honours due to their ambassadors.*
- <sup>f</sup> *They refuse the alliance proposed by Lewis.*
- A. D. 1680.



dangerous neighbour, and that his pretended friendship had led the provinces into the most critical situation they had ever experienced. On the contrary, the house of *Orange*, and the adherents of *England*, affirmed, that *Great Britain* was the most natural ally of the republic, and by means of her fleets the most powerful protectress. The provincial states were divided: those of *Friseland* and *Groningen* were for accepting the *French* proposals; *Holland* remained fixed in the refusal; some of the other provinces proposed a neutrality; and this at length proved the opinion of the states-general, who communicated their resolution in the most delicate terms to the *French* ambassador, assuring him of their sincere desire to cultivate and deserve the friendship of the most christian king, and their full determination religiously to adhere to the peace of *Nimeguen*.

NOTWITHSTANDING these protestations, they extremely resented the demands of the *French* king, of the arrears due upon the contributions raised in the last war in the territory of *Boisleduc*, the barony of *Breda*, and other parts of the dominions of the republic. Yet with this they were forced to comply, as the king threatened military execution. Indeed it was observable, that scarce were the bonfires which had been lighted for the late pacification extinguished, before a disposition to a fresh war began to shew itself. The courts of *Versailles* and *Madrid* entered into disputes about the title of the duke of *Burgundy*; these paved the way to altercations upon a variety of other subjects, in consequence of which the envoy extraordinary of *Spain* at the *Hague*, presented a memorial to the states general, containing a long list of the infractions of which his catholic majesty demanded redress. The states sent an order to their ambassadors at the court of *France*, to use their utmost endeavours in composing matters, and preventing points of mere punctilios from laying the foundation of another war, which might disturb the peace of all *Europe*. *Spain* at length yielded to the firm resolution of *Lewis*, and produced a temporary harmony between the two courts, by ceding the title of *Burgundy*. The court of *Madrid*, nevertheless, endeavoured to fortify herself by the alliance of the republic, which was eagerly solicited on the one part, and as cautiously avoided on the other, from an apprehension of giving umbrage to the *French* monarch.

WHILE the states were using their good offices to terminate all differences among their neighbours, they did not neglect their own affairs. For some years they had been in a state of hostility with the little pyratel states of *Barbary*, though no transaction worth regarding had occurred. That the states were at war could only be known by petty depredations, and the seizure of some *Dutch* merchantmen. However, it was thought convenient to negotiate a peace with the *Algerines*, which was signed the preceding year. This did not prevent the dey of *Algiers* from annoying the *Dutch* commerce, when he could do it to his own advantage; he had taken several ships since the publication of the treaty, and was full as dangerous under the mask of friendship as when he professed open enmity. The *Dutch* commissaries complained of these infractions, and the dey alledged that the treaty had not been ratified, because he had not received the present of cannon which the states promised. At last the expected present arrived at *Algiers*, was received with great demonstrations of joy, and the ratification of the treaty was published by sound of trumpet and the firing of cannon, the dey solemnly declaring that he would strictly observe the peace with their high mightinesses.

A. D. 1681.

THE court of *Spain* had for some time been soliciting *England* to conclude a defensive treaty. His catholic majesty perceived that *Lewis* had little regard to the treaty of *Nimeguen*, and the subsequent agreement about the title of *Burgundy*; he was therefore desirous of fortifying himself by alliances. *Charles*, during the civil broils in his kingdom, listened patiently to his proposals; but he no sooner found himself at liberty to consult his own inclinations, than he dropped all correspondence with *Spain*, and renewed his connections with the *French* monarch. *Lewis*, notwithstanding his late disappointment, and the rough checks he sustained in the prosecution of his plan of universal monarchy, had not yet wholly abandoned that design. After the peace of *Nimeguen*, when other powers had disbanded their armies, he kept a numerous body of forces in pay, dictated to the neighbouring states, and insolently erected chambers at *Mentz* and *Brisaac*, for enquiring into titles, and resuming such territories as had ever belonged to his new conquests. The authority he assumed was extravagant. He summoned sovereign princes to appear before his chambers, and occasionally issued decrees, expelling them from their dominions, in case they disobeyed his imperial mandate. He seized upon *Cassal*, and the free town of *Strasbourg*; demanded *Alost* of the *Spaniards*, and in consequence of their refusal to cede that place, he reduced *Luxemburg*. This incensed the catholic king to such a degree, that he declared war against *France*, without reflecting on his inability to support it, and had



a the mortification to see all the *Spanish Netherlands* over-run without opposition. *Lewis's* A defensive treaty between the states and Sweden. conduct alarmed all *Europe*, and in particular the states general, whose vicinity to the *Spanish Netherlands* made them peculiarly interested. It was this consideration which suggested the idea of a treaty with *Sweden* for the guaranty of the peace of *Nimeguen*. As *Great Britain* was likewise deeply concerned in the object of this treaty, M. *Van Buiningen* was sent to invite the king to accede to the new alliance. He made the strongest remonstrances, to which the king listened attentively, but to little purpose; for though conferences were appointed to negotiate the affair, he still adhered to the interest of *Lewis*, and in the end declined the proposed treaty.

b THE treaty of guaranty concluded between *Sweden* and the republic was not at all relished by *Lewis*, who ordered his minister at the *Hague* to present divers memorials upon the subject, to the states general. In these he declared, that he regarded this alliance as an association injurious to himself, and the means of kindling a new war, perhaps more fatal in its consequences than the former. The states vindicated their conduct, by alledging, that as his majesty had repeatedly acknowledged the republic, he must necessarily allow them the privilege of contracting what alliances she might think proper, which was the essential and distinguishing prerogative of liberty. The object of the treaty, they affirmed, was to secure the freedom of *Europe*, and preserve the repose of the republic, as well as of all the neighbouring powers. In a word, they offered to present the count *d'Avaux* with a copy of the convention; and defended themselves with so much candor and force of argument, that *Lewis* appeared satisfied. An unfortunate accident however happened, which had almost been attended with the most serious consequences, and an open rupture. A lieutenant and nine dragoons, of the garrison of *Ypres*, had orders from the king to seize a *Frenchman*, who had taken refuge in *Amsterdam*, and been admitted a burgess by the title of the count *de Sardam*. His reasons for withdrawing from the *French* dominions were not known; but it was the business of the states to prevent an infraction of their liberties. The king's officer and his party were therefore arrested at *Rotterdam*, and sent prisoners to the *Hague*. Several memorials were presented by *d'Avaux* to procure the release of the prisoners, or at least a suspension of the proceedings against them, which were actually begun. He alledged they were the king's subjects, waiting at *Rotterdam* for a conveyance into the *French* dominions: but this excuse not answering his purpose, he threw off the mask, and declared they had acted by the king his master's directions. The states pretended great astonishment at this confession; and perceiving the consequence of dissembling in a point that so nearly affected the liberty of the state, they acquainted the ambassador, that as the trespass was committed in the provinces of *Holland* and *Friseland*, he must apply to the states of those provinces for redress. He did so, and obtained no satisfaction. He was told, that surrendering the criminals would be founding a precedent for every prince in *Europe* to violate the privileges of the provinces; and that if they complied with the king's request, the same would be expected by other potentates, who might claim an equal right to their regard. In a word, they gave him to understand, that the proceedings must go on, and the prisoners be either condemned, or acquitted legally. In consequence, the process was carried on, the officer solemnly condemned to be beheaded, and the dragoons to labour in the dykes for the space of ten years. Accordingly the lieutenant was conducted to the place of execution, scaffolds were erected, a hearse, covered with black cloth, attended the criminal; he was brought to the block, and there pardoned and sent back, with his party, to the garrison. By this steadiness of conduct the states asserted their liberties, without giving just cause of complaint to the most christian king. *D'Avaux* at first talked loud, and denounced the king's vengeance; but he was in the end forced to acknowledge that the equity and firm resolution of the *Hollanders* were equally commendable.

The states of Holland condemn a French officer to death.

f MEANTIME the emperor perceiving that *Lewis's* design was gradually to despoil him of all his dominions in *Alsace*, desired to be admitted into the guaranty treaty lately executed between the court of *Stockholm* and the states general. He, at the same time, formed an alliance with the circles of *Franconia* and the *Upper Rhine*, in order that he might have an army on that river, if necessity required. Already he had brought a body of troops from his hereditary dominions, the command of which was given to prince *Waldec*, now created a prince of the empire. The states were not displeased with these motions, which intimated a resolution to oppose the ambitious designs of the *French* monarch. They were particularly pleasing to the prince of *Orange*, who, besides his general enmity to the *French*, had now personal causes of complaint against *Lewis*. That monarch could not avoid resenting the zeal with which the prince of *Orange* espoused the liberties of *Europe*, and combated his ambition. He saw that his vigilance thwarted all his measures, and penetrated into his most secret projects, before they were well formed. Tho' inconsiderable in point of territory and power, he regarded the

prince



prince as the most formidable of his enemies, because he directed the councils of the republic, and had great influence all over the empire, as well as in *Spain* and *Great Britain*. It was this which inspired him with the pitiful revenge of attacking the principality of *Orange*, hemmed in by his dominions, and environed by *Provence*. It was not possible to make the haughty soul of *William* stoop to concessions, or to warp his integrity by touching him on the side of his ambition, though that was his predominant passion: but it was in *Lewis's* power to punish his obstinacy, and hurl down vengeance on the heads of an innocent people, for the crimes of their sovereign.

The king of France oppresses the inhabitants of the principality of Orange.

A. D. 1682.

WHILE the negotiation for a defensive treaty was in agitation, the wrongs, damages, and oppressions which his highness had sustained, either by the connivance or direction of the *French* monarch, were often recommended by his friends to the consideration of the states general, to be discussed previously to the expected treaty. *D'Avaux* however had the address to have the motion set aside, under pretence that his claims would require more time in adjusting than was allowed for the conclusion of the treaty. When the duchy of *Luxemburg* was invaded by the *French* troops, the commanding officer had exposed to sale, by sound of trumpet, all the lands, furniture, and effects of the prince of *Orange*, as having been adjudged to him by a formal decree of the states of the country. It was of the losses he sustained that the prince desired to be indemnified; but as the defensive treaty came to nothing, he was forced to refer his pretensions to a more seasonable opportunity. *Lewis*, not satisfied with denying the prince justice, had recourse to farther violences. He obliged the magistrates of the town of *Orange* to expel all the *French* scholars from their college, and the *French* artizans out of their city. He sent two regiments of dragoons to live at free quarters upon the inhabitants, until they had levelled a wall built as a defence against the incursions of their troublesome neighbours. As these arbitrary proceedings were exclaimed against at every court in *Europe*, he was at no loss to colour them over with specious pretexts. He spirited up the prince of *Condé* to lay claim to the whole principality, in quality of administrator to the duke de *Longueville*. To preserve all the appearances of justice, he cited the prince, by the title of messire *William* count de *Nassau*, living at the *Hague* in *Holland*, to appear before his privy council. The provinces of *Zealand*, *Holland*, and *Utrecht*, were unanimous in the prince's defence. They represented the affair to the states, who mentioned it to the count d'*Avaux*; but this minister having no instructions upon that head, M. *Heinsius* was sent to solicit the prince's affairs at *Paris*, where he resided above a year to no effect.

The revival of the Louvestein faction.

To account for the indifference with which the states of *Holland* and the states general beheld the oppression of a prince so nearly connected with the republic, and to whom and his ancestors the *United Provinces* owed the greatest obligations, it will be necessary to enter more particularly into the situation of parties at this period. It was the chief business of d'*Avaux* at the *Hague*, to rear up an opposition to the power of the stadtholder, and cherish the remains of the *Louvestein* faction. In pursuing this scheme, he proved successful beyond probability, considering the depressed state of the opposite party a few years before, and the vast popularity and power of the prince of *Orange*. The first trial of the strength of the faction was made on the refusal of the *Spaniards* to cede *Alost*, and the invasion of the *Ten Provinces* that ensued. The prince, alarmed at the danger which threatened the frontiers of the republic, caused an extraordinary meeting of the states, and, in concert with the pensionary *Fagel*, the *Spanish* resident, and the council of state, left no expedient untried to procure a levy of 16,000 men, to augment the forces of the republic. The states declined the request, under pretence of the necessity of consulting the provinces, which was only an artifice of the *French* faction, to gain time for starting such objections, or raising such an opposition as should utterly disconcert the prince's design. At the next meeting of the states this became apparent. Several of the deputies were instructed to give their negative to the motion. The city of *Amsterdam* was at the head of the opposition; and after violent debates, which lasted for eight hours, the prince had the mortification to find that his interest and credit were on the decline; for the states separated without coming to any decision. Even after the marshal de *Humieres* had over-run the *Netherlands*, the opposition to the levies continued without shrinking; and it was evident, that the faction apprehended more dreadful consequences from the power of the stadtholder, than from the ambition of the *French* monarch. In hopes of flattering and cajoling the proud city of *Amsterdam* into his sentiments, the prince, at the head of a solemn deputation, waited upon the magistrates; but though he was received with respect, his errand proved fruitless. *Amsterdam* not only positively declared against the levies, but was supported in this resolution by *Leyden*, *Delft*, *Scheidam*, the *Brille*, and other towns.

DISAPPOINTED in all his projects, the prince ventured upon a resolution, destructive of the liberty of the towns, and the very basis of the union of *Utrecht*. Finding he could not carry his point in the constitutional method, by the consent of every individual city, he



a he determined that a plurality of voices should be sufficient authority. So rash a measure, dictated by passion, was of the utmost service to his enemies. It gave them a fair opportunity of exclaiming against his ambition; it rendered their cause popular, and furnished them with the patriot side of the dispute. Grafting opposition upon public spirit, they now proved, that upon no emergency the liberties of the constitution ought to be infringed; that whoever attempts it must be an enemy to his country; and that he must have deeper designs than those which appear to the eye of the public. They maintained, that by rushing into the war, kindled between the courts of *Versailles* and *Madrid*, they should plunge themselves into greater calamities than those they pretended to remove. In proof of this; A. D. 1685. they alledged, that the *French* minister had already offered a plan of pacification, which b *Spain* ought to accept, and was in no condition to refuse, even though supported by the republic. There was little hope, they affirmed, of the concurrence of any other power, without which no better conditions could be obtained at the close of a ruinous war, than were now offered before its commencement. There was no dependence, they asserted, on the promises of the *German* princes; and as to the electors of *Saxony* and *Bavaria*, *Spain* had no title to expect their interposition, as they had not guarantied the treaty of *Nimeguen*. The emperor was fully employed in opposing the *Turks*, *Sweden* had hitherto declined interfering; and as to the king of *England*, if he had any rule of conduct at all, it was to espouse the *French* monarch. In a word, they urged, that it was better to accept the proposals now offered, than to rouse the indignation of *France*, by making useless levies, which c would produce no other effect than lodging power in the hands of the ambitious, laying heavy duties on trade, and raising enemies to the republic.

NOTWITHSTANDING the plausible plea urged by the city of *Amsterdam*, and the heads of the *French* faction, the prince still insisted, and indeed seemed to carry his point, that the plurality of voices in this instance, where the safety of the state was endangered by the infatuated opposition of party prejudice, should be held of equal authority with the unanimity required by the constitution. This was certainly so daring a trespass on the constitution of the provinces, as could not fail of exciting violent commotions. All blazed out suddenly into a flame; yet the prince of *Orange* pursued his design with that cool determined resolution, which he probably would have maintained had his country been laid in d ashes. He obtained both a majority of the cities, and likewise of the provinces. *Zeeland*, *Friseland*, and *Holland*, firmly opposed him; but the former was at length gained over to the stadtholder's measures: yet would neither *Friseland* nor *Groningen* so much as admit of a deputation to convince them, that they ought to yield to the sense of a majority. As to the city of *Amsterdam*, it carried matters so high, as not only to enter a protest against the levy in question, but to declare that she could never regard this resolution as an act of the states of *Holland*, because it was not authorised agreeable to the fundamental principles of the government, by unanimous consent: she therefore declared her intention not to contribute to the expences of the levy.

In the midst of these dissensions, the *Spanish* envoy presented a memorial, urging the e states to declare against *France*: in consequence of which the states sent a deputation to the count d'*Avaux*, proposing a suspension of arms for four months. This taking no effect, the prince of *Orange* thought the opportunity now offered for accelerating the motions of the states, and humbling the city of *Amsterdam*. In concert with the *Spanish* ambassador, he had intercepted some dispatches from the *French* ambassador to his court, in which he acquaints his majesty with the methods he had practised to influence the magistrates of the city, and the sums expended in corrupting the deputies. These letters were produced in a full assembly of the states, the prince moving, that two of the deputies chiefly concerned should withdraw before they were read. He then declared, that they contained a clandestine correspondence between M. d'*Avaux* and the city of *Amsterdam*, inconsistent with f the honour, the liberty, and the safety of the republic. Upon this they were read aloud, and produced such an effect, that the states ordered copies to be transmitted to all the cities in the provinces, and the papers of the whole deputation to be sealed up, until the sense of the states general should be consulted. The stream of popularity now took a different channel. The people clamoured against the magistrates of the city; the *French* ambassador presented a memorial to the states general, renewing his master's former proposals of peace; but little regard was paid to overtures which were used as an artifice to ward off an enquiry. The prince, the pensionary, and the council, urged the necessity of new levies with more vehemence than ever; and they left no means untried of procuring the same submission to an act of the majority, which the principles of the constitution required to g the act of the whole body.



A. D. 1684.

WITH respect to the letters read in the assembly, they were vindicated by the magistrates of *Amsterdam*, who alledged, that the cypher was misinterpreted, and that the deputies had acted intirely by their direction. They then demanded the papers belonging to the deputation, which had been seized, and security for their deputies to attend the public service. Not satisfied with this, they sent circular letters to all the cities of the union, complaining of the affront put upon their deputies; and to excite the ferment, M. d'*Avaux* insisted upon the restitution of his letters, the intercepting of which was an infraction of the laws of nations, and the rights of ambassadors. All this was adding combustibles to the flame. *William* adhered to the charge with his usual stability. Instead of restoring the papers, he insisted upon an inquiry; which however he could not accomplish, as the privileges of all the deputies were interested in the event. At the same time he pursued the main object of the levies, and procured a farther supply of horse and foot for the service of his Catholic majesty: his own guards were specified in the number of auxiliaries, and he had given out that he should take the field in person, when the states of *Groningen* and *Friseland* objected to the vote of augmentation, because their deputies were absent. They therefore insisted upon recalling the troops, and recommended, that all possible means should be used to dispose the court of *Spain* to accept of the proposals made by the *French*, by which a dangerous war would be prevented, and the frontiers of the republic preserved. *William*, however, carried all before him. The reinforcement sent to the marquis de *Grana* amounted to fourteen thousand horse and foot: the states signified, in their answer to the remonstrances of *Friseland* and *Groningen*, that they could not recal this reinforcement: the last division of the prince's guards were on their march to *Flanders*, his own field-equipage was in readiness, and the day was appointed for his setting out to co-operate with the *Spanish* general in the conduct of the campaign, when a menacing memorial from d'*Avaux*, expressed in a stile of authority, shook the resolution of the states, diffused a panic through every department of the republic, and, in despite of the stadtholder's utmost efforts, put a stop to all vigorous proceedings. D'*Avaux*'s memorial was opposed by a counter-memorial from the *Spanish* envoy, in which he put on a great shew of magnanimity, that operated but little on the minds of the states, as it was unsupported with the requisite power. A resolution was therefore taken to treat with the *French* minister on the proposals made in his former memorials. But d'*Avaux* now refused to stand by those conditions. He alledged, that circumstances were changed, that the dilatory proceedings of the *Dutch* government had obliged the king to enter upon new measures, and that his majesty was determined not to deviate in the smallest degree from the proposals he now delivered. The states shewed their inclination to accept any terms. They were intimidated by menaces, struck with the power of *Lewis*, and incapable of being wound up by the spirited remonstrances of the prince of *Orange* to the necessary pitch of resolution. *Friseland* and *Groningen* besides continued in their opposition to the levies, and the city of *Amsterdam* positively refused contributing to the support of the forces. Conferences were at length opened with d'*Avaux*, and his terms accepted; upon which orders were sent to the troops in *Flanders* to desist from all hostilities.

THE *French* faction, having gained this great point, determined to subject the prince of *Orange* to still greater mortifications. As soon as the treaty with *France* had passed the usual forms, the states came to a resolution to disband all the forces raised to assist *Spain*, consisting of one thousand four hundred and forty-six horse, and nine thousand and forty-two foot. The magistrates of *Amsterdam* pushed their animosity so far, as to invite prince *Casimir* of *Nassau* and his court to their city, with intention to confer upon him the stadtholdership, in the room of his cousin the prince of *Orange*. This project, however, was baffled by the harmony subsisting between the two princes; and the magistrates determined to compensate their disappointment by some other method of revenge, no less signal and mortifying. Their deputies were instructed to propose in the assembly of the states, that enquiry might be made into the state of the navy; that the fleet should be augmented; that the army should be farther reduced; that the pay of the officers and soldiers should be diminished; and the money issued for repairing fortifications, and other public services, should be frugally managed, and the accounts accurately examined. These proposals were directly pointed against the power and authority of the stadtholder; but they had such an appearance of patriotism, that they could not be openly opposed. Yet as they affected the interest of such a number of individuals, it was no difficult matter for the prince, without appearing in the dispute, to parry the thrust made at his prerogative, and procure a negative in the assembly. Thus *Lewis* again revived the dissensions of *Holland*, roused a faction which had for some time lain dormant, and once more gained such influence in the repub-



a lic, as enabled him to keep up the ball of contention, prevent all vigorous resolutions, maintain the provinces in a kind of subjection, and limit the authority of the stadtholder.

THE events of this year afforded a prospect to the stadtholder of a closer connection with *England*. His father-in-law, the duke of *York*, succeeded to the crown; and it was expected he would have exerted his influence with the *French* monarch to procure justice to the prince, with respect to his principality, and other territories, oppressed, impoverished, and seized by *Lewis*. He was fully apprised of all the grievances of which *William* had casually and fruitlessly sought redress. The marechal *de Lorges* came ambassador from *Versailles*, to compliment him on his accession: he had the fairest occasion of doing his son eminent service; but he refrained, and displayed a coldness which was soon after improved into invincible hatred. All the *Dutch* writers, contrary to the testimony of *English* historians, assert, that both the prince and the republic took every method of cultivating the friendship of *James*; and that his highness proceeded so far, upon the king's accession, as to intimate to the duke of *Monmouth*, then residing at the *Hague*, that he might look out for another asylum. Yet did these tenders of friendship produce no return: on the contrary, *James* was reserved, indifferent, and civil, to the prince and the states general. To the former he shewed some remains of the dislike he expressed to the marriage of the princess his daughter; and to the latter, his bigotted aversion to the liberty, the religion, and the national character of the *Hollanders*. Yet he affected complying with the temper of the nation, by declaring, that he would maintain the ballance of *Europe* with the steady hand of justice, and treat upon a level with the proud *Lewis le Grande*. His embassy however to the court of *Rome* afforded a bad prognostic, and became the subject of uneasiness, not only to the states general, the prince of *Orange*, and all the Protestant princes and powers, but even to Catholics, who wished well to *Great Britain*, and foresaw that the king's bigotry would subject him to the counsels of the pontiff, and connect him more closely with the house of *Bourbon*. *Ronquello*, the *Spanish* ambassador, is said to have intimated his apprehensions upon this head, by which he gave great offence to the monarch.

A. D. 1685.  
State of the republic with respect to Great Britain.

THOUGH the duke of *Monmouth* had retired to *Brussels*, in consequence of the hint given him by the prince of *Orange*, great numbers of malcontents still resided in *Holland*, particularly the earl of *Argyle*, who was making the utmost preparations to return in an hostile manner to his native country, and continually spurring *Monmouth* to those ambitious projects which he was on the point of relinquishing. *Skelton*, the *English* minister, had notice of what was transacting. Accordingly he presented a memorial to the states, desiring the persons of the refugees might be seized, and the vessels freighted for conveying arms and ammunition to *Great Britain* stopped in the harbours, which he specified. He gave in a list of names obnoxious to the government; and the states seemed willing to shew the utmost respect to the court of *London*, but without violating the laws of hospitality. They ordered the search required to be made, after having hinted to the malcontents the necessity of withdrawing themselves and their effects. This has been urged by *English* writers as a proof that the *Dutch* government connived at the intended invasion; though, if we consider the artifices by which the disaffected subjects of *Great Britain* procured their arms, ammunition, and money, the protection afforded to all strangers by the fundamental laws of the constitution, the late dispute with the *French* king upon a subject of a similar nature, and a variety of other circumstances, it will appear evident, that the states were far from giving them any encouragement; and that they did all in their power to oblige the king of *England*, consistently with their honour, the principles of their government, and the humanity due to the unfortunate. The *Continuation of Nuville*<sup>a</sup>, indeed, affirms, that notwithstanding they had no reason to be satisfied with a prince who was the author of two wars, and had constantly fomented divisions between the king his brother and the republic, yet they presently complied with the envoy's demands, by sending copies of his memorials, and of his list, to all the towns and cities of the Seven Provinces, commanding the magistrates to make diligent search after the persons pointed at, and to oblige them to quit the territories of the republic. That the malcontents were actually embarked for *Scotland* before these orders were issued, was certainly one of the first public causes of discontent between the two nations. *James* alledged, that the states had assisted in stirring up rebellion among his subjects; and, to shew his resentment, he encouraged the *Algerines* to declare war afresh against the *United Provinces*.

HOWEVER solid and sincere the late peace concluded between their high mightinesses, and the piratical states of *Algiers*, might appear, the great commerce of *Holland* in the *Mediterranean*, and the valuable prizes every day before their eyes, together with the suggestions of the court of *London*, were too powerful temptations to be resisted by a barbarous republic.

King James excites the *Algerines* to a war with the republic.

<sup>a</sup> NUVILLE, Hist. tom. iii. p. 84, 85.



rous, avaricious, lawless people. They therefore first began their piracies, and to sanctify those robberies with the name of justice. they published a declaration of war, in which were specified a variety of grievances, real or pretended, though they had never previously demanded redress. An incredible number of vessels fell into their hands, the crews of which were confined, the cargoes taken out, and the ships abandoned to the fury of the winds and waves, with perhaps one or two of the more helpless hands on board. It reflected but little honour upon *James*, that while every Christian port in *Europe* was shut against those violaters of equity, order, and the laws of society, they were in a manner protected in *England*. They had leave to sculk in the creeks and harbours on the *English* coast, to lay in wait for their prey, to retire thither when pursued, to sell their prizes, and to supply themselves with every necessary. This at least is the allegation of foreign writers; nor do we find it refuted, upon credible authority, by the apologizers of the errors of that unfortunate monarch. On the other hand, the states, by way of reprisal, altered their conduct, and now extended their protection to all the declared enemies of the king and government. They fled in crowds to take shelter under the wing of the republic, and the states thought themselves justified, in pursuing the dictates of humanity and hospitality, while they at the same time obtained their revenge. Sir *Robert Peyton* was among the number of the *English* refugees: he was highly obnoxious to the court, and screened himself against the king's resentment, by a timely retreat to *Amsterdam*, that universal asylum for distress, misfortune, and too frequently for villainy. *James* formed a design of seizing this exile by open violence, knowing the resolution of the states, not to surrender him in consequence of remonstrances. Certain natives of *Great Britain*, who held commissions in the *Dutch* army, were employed in this outrage on the laws of the commonwealth; and *Skelton* the envoy conducted the attempt in person. *Peyton* was seized; but he was rescued by the populace, who committed to prison the officers who had thus unjustifiably trespassed upon the constitution. The states remonstrated to the court of *London*, and in such lively terms, that the king thought proper to disavow all knowledge of the violence: however, when a process was formed against the criminals, when the laws were likely to take place, and their lives were in danger, *James* interposed, and requested that their punishment might be referred to him; and that, as they were subjects of *Great Britain*, they might be tried by the laws of their country. On this occasion the states shewed their respect for the king; they even paid him more deference than they had shewed for *Lewis the Great*, in the zenith of his power and glory. The *French* king's officer was condemned, and brought on the scaffold; the *English* offenders, though in the service of the states, were sent over to *England*, in hopes the king would have at least not countenanced them; but they were disappointed. *James* not only pardoned, but preferred the criminals to a higher rank in the army than they before enjoyed.

A. D. 1686. BESIDES these causes of mutual discontent, *James* enlarged the breach, by a revival of the antient disputes between the *English* and *Dutch East India* companies, with respect to the trade of both nations to *Bantam*, which the *Dutch*, by a revolution effected in the government of that country, had artfully monopolized. The *English* company indeed had presented a petition to the king, praying his interposition, and shewing the injury sustained by their commerce, from the arbitrary proceedings of the *Hollanders* in that quarter. They specified a number of violences committed by the *Dutch*, under the sanction of the young king of *Bantam's* name; they demonstrated their design of excluding all *Europeans* from that trade; they expected his majesty to procure them justice, reparation of their losses, and security for their future commerce. *James* mentioned the affair to the *Dutch* ambassador, and he denied the charge; upon which instructions were sent to the *English* minister at the *Hague*, to represent the complaints of the company to the states general. This produced conferences between the commissioners of the two companies, of which the reader has already had an account (A). From the king's so warmly patronizing the *India* company, and other circumstances, it was inferred at the *Hague*, that he wanted the opportunity of coming to an open rupture with the republic.

State of affairs  
between  
France and  
Holland.

WHILE the states kept a strict eye on all the occurrences that passed in *England*, they were not neglectful of the conduct of *France*. They endeavoured so to conduct themselves, with respect to the court of *Versailles*, as to maintain the tranquillity of the republic, and the repose of *Europe*. They suppressed all emotion, at the inhumanity shewn the *French* Protestants, and the cruelties committed in the principality of *Orange*. Party and

(A) It must be confessed that great artifice and chicanery appear in the answer of the *Dutch* deputies, to the charge exhibited by the *English* company. There remains no doubt that they were guilty of numberless violences, and that their design was to become the only commercial *European* power in *Asia*; but whether this

was the proper season for *James* to enter upon fresh disputes, must be left to the judgment of those who are sufficiently acquainted with the situation of his affairs at this period. It is sufficient proof, that the *Dutch* did not act wholly upon the square, that the *Danes* and other nations made directly the same complaints as the *English*.

policy



- a policy both contributed to prevent their interposing for the prince of *Orange*, and procuring him the justice he petitioned. They winked at many other acts of *Lewis's* despotism, out of dread of his power; yet with all their caution, a slight accident had almost embroiled them with that monarch. Two *Dutch* men of war, going to *Villa Nova* to wood and water, fell in with a *French* squadron of eight men of war, commanded by the duke *de Mortemar*. The *French* admiral required certain honours to be paid to the king's flag, to grant which the *Dutch* captains were not authorized. On their refusal, the duke fired a broadside, and an action ensued, which lasted for five hours. One of the *Dutch* captains, perceiving the superiority of the enemy, sheered off, the other bravely maintained the engagement, was killed, and his ship taken, after he had made
- b the *French* admiral pay dear for his victory. Immediately the count *d'Avaux* presented a memorial to the states general, demanding satisfaction for the insult offered to the king's flag. He alledged, contrary to all probability, that the *Dutch* were the aggressors, and confirmed his allegations with such menaces, as determined the states to send an embassy to *Versailles*, to put an end to the affair in the best manner possible. Notwithstanding justice and equity were on their side, it was found necessary to make concessions, and procure restitution of their ship, by mean submission. This commonwealth has indeed been always distinguished for temporising, and converting every incident, every despicable compliance to her own advantage. Pride in one or two instances blinded her to her interests: in general that and every other passion were made subservient to her avarice. While she
- c was making acknowledgments to *Lewis*, and imploring his pardon for injuries she had suffered, for presuming to stand in her own defence, this republic was harbouring the ingenious, diligent artificers, driven out of his dominions, and persecuted on account of their religion; she was establishing new manufactures upon the ruins of the *French* industry, and rendering the liberty of her constitution useful to the extension of her commerce. Hitherto the *Dutch* traded wholly with the commodities of other countries, now they tried to raise a foundation for trade among themselves, and they succeeded by dint of perseverance. They imported a breed of cattle from *Jutland*, and the northern kingdoms, which they fattened and exported to the neighbouring countries. They erected a variety of hardware manufactories, chiefly with a view to their *East* and *West India* colonies, and in a short
- d time they became the most distinguished of any people in *Europe*, for a happy knack in making toys and baubles, for which they found a rapid sale, not only among the barbarians of *Asia*, *Africa*, and *America*, but all the civilized nations of *Europe*.

- THE jealousy between the states and *Great Britain* in the mean time daily increased; and it was considerably augmented by the share the prince of *Orange* had in the famous league of *Augsburg*, which was supposed to operate so powerfully on the subsequent revolution in *England*; though we must confess we cannot discover by what means it acquired any influence in this event. The states took the alarm at the king's assembling his forces, issuing out commissions for repairing and augmenting his navy, assigning a stated annual sum of four hundred thousand pounds, to be issued quarterly out of the treasury for defraying the expences of the marine, and holding a powerful squadron in continual readiness. They suspected, from these formidable preparations, that some great blow was meditated; and their writers alledge, that the priests who swarmed about the king's person, and were presumed to be entirely acquainted with the secrets of his cabinet, insinuated, that the stroke was levelled against the republic, and that the *French* monarch would join his weight, to render it decisive. If we may credit the testimony of bishop *Burnet*<sup>c</sup>, this suspicion was not wholly without foundation. However this may be, *James* certainly had not laid aside the appearance of friendship for the republic. His envoy *Skelton* was recalled from the *Hague*, and succeeded by the marquis *d'Abbeville*, vested with the powers of envoy extraordinary. At his first public audience, this minister gave the states the strongest assurances of the king his master's regard for the republic, and firm resolution inviolably to observe all treaties concluded with the states since his accession. He endeavoured to dissipate all the apprehensions they had too rashly entertained, from the malicious suggestions of persons disaffected to his majesty's person and government; and he concluded with solemn protestations, that the preparations which gave birth to their fears, had no other object than the preservation of the repose of *Europe*, and the defence of the *British* dominions. In his private negotiation with the prince of *Orange*, he assured his highness, that the king had no design of injuring himself and the princess in their right of succession to his crown, in case of failure of direct male issue. Other matters were likewise treated of, in a variety of conferences the *British* minister had with the prince; but as they have
- e no relation to the general affairs of the republic, we shall omit them. Sufficient it is, that a resolution was taken of sending *M. Dykvelde*, in quality of envoy, to the court of
- f
- g

*The jealousy between England and Holland increases.*  
A. D. 1687.

<sup>c</sup> History of his own Times, pag. 688, Fol.



*London*, with instructions to expostulate boldly with the king, upon the measures he was pursuing at home and abroad, and to effect a better understanding between him and the stadtholder. Before the departure of this minister, *Abbeville* had presented two memorials, one upon the subject of the *India* commerce; and another, requiring, that doctor *Burnet*, an *English* clergyman, afterwards raised to the see of *Salisbury*, might be banished the territory of the state.

A. D. 1688.

THE negotiations in *England* and *Holland* turned upon the abolition of the penal laws, and the repeal of the test-act, to which the king wanted the prince of *Orange's* consent, who was now considered as presumptive heir to the crown, in right of his princess; but *William* did not seem inclinable to yield any of the liberties of the Protestant religion. He even declared positively, that he could not carry his respect to the king so far, as to sacrifice his religion to his inclination to oblige his father-in-law. This firmness determined the king to have recourse to violent measures. He made fresh levies, augmented his fleet, recalled by proclamation all the *English* seamen in foreign service, and by a letter to the states general, demanded the six *British* regiments in their service; a demand with which he was sensible the states would not, and could not comply. A civil answer however was returned; in which his majesty was given to understand, that no treaties, conventions, or articles, between the two nations, authorised their sending back the *British* troops, especially at so critical a conjuncture, unless the kingdom should be attacked by some foreign enemy. The arguments which the states urged in apology for their refusal were indeed forcible and irrefragable; but we can by no means agree with their writers, that the prince of *Orange* had no hand in procuring this resolution. If we may credit them, he had at this time no eye to the crown of *England*, because the queen was now declared pregnant; though we have the express testimony of all the *English* historians, that *Dykvelde* had private instructions from the prince, to treat clandestinely with the *English* malcontents, and that he executed his commission with equal secrecy and success. Bishop *Burnet*, who then resided at the prince's court, acknowledges that, previous to *Dykvelde's* departure, he held frequent conferences with the prince and princess upon the affairs of *England*, the discontents of the *English* nation, the danger which threatened the Protestant religion, and the other preliminaries to a revolution. Indeed the great concourse of the nobility and gentlemen of distinction at the prince's court, the correspondence he kept up in *England*, and the invitations which he laboured to procure from that country, are stronger proofs of his ambition and policy, than of his filial duty, his sincerity, or even his attachment to religion, which is often used as a cloak, by princes, to cover designs not authorized either by religion or morality &

AT this time the vacancy of the episcopal see of *Cologne*, for which prince *Clement* of *Bavaria*, and the cardinal of *Furstenberg*, were candidates, furnished the states general with a pretence for assembling an army in the neighbourhood of *Nimeguen*. The pretensions formed by the most Christian king justified this measure; and the augmentation of the *English* navy afforded them a specious handle for putting their marine in a posture of defence. Both were admirable masks for the prince of *Orange*, at this time making preparations to invade *England*. He had an interview in *Westphalia* with the electors of *Saxony* and *Brandenburgh*, the princes of *Lunenburgh*, and the landgrave of *Hesse Cassel*. To them he communicated his scheme, which was of so much consequence to the interests of religion and liberty, that they engaged for the protection of *Holland* during his expedition to *England*. A fleet of fifty large ships of war was equipped, and such a number of transports freighted, as would serve for the accommodation of twelve thousand land-forces. *France* and *England* were alarmed at these preparations, but neither could penetrate into the object in view. The count *d'Avaux*, however, received instructions to present a memorial to the states, expressing the king's astonishment at the mighty preparation they were making by sea and land, especially at a season of the year when the augmentation of the marine intimated some extraordinary enterprize. The marquis *d'Abbeville*, in the name of his *Britannic* majesty, supported this memorial by another, in which he insisted on his right of demanding the object of so extraordinary an armament. This remonstrance was followed by a second memorial from the *French* ambassador, in which he declared, that the intimate friendship subsisting between the king his master and the king of *England*, would oblige him not only to assist that monarch, should he be attacked, but also to regard the first act of hostility against *England* as a manifest violation of the peace, and a direct, formal design of coming to a rupture with *France*. To this memorial, which entirely consisted of menaces, and a declaration of *Lewis's* purposes, the states returned no answer: and with respect to *d'Abbeville's* remonstrances, they contented themselves with replying, that the preparations in *England* rendered it necessary for the republic to be upon their

Preparations  
to invade  
England.



a guard, especially as every power in *Europe* was busied in raising forces. Besides, they demanded an explanation of the treaty between *France* and *England*, in which the states thought themselves particularly interested<sup>2</sup>.

UPON any other occasion, so rough an answer would probably have produced a declaration of war: it now only drew another memorial from the *English* minister, and an assurance, that his majesty was ready to co-operate with the states in preserving the repose of *Europe*, and enforcing the treaty of *Nimeguen*. It was evident that *James* at length perceived his danger. He now betrayed symptoms of fear, and proceeded so far as to express his desire of contracting an alliance with the republic, which was disregarded, from a conviction that he was secretly in the interest of *France*, and actually in treaty with *Lewis*.

b The truth is, the states were so sensible of the weight it would give the republic in the scale of *Europe*, to have the prince of *Orange* on the throne of *Great Britain*, that they pushed this measure with the utmost vigour. This was the secret spring of all their motions: it was this that silenced the voice of faction, and rendered every man attached to his country, though possibly at enmity with the house of *Orange*, ready to promote with all his might the great design.

THE first direct confession of the destination of the armament proceeded from the pensioner *Fagel*, who frankly owned to the marquis d'*Abbeville*, that the prince of *Orange*, in consequence of an invitation from the *English* nobility, was determined to assist them in re-establishing the ancient constitution, which the king had entirely altered since his accession. Soon after the states published their reasons for assisting the prince with troops and shipping; and this declaration was followed by a manifesto, drawn up by the prince of *Orange*, explaining the motives by which he was actuated to undertake the intended expedition to *England*. Here he enumerated the grievances of the *English* nation, recapitulated the fruitless attempts which had been made for procuring redress, touched upon the supposed imposture in the birth of the prince of *Wales*; and professed his own and the princess's regard for the *English* nation, and for the liberties and religion of the people. Having thus paved the way to a measure which must unavoidably produce a rupture with *France*, the prince took his leave of the states, and embarking on the nineteenth day of *October*, sailed out a few leagues, when a storm arose, which scattered the ships in such a manner, that they were forced to put back, and a whole week elapsed before they could re-assemble at the place of rendezvous. A second time the prince set sail, had a favourable passage, arrived safe in *England*, and was joyfully received as the deliverer of the nation<sup>3</sup>.

The prince of  
Orange arrives in  
England.  
A. D. 1689,

THE success of this expedition extremely embarrassed the court of *Versailles*. *Lewis* had already laid an embargo upon all the *Dutch* shipping in his ports, by which he violated an article of the treaty of *Nimeguen*, framed expressly for the mutual security of the commerce of *France* and *Holland*. What was still a greater violation of the laws of nations, the ships crews were forced by threats to enter into the king's service, by which means he manned a great number of men of war with little trouble. In apology for this conduct, *Lewis* urged the resolution said to be passed in the states to prohibit the importation of *French* manufactures, though his majesty had by an edict expressly forbid the importation into his dominions of *Dutch* herrings, and other commodities. His armies were already committing hostilities in *Germany*, and the dauphin commanded in person at the siege of *Philipsburgh*. It was not the interest of *Lewis* to multiply his enemies; but he saw that the prince of *Orange*'s success in *England* would necessarily engage the *Dutch* to enter into the confederacy against him: it was therefore his business to anticipate their designs, and attack them before they could be assisted by the prince of *Orange*, and probably by the whole strength of the *English* nation. With this view he declared war against the republic, on pretence that their high mightinesses manifested, by their formidable preparations, their intention of breaking the treaty, and co-operating with the princes engaged in a league to oppose the elevation of the cardinal *Furstenberg* to the electorate of *Cologne*. It was no surprise to the states to see this declaration: it was expected, and soon answered by a counter-declaration, in which the assertion of the *French* monarch was refuted, and all the encroachments, violations, arbitrary proceedings, and oppressions committed by the court of *Versailles* since the peace of *Nimeguen*, were clearly enumerated. They demonstrated, that ambition, and the lust of conquest, were the causes of the invasion of the provinces in the year 1672: that necessity alone, and the valour of the prince of *Orange*, had forced *Lewis* to make peace with the republic in 1678; only to recover fresh vigour, and as it would now appear, to involve *Europe* again in the flames of war, from which, however, if he attended to his real interest, he could not expect to be a gainer. They urged, that the king paid no regard to general or particular treaties; that he loaded the *Dutch* com-

The king of  
France declares war  
against the  
republic.

The Dutch  
answer the de-  
claration.

<sup>2</sup> Traite de NUVILLE, cap. xvii.

<sup>3</sup> Ibid. cap. xix. LE CLERC, pag. 184.



merce with every kind of imposition, and had actually put an entire stop to some branches a of trade, expressly regulated in a late treaty of commerce. Nothing could display in stronger colours his arrogance and injustice, than his seizing all the *Dutch* ships in his ports, and obliging the mariners to serve in his navy, without any other shadow of excuse for so flagrant a violence, than the republic's charging *French* commodities with the same incumbrances to which their own were subjected in the king's dominions. They affirmed, that all his assurances, by solemn ambassies, were only snares to lull the neighbouring states into security; his treaties of peace, necessary steps towards renewing the war; his word, his honour, and his faith, prostituted to the purposes of ambition, and the rage of conquest: in a word, that his whole conduct was a series of shuffling, tergiversation, tyranny, oppression, and perfidy. b

Nothing could be more keen, animated, and sarcastic, than the terms in which this declaration was couched. The states were sensible they could expect no favour from *Lewis*, and they determined to rouse the spirits of the people by this proof of their own courage, and evident detection of the artifices of the *French* monarch. Their frontiers were covered by a powerful army, conducted by prince *Waldek*, and composed of the troops of *Brandenburgh*, *Lunenburgh*, *Hesse Cassel*, and other *German* states, joined to the forces of the republic. They were opposed by the marechal *de Humieres*, and both armies were encamped on opposite banks of the *Sambre*. The prince repeatedly offered battle, which was constantly declined by the marechal, who was strongly entrenched, and watching every opportunity of taking the enemy at a disadvantage. c

A. D. 1690.  
The battle of  
Fleuris.

THE whole preceding year was consumed in preparations, encampments, stratagems, and endeavours to bring on a decisive action. *Spain*, *Germany*, and *Savoy*, now declared against *France*; but *Lewis* had sent such numerous armies into the field as were sufficient to make head against all his enemies. His strength seemed to increase in proportion as they multiplied, and he was never so formidable as when he combated singly more than half the powers of *Europe*. *Luxemburgh* succeeded *de Humieres* in the command, and *Waldek* soon experienced, in the plains of *Fleuris*, the valour and capacity of the new general, who was the pupil, the friend, and the admirer of the illustrious *Condé*. The confederates were defeated after a violent conflict, about six thousand prisoners were made, all the cannon taken, and prince *Waldek* reduced to the necessity of acting defensively for the remainder of the campaign. d

NOTWITHSTANDING the *Dutch* were defeated at *Fleuris*, the troops behaved with uncommon intrepidity, and prince *Waldek* performed all that could be expected from consummate abilities. *Luxemburgh* did justice to both, and confessed that never was victory more obstinately contested, or a retreat more formidable than that of the *Dutch* infantry, who were exalted above the *Spanish* infantry at *Rocroi*. It was now the endeavour of the states to reinforce their army with all possible expedition, and to restore the spirit of the troops by rewarding their valour. A sum of money was distributed among the infantry, and the highest praises were bestowed upon their conduct. The regiments which had suffered most were relieved by fresh troops drawn out of garrison, the elector of *Brandenburgh* with a body of forces joined the army, and such vigorous measures were taken as prevented *Luxemburgh's* drawing any advantage from his victory. e

A sea fight, in  
which the  
Dutch are  
roughly  
handed.

ENGLAND and *Holland* were now united in the strictest bonds of alliance, though the disturbances in *Ireland* prevented king *William* from embarking deeply in the affairs of the continent. To execute the great scheme proposed of humbling *Lewis*, it was necessary first to establish himself firmly upon his new throne, and cut off all hope from the unfortunate *James* of ever recovering his dominions. The *Dutch* and *English* fleets were lying at *St. Helen's*, when advice arrived that the *French* squadron had entered the Channel. On the twenty-third of *July* the admirals weighed, having express orders to fight the enemy, notwithstanding their inferiority. In all, the *French* fleet amounted to one hundred and nineteen sail, eighty of which were of the line, while the combined squadrons did not exceed fifty-six ships of the line, besides frigates. The van was led by the *Dutch* squadron, formed into three divisions, under the admirals *Evertzen*, *Callenberg*, and *Vander Putten*. Lord *Torrington*, the *English* admiral, commanded in the center. Off *Beachy* they came up with the enemy, and the *Dutch* began the engagement with the *French* van, led by the famous *Chateau Renaud*, who sustained the attack with great intrepidity, but was at last put in disorder, after a sharp action, which continued for three hours. He was however supported by another division of the *French* squadron, and the battle again renewed with the utmost vigour. As the *English* division lay at a considerable distance, the *Hollanders* were surrounded. *Torrington* endeavoured to extricate them, but with so much caution, that, perceiving their safety depended upon their own courage, the *Dutch* made one violent effort, f



- a effort, and happily broke through the enemy. It appears from the loss sustained, that the *Dutch* bore the whole burden of this engagement. Three of their ships were sunk, and an equal number stranded on the coast of *Sussex*, to which they set fire, to prevent their falling into the enemy's hands. Besides, they had several gallant officers killed, particularly the rear admirals *Dick* and *Brockel*, and captain *Nordet*, with a multitude of inferior officers and seamen. Next day the *French* came up with captain *Varden Yees*, in a sixty gun ship, disabled by the loss of her masts in the preceding action, and took him after a desperate resistance. In a word, it was universally acknowledged, that the *Hollanders* fought with the utmost skill and intrepidity, and that, had they been properly seconded, the enemy must have yielded the victory. So sensible were the states of the gallant behaviour of the admirals, that they received them with the highest respect, continued them in the command, and issued orders for repairing and augmenting the fleet with all possible dispatch; yet was it some mortification to see two states who had lately disputed the empire of the ocean, now foiled by an upstart maritime power, reared in the space of a few years by the care, vigilance, and genius of *Colbert* <sup>a</sup>.
- b

It was now expected the war on the continent would assume a favourable aspect. King *William*, by the battle of *Boyne*, had defeated the designs of the *French* monarch and the unfortunate king *James* in *Ireland*. He crossed the seas to preside at the congress at the *Hague*, the most splendid and numerous that had ever appeared. His public entrance into the *Hague* was magnificent; his arrival diffused vigour through the provinces; he was

King William  
presides at the  
grand congress  
at the Hague.

- c considered as the head of the league forming against *Lewis* for the defence of public liberty; and the personal qualities of the prince of *Orange* received additional lustre from the *British* diadem. Nothing could exceed the joy and reverence with which he was received by the states, to whom he paid his first compliments. In a studied speech, his majesty acquainted them with the success of his endeavours to secure the liberty and religion of the people of *Great Britain*, with the state of affairs in *Ireland*, and with his resolution now to oppose in person all the enemies of the republic, to prosecute the war with vigour, and to employ the whole strength of his new dominions in curbing the insolence of *France*, and procuring an equitable, honourable, and solid peace for *Europe*.

- d HAVING dispatched matters with the states general, the states of *Holland*, and the council of state, *William*, in the next place, turned his attention to the business of the congress, which was composed of a great number of sovereign princes, and the plenipotentiaries of all the powers engaged in the grand alliance. He opened the conferences with a laboured, spirited harangue, recommending vigour and unanimity. He demonstrated, that the interests of every individual concerned in the league were comprized in the success of the confederacy: he enlarged on the power of the enemy, the daring ambition of *Lewis*, the number of his forces, and the ability of his generals, trained up under *Turenne* and *Conde*, the great masters of the military art. In the present circumstances action was more requisite than deliberation. All the principal fortresses, which formed the barrier of liberty, were possessed by the enemy, who would soon like a torrent over-run *Germany* and the *Netherlands*, if they were not checked by the most spirited efforts. Divisions, dilatory proceedings, or a failure of engagements, would prove equally fatal: it was in vain to oppose fruitless complaints, or unprofitable remonstrances, against injustice; the sword alone was the adequate protector of innocence, and avenger of wrongs. Neither the resolutions of a barren diet, nor the airy hope of sanguine persons, built on a chimerical foundation, but soldiers, action, courage, conduct, and unanimity, could withstand the proud elated *Lewis*. He concluded, that, for his own part, he would exert his utmost credit, employ his forces, expend his whole revenue, and hazard his person, in rescuing the liberties of *Europe* out of the hands of an insolent oppressor; and he doubted not but the Almighty would prosper his endeavours, if seconded by the same resolutions in all the other allies.
- e
- f Upon this the congress proceeded to adjust the proportions of money and troops which each of the parties engaged to furnish. The whole exceeded two hundred thousand men, of whom the republic sent thirty-five thousand. Next the operations of the campaign were concerted, every article of the alliance was fully explained, the conditions upon which peace would be accepted clearly determined, and the whole confederacy formed agreeable to that plan which *William* had delineated in his own mind, when he was no more than prince of *Orange* and stadtholder of *Holland*.

WHILE *William* was thus exerting himself to cement a powerful alliance against *France*, A. D. 1691. while he was performing every function of a great monarch, an able politician, and staunch assertor of liberty, the *French* monarch, perceiving that he should be deprived of the ad-

<sup>a</sup> Suite de NEUVILLE, cap. vi. tom. ii.

<sup>e</sup> Id. ibid.



vantages he expected from the preceding campaign, was taking vigorous measures for continuing the course of his victories, which would infallibly at length tire out the confederates, and produce those solid benefits which he proposed, by making his chief push on the side of the *Netherlands*. He hoped to disconcert all the projects of his enemies by striking some signal blow, which should decide the fate of the war, before the allies could be ready to take the field. He relied much upon the dilatory proceedings, the tedious deliberations, and the dissensions which would probably arise in so heterogeneous a league, composed of such a variety of members, connected only, as he imagined, by one tie, that of their general animosity to *France*. His design was to attack *Mons*, and thereby open the gates of *Brussels*, *Antwerp*, and *Liège*. In a word, he perceived, that as yet the allies had neither troops nor magazines formed, equal to their mighty schemes; and it was upon these circumstances he founded his sanguine expectations. Besides, *Lewis* had prodigious magazines upon the frontiers; and his army was cantoned in such manner as to be assembled at the shortest notice. Hence he doubted not of being able to shake the credit of king *William*, and detaching from the confederacy some of the allies, by shewing them that the person they regarded as a hero, and their deliverer, was unable to protect them. It was with this view that the *French* troops were put in motion in the month of *February*, and that *Mons* was invested, before the allies had thought of taking the field. All *William's* endeavours could not relieve the besieged: they surrendered, and *Lewis* thus shewed his contempt of the grand confederacy. A medal was struck at *Paris*, representing a town besieged, with an army looking on, and the following explanatory inscription, *Amat victoria testis*; alluding to king *William*, who lay with his whole army, at *Hall*, a spectator of *Luxemburg's* triumph. Scarce any thing further was attempted during the campaign. *Lewis* returned to *Paris*, and *William* set out for *England*.

Disputes between Denmark and Holland.

NOTWITHSTANDING it was the mutual interest of *Denmark* and the republic to live on terms of amity, a variety of causes arose to disturb their friendship, and produce a rupture. *Denmark*, sensible that she commanded the trade of the *Baltic*, by means of the *Sound*, frequently made use of that circumstance to augment her revenue. She arbitrarily, and contrary to the faith of treaties, imposed new duties upon all merchandize passing through the *Sound*. The customs paid by *Dutch* vessels was rated by treaty; but this did not satisfy the *Danish* monarch. Without giving the states any previous intimation, he demanded an additional duty; and being refused, he seized upon twenty-four merchant-men in the port of *Copenhagen*. So gross a violation of all the treaties subsisting alarmed the *Dutch*: they sent an ambassador to *Denmark*, and his spirited remonstrances brought the northern monarch to reason. Conferences were held, the *Dutch* ships restored, the quarrel was compromised, and the trade of the provinces established upon the usual footing<sup>a</sup>.

A. D. 1692.

THIS year *William*, as chief of the confederates, sustained fresh mortifications. In the preceding campaign he was an eye witness to the glorious triumph of *Lewis*, in the reduction of *Mons*. It was now his fortune to erect new trophies to *Luxemburg*, by the fruitless attempts he made, at the head of a powerful army, to raise the siege of *Namur*. The loss of this city; and the bloody battle that ensued at *Steinkirk*, though they detracted nothing from the reputation of the king of *Great Britain*, proved extremely irksome to the states general, who beheld the *Netherlands* gradually falling into the enemy's hands, in despite of their utmost efforts. The feeble condition indeed of the *Spanish* provinces, obliged *William* to decline the offer of them made by *Spain*, and recommend the elector of *Bavaria* to the government, which however proved but a faint security. To preserve the residue of the *Netherlands* under the dominion of *Spain*, and prevent the exorbitant growth of *France*, by the addition of the ten provinces, was evidently the object of the grand alliance. Hitherto all attempts to regain what had been lost proved fruitless. *France* was every day adding to her conquests: it was necessary therefore to redouble the efforts to oppose her: All the powers engaged in the confederacy were sensible of the necessity of the most vigorous measures; but they shifted the burthen from their own shoulders. The emperor's favourite point was the making conquests on the side of *Hungary*: the *German* princes, nearest danger, could act only under the protection of the whole empire; and those more remote did not care to engage in the war, without a valuable consideration. The *Swiss* cantons studied only to convert their neutrality to the best advantage. *Spain* seemed declined in the use of all her faculties: her usual strength and vigour were vanished, and she relied entirely upon the maritime powers for her defence and security; *England* and *Holland*, indeed, of all the confederates, kept up to their engagements. They made up all deficiencies; and *William* blended indiscriminately the duties of a *British* monarch and a *Dutch* stadtholder. As the king over a great commercial people, he could not wholly abstract

State of affairs in the Netherlands.

<sup>a</sup> Suite de Hist. de NEUVILLE, cap. xiii. l. ii.



a himself from the affairs of the continent: as the stadtholder of *Holland*, he was immediately interested in checking the progress of *Lewis's* conquests. But, unfortunately for his new subjects, he made no difference between the relative concern of the one nation, and the fundamental necessary interest of the other, in the safety of the *Netherlands*. *Great Britain* contributed perhaps more towards the war than the republic; yet could not that island expect an additional foot of territory by the most fortunate issue, though the people were accumulating debts, and laying the foundation of that enormous structure of public credit afterwards reared up, to the astonishment of all *Europe*.

THE *French* king did not confine himself to the efforts made by his generals in *Germany*, the *Netherlands*, and *Italy*. He projected a scheme which would have proved decisive, had it succeeded. This was a descent upon *England*, the measures for which had been so admirably concerted, that king *James* looked upon himself as already restored to his throne. As *Lewis* made no secret of the intended expedition, nothing was omitted by the queen of *England*, regent in the king's absence, to frustrate its effects; and the states-general heartily co-operated with her majesty, ordering a powerful squadron immediately to join the *English* admiral, though they yet smarted under the severe blow received in the last sea-engagement. On this junction the combined fleet amounted to eighty-eight sail, near double the number of *Tourville's* squadron, who was then waiting at *La Hogue* for the *Toulon* squadron, commanded by M. *d'Etree*. To the positive orders received from the *French* court to fight the *English*, before they should be joined by the *Dutch* fleet, may be attributed the miscarriage of this grand armament, which would otherwise have at least answered *Lewis's* purpose of making a powerful diversion. In hope that the junction of the fleets of *England* and *Holland* had not yet taken place, *Tourville* set sail, and encountered the enemy off *Cape Barfleur* on the twenty-ninth of *May*. The allies were descried in three divisions; admiral *Allemonde*, with the *Dutch* ships, leading the van; admiral *Ruffel*, with the *English* red squadron, composed the center; and Sir *John Ashley*, with the blue *English* squadron, being stationed in the rear. The engagement began between *d'Amfreville*, who led the *French* van, and *Allemonde*. The former bore down upon the *Dutch*, and made a very brisk attack, which was sustained with unshaken firmness. *Tourville* engaged the red squadron, and here the action was equally hot and furious. The rear divisions of both sides came up to support the centers, by which the battle became general, as far as the situation of the combined fleet would admit; for a calm, that ensued, prevented *Ruffel's* closing the line. Both sides fought with the utmost vigour and impetuosity for some hours, until so thick a fog arose as obliged the combatants to separate. This recess was, however, but of short duration: the fog was dispelled, and *Tourville* was seen profiting by the opportunity to withdraw from an engagement to which he found himself unequal. Rear-admiral *Shovel* had the address to gain the windward, and separate *Tourville's* division from the squadron destined to support him under *Paunatier*; by which the engagement was again renewed, and the *French* admiral inclosed between two fires. Never did *French* valour appear more conspicuous: after incredible efforts, *Tourville* broke through the enemy, and escaped a pursuit by the seasonable interposition of night. The fleets, however, were so scattered, that they could not get clear of the allies by the next morning. They kept the windward, which prevented his making the next day for *La Hogue*; but declined renewing the engagement. On the third day some of the divisions on both sides came to an action, in which the *French* were worsted. Several other rencounters happened, which always proved favourable to the confederates. At length, *Tourville's* squadron was entirely defeated and dispersed; and by the destruction of sixteen capital ships, including those burnt in *La Hogue* by *Rooke* and *Allemonde*, a fatal blow was given to the marine of *France*, and the descent on *England* wholly frustrated. Censure is the inseparable attendant on disappointment. *Tourville* was blamed by the *French* for engaging rashly. The *English* nation, who expected, from their great superiority, to see the *French* fleet brought in triumph into the river *Thames*, did not refrain from aspersing the character of *Allemonde* and the *Dutch* officers. They in their turn recriminated; and had even the boldness to assert, that admiral *Carter*<sup>b</sup>, a gallant *English* officer who lost his life in the engagement, was corrupted. They even threw reflections upon *Ruffel's* conduct, and highly blamed his disposition and tardiness in closing with *Tourville*, after the *Dutch* were engaged with the enemy's van. These, however, are the suggestions of prejudice and passion. Facts evince that both admirals behaved with the utmost gallantry. The states did justice to the valour and conduct of *Allemonde*; *Ruffel* became the darling of the *English* nation; and posterity must confess, that *Tourville* performed every duty of a brave and able seaman, who had received express orders to fight, against his own judgment.

<sup>b</sup> VOLTAIRE *Siecle*, t. i. SMOLLET, RALPH, and the English Historians.



A. D. 1693.

THOUGH the marine of *France* languished, in consequence of the fatal defeat at *La Hogue*, *Lewis* made the most spirited efforts to restore its strength and vigour. Animated by disappointment, that monarch, fruitful in resources, ordered all the ships in his ports to be equipped. All hands were set to work in building new vessels. So much business was carried on in the docks, that a spectator would have imagined the whole attention of the administration was employed in repairing the navy, and putting the fleet in a respectable posture. Before the month of *June*, a fleet as numerous as the former, but manned with persons who had scarce ever beheld a ship, put to sea under *Tourville*, who was kept in the command, notwithstanding the *French* nation was exasperated at his conduct in the last action. The intention of this armament was to intercept a large fleet of *English* and *Dutch* merchantmen, outward bound for *Spain* and *Portugal*. Sir *George Rooke* and rear-admiral *Vandergoes* were appointed to escort this fleet, with a squadron composed of thirteen *English* and eight *Dutch* men of war. On the twenty-third, turning *Cape Vincent*, they descried the *French* squadron; and the two men of war in the van exchanged a few broadsides with the enemy, after which they slackened sail, and waited for the remainder of the convoy. A calm prevented *Tourville's* coming up, and the van of his fleet did not chuse to run the hazard of entering deeply into an engagement, before they had a prospect of being supported. For four days the two fleets were in sight, without coming to an action: at last an opportunity offered to begin the attack, which *Tourville* embraced with great alacrity. His great superiority rendered the event almost certain; and Sir *George Rooke* was so sensible of the impossibility of saving the fleet under his convoy, by the utmost diversion he could make, that he endeavoured to decline battle, and make the first harbours he could on the coasts of *Spain* and *Portugal*. The enemy, however, came up with the sternmost ships, where they were gallantly received by three *Dutch* men of war, who fought with astonishing resolution, and for some time employed the whole strength of the *French* admiral. After they were surrounded, they obstinately refused to strike, until the greater part of the fleet under their convoy had got into the ports of *Cadiz* and *Gibraltar*. At last the *Dutch* ships were taken, and with them about thirty merchantmen; most of which *Tourville* either burnt or sunk, after taking out their cargoes. *Tourville* is justly censured for not dividing his strength, by which he could have prevented the possibility of an escape; and Sir *George Rooke* is perhaps no less blameable for not engaging, and thereby giving the merchant-fleet an opportunity of escaping. Both the *French* and confederates were displeased; the one that the whole convoy was not taken; the other, that any part should have fallen into the hands of the enemy. *Tourville*, to repair his error, attempted to burn the combined fleet in the bay of *Cadiz*; but such prudent measures had been taken, as disconcerted his project. He had no better success in another attempt he made to cut the merchant-ships out of the bay of *Gibraltar*. Two frigates, and several armed boats were employed in this enterprize; but the gallantry of the *Dutch* and *English* sailors obliged them to retire. He however renewed the attack, and sent fire-ships among the enemy, by which means seven *Danish*, four *English*, two *Genoese*, and six *Dutch* merchantmen were destroyed. Thus ended an expedition, unfortunate indeed to the allies, as well as to some neutral nations, and neither glorious nor beneficial to *France*.

The French  
destroy a num-  
ber of English  
and Dutch  
merchant ships.

Altercation be-  
tween the  
Swiss cantons  
and the allies.

MEAN time the campaign in *Flanders* went on with great vigour. The battle of *Landen* was lost by the allies, and the king of *England's* reputation was somewhat diminished for not avoiding an action, in circumstances when even a victory could have produced no solid advantage, and he could scarcely hope not to be defeated. *France* magnified her triumph, and the allies concealed their disgrace. *Charleroi* surrendered to *Luxemburg*, and this was almost the only fruit of a victory dearly purchased, and highly celebrated. The *French* general's address in improving every advantage, and the king of *England's* alertness in repairing an error, acquired both immortal honour. It was now that the confederates, and in particular the states-general, began to complain of the conduct of the *Swiss* cantons, who had engaged to observe an exact neutrality. The reduction of *Namur*, and the victories at *Steinkirk* and *Neerwinde* or *Landen*, were attributed to the valour of their troops in the service of *France*. The states alledged, that hiring out their forces to *Lewis* was contrary to the neutrality they professed, and an actual hostility against the allies. Besides, by the treaty of *Milan*, the cantons engaged that their troops in the *French* pay should only be employed in the defence of towns, of which *Lewis* was possessed in the year 1663. In consideration of this, *Spain* and the empire had paid them a subsidy, which was doubled at the approach of the present war, when they renewed their engagements not to act offensively. In all the late actions it appeared there had been near thirty battalions of *Swiss* infantry, who had fought with the same desperate fury and animosity, as if the cantons had been at actual war with the confederates. The courts of *Vienna* and *Madrid* now joined the states-general, in remonstrances upon this proceeding so contrary to the intention of treaties, and the faith of solemn engagements. The most spirited memorials were presented and disre-



- a garded. The emperor and Catholic king expressed their resentment, not only by stopping the subsidies, but by cutting off all communication between *Switzerland* and their *Italian* dominions. In particular, they forbade their subjects to sell corn to the *Swiss*, which, upon account of the scarcity then reigning in *France*, put the cantons to great necessity; but even this could not prevail on them to withdraw their forces, and renounce their engagements with *Lewis*, who buoyed them up with lofty promises, and encouraged them by some real advantages. They even declared to the envoys of *Spain* and the empire, and to the deputies of *Holland*, that they would lay themselves under no restraint, though at the same time they had no intention of giving offence to the allies. At last the affair was discussed at a diet at *Baden*. Expedients were proposed; but they proved insufficient and unsatisfactory to all parties. Yet the interposition of the Protestant cantons, and the resolution formed by several of the Catholic divisions of this republic, influenced the emperor and king of *Spain* to remove the prohibition respecting grain, and again to open the communication between *Switzerland* and their dominions <sup>a</sup>.

- While the confederates were endeavouring to weaken the common enemy, by gaining over some of the best troops in the *French* army, an occasional congress sat at *Cologne*, composed of ambassadors from *England*, *Holland*, the emperor, the electors of *Treves*, *Cologne*, *Brandenburg*, *Bavaria*, *Saxony*, and *Palatine*, the landgrave of *Hesse*, and bishop of *Münster*. The design of this congress was to reconcile all the jarring interests of the confederates, to determine the different proportions of expence, and to accelerate all the previous steps to opening the campaign. Unhappily, contentions arose about the chief command of the army on the *Rhine*, which could not fail of prejudicing the interest of the confederacy, and proving as serviceable to *France* as if an actual ally had been gained. Nor was *France* more fortunate in this particular than successful in the intrigues carried on at the *Porte*, to retard the pacification in treaty between the Emperor and the Grand Signior. Such influence and credit had the *French* ambassador acquired in the divan, that *Heemskirk*, the Dutch envoy, could neither obtain an audience, nor an answer to the proposals which he had delivered in writing to the vizier. It is true, he was treated with great respect, and the denial of his request palliated by apologies and pretences of the necessity of waiting until the arrival of lord *Paget*, expected upon an embassy from *England*; but it was evident, on that nobleman's appearance at court, that the allies had nothing to expect. The vizier expressed the same backwardness to a negotiation: at last he threw off the masque, and began openly to make preparations for opening the campaign.

The Dutch envoy is refused an audience at Constantinople.

- LEWIS* was thus sweeping all before him in the cabinet and the field, when the two maritime powers were preparing to wipe off the disgrace their fleet had lately sustained, and to repair the loss by some stroke, which should at least weaken the enemy, if it should contribute nothing to their own emolument. The diligence employed in equipping a fleet in *England* and *Holland* attracted the eyes of all *Europe*. It was obvious, that resentment spurred them on to level a mortal blow, and it soon appeared where the stroke was aimed, by the arrival of the combined fleet before *St. Malo's*. This, however, formed only a part of the scheme concerted by the allies. No more than twelve ships of the line, four bomb-ketches, and ten brigantines, were sent to bombard this place. The squadron anchored (*November 13*) before *Quince* fort: three of the bomb-vessels, with a number of brigantines and well-boats, bore down and anchored within half a mile of the town. They continued firing for five hours, and were then obliged to tow off, from an apprehension of being grounded. For several subsequent days they continued to throw in bombs, with frequent intermissions; and at length, under favour of a brisk gale, a dark night, and a strong tide, they sent in a prodigious fireship of three hundred tons burthen, which would probably have reduced the town to ashes, had she not, happily for the inhabitants, struck upon a rock, on which the engineer set fire to the train. The explosion was dreadful: it shook the whole town like an earthquake, broke all glass and earthen ware for three leagues round, and unroofed three hundred houses. The curtain towards the sea was broke down, and, had there been a sufficient number of land-forces on board the squadron, the town might easily have been taken by storm <sup>b</sup>. Such was the issue of the expedition to *St. Malo's*, which struck a panic into the inhabitants of the whole coast of *France*, and evinced the *French* king of the power and spirit of the two maritime allies, though it produced no other consequence.

St. Malo's bombarded.

- The winter produced overtures for a peace. *Lewis* had reduced cities, gained battles, A. D. 1694; and dispersed fleets; yet, in the midst of victory and triumph, he wished for an accommodation upon terms not injurious to his honour. Already he had dispersed, at the courts of the *German* princes, a manifesto containing his pacific sentiments, and conditions of peace

<sup>a</sup> Suite de Hist. de NEUVILLE, t. ii. p. 8.

<sup>b</sup> Lives of the Admirals, vol. iii.



to the emperor. These proposals, though advantageous to the imperial court, were re-  
 jected: however, not discouraged with one repulse, *Lewis* applied himself to the king of  
*Great Britain* and the states general, by means of the *Danish* envoys at *London* and the  
*Hague*, who presented memorials, with a project for a general peace. To the states were  
 represented the particular advantages they must derive from accepting the proposals. A  
 barrier was offered, that should remove all inquietude and cause of apprehension in the  
 United Provinces. *Mons* and *Namur* it was intended should be ceded to *Spain*, *Charleroi*  
 should be demolished, the town and citadel of *Huy* were to be restored to the bishop of  
*Liege*, and *Dinant* and *Bouillon* were to be indemnified, by uniting to the bishopric such a  
 portion of the dutchy of *Luxemburg* as should be assigned by arbiters. The *Danish* envoy  
 added, that the states general ought to be satisfied with the power of obtaining so important  
 restitutions, and of terminating to so much advantage a war in which the allies could not  
 possibly think they had been very fortunate. He likewise took it upon him to declare,  
 that the most Christian king would make no attempts to extend his dominions on the side  
 of the *Netherlands*; and that, from his present pacific disposition, such farther conditions  
 would be granted as should be found just and equitable. Neither the king nor the states  
 chose to enter upon negotiations, without the concurrence of the other allies; and the em-  
 peror had not only rejected the proposals, but sent prince *Lewis* of *Baden* to *England*, to  
 keep the *English* steady in their engagements. He took the *Hague* in his way, had an au-  
 dience of the states, warmly represented to them the necessity of continuing the war, and  
 dispelled all doubts which might arise about the expediency of trying the fortune of another  
 campaign. In truth, king *William* had not yet satiated his revenge. Every general action  
 had proved unfortunate, and he panted after an opportunity of wiping off the disgrace of  
 so many defeats. The states were intirely led by his opinion, and that party which had  
 strenuously opposed the prince of *Orange*, resigned itself intirely to the direction of the  
 king of *Great Britain*: such influence had he acquired since his accession to the throne.

Fresh disputes  
 between Den-  
 mark and  
 Holland.

*DENMARK*, finding her mediation rejected, determined to convert this circum-  
 stance to her own advantage. The states general, she was sensible, would be so deeply  
 engaged in war as to be in no condition to attend to the minute affairs of commerce. The  
 opportunity for renewing the old disputes about the duties of the *Sound* was favourable.  
 His *Danish* majesty; therefore, without paying any regard to the late accommodation, or  
 the neutrality professed, began first to intimate his intentions, by avowedly assisting the  
*French* monarch. In this the *Swedes* concurred with him: both had carried on a prodigious  
 commerce with *France* during the war; they even became the purveyors of that kingdom  
 for corn, naval stores, and all the commodities of the North. At this the allies connived,  
 while there remained hopes of inducing those powers to accede to the confederacy. So far  
*England* and the allies in general were concerned; but *Holland* had complaints of a private  
 nature, in which the *Dutch* commerce alone was interested. His *Danish* majesty had or-  
 dered the antient duties of the *Sound* to be exacted from all *Dutch* shipping; and on their  
 refusal, they were seized and brought to *Copenhagen*. These concurring circumstances de-  
 termined the states to come to extremities; and the king of *England* joined issue with them  
 about the expediency of making reprisals, and punishing the northern powers for a breach  
 of treaty and professed neutrality. It was resolved to make both the kings of *Denmark* and  
*Sweden* sensible, that, notwithstanding the maritime powers were engaged in an important  
 war, they had strength and courage enough to resent the insults of neutral states. Accord-  
 ingly the commanders of the *English* and *Dutch* men of war and privateers had instructions  
 to stop, examine, and seize all *Danish* or *Swedish* shipping bound to *French* ports, or laden  
 with such commodities as seemed destined for the markets of that kingdom. The orders  
 were punctually observed: several ships were taken, but none condemned, as the experi-  
 ment was made only to intimidate the northern powers, and not with a view of coming to  
 an open rupture. The *Dutch* went farther. They stopped, in different ports of *Holland*,  
 to the amount of twenty-four *Danish* ships, of which they gave notice to the *Danish* envoy,  
 declaring they should be detained, until restitution was made of the *Dutch* ships at *Copen-  
 hagen*, and the owners amply indemnified for all the losses they might have sustained by their  
 detention. A conduct so spirited soon produced the expected effect. *Sweden* not only  
 avoided making reprisals, but even joined her mediation to the emperor's, in reconciling  
 the king of *Denmark* and the republic. In consequence the ships were mutually restored,  
 the treaties concerning the duties of the *Sound* renewed, and all things placed on the former  
 footing <sup>a</sup>.

In general, the operations of this campaign proved more fortunate to the allies than any  
 of the preceding. Several places had been recovered from the enemy, no battle was lost,

<sup>a</sup> LE CLERC, pag. 142.



a and the *French* king suffered more by the death of marechal *Luxembourg* than if half his army had perished: besides, the coasts of his kingdom were kept in perpetual alarm by the squadrons of *England* and *Holland*. By this means a great number of troops were kept stationed towards the coasts, and a considerable revulsion was made from that strength which *Lewis* would otherwise have exerted in the *Netherlands*. *Brest* was bombarded by the combined fleets; *Dieppe* afterwards met with the same fate, and more than half the town was laid in ashes; adverse winds probably saved it from total destruction. Having finished this business, the allied fleet proceeded to *Havre de Grace*, where they began bombarding with such success, that in a few hours the town was on fire, and before they quitted their station the citadel almost demolished: in a word, an universal panic seized the inhabitants  
b of the coast; the innocent industrious subjects were punished for the ambition of the sovereign, and a method of waging war was now adopted by civilized nations, which would be regarded with horror by the most barbarous.

WHILE the grand armament was thus employed in desolating the enemy's country, a *Dutch* squadron of eight men of war, under the conduct of *Hidde de Vries*, fell in with the famous *du Bart* and his squadron of seven ships of the line and three frigates. The *Dutch* admiral had a considerable fleet under his convoy, and would if possible have declined an engagement; but *du Bart* pursued, overtook, and attacked him between the *Meuse* and the *Texel*. The dispute proved obstinate. *Du Bart* fought with his usual intrepidity: he boarded *de Vries*, and though vigorously sustained, was repulsed with loss. Had the *Dutch* captains supported their admiral, the *Frenchman* would have found himself roughly handled; but the terror of *du Bart*'s name kept them aloof, while *de Vries*, covered with wounds, was singly engaged. The event was unfortunate: he was taken prisoner, and great part of the merchant fleet under his care fell into the hands of the enemy (A). Sea-fight between the French and Dutch fleets.

ON the return of the squadron to *Holland*, all the captains were cashiered, and the states consoled for their loss by news from the *East Indies* that *Pondicherry* had surrendered to the governor-general of *Batavia*, with all the artillery, stores, and merchandize belonging to the *French* company. Upon the whole, the confederates had greatly the advantage by sea this season. Besides the incidents we have mentioned, they relieved *Barcelona*, blocked up *Tourville*, and bombarded *Dunkirk* and *Calais*. *Dunkirk* had, for time immemorial, been  
d the great rendezvous of privateers in every war. Even as far back as the reign of *Philip II.* of *Spain*, the commerce of the *Netherlands* was greatly disturbed from this quarter, and frequent attempts had been made to destroy the town and harbour. It had successively been in the hands of the *Spaniards*, *French*, and *English*; and *Lewis* found means to have it restored to him for a sum of money in the dissolute reign of *Charles II.* The allies had long meditated an attack on *Dunkirk*; but it was always laid aside on account of the hazard and difficulty of the enterprize. At last *Sir Cloudesley Shovel* set sail from the *Downs* on the fourteenth of *September*, and arrived before the harbour with a squadron of thirteen *English* and six *Dutch* ships of the line, and a great number of frigates and bomb-ketches. The garrison and inhabitants were greatly alarmed: they sent to marechal *Villeroy*, then at  
e *Ypres*, upon the first appearance of the fleet, and he came to their assistance with two regiments of infantry, and one of dragoons. *Shovel* was ambitious of aspiring after glory, and eager to collect laurels; but all his endeavours were frustrated by the strength of the place, and the vigilance of the garrison. In short, he returned, after having thrown the place into consternation, and alarmed *Calais* by some bombs which he threw into the town.

TOWARDS the close of this year, the theological controversies that had so long disturbed the provinces were now again revived. King *William*, before his accession to the throne of *England*, had silenced some rising disputes, by his authority as stadtholder. He was now again forced to interpose, and it was at his request that the states of *Holland* and *Friseland* published an ordonnance on the eighteenth day of *September*, for the preservation of the peace of the reformed church, and the tranquillity of the provinces. By this regulation, equally prudent and necessary, it was ordained, that all doctors, professors, and lecturers in divinity, together with the clergy of the reformed church of *Holland* and *Friseland*, should conform in all their writings, preachings, and lectures, to the formulary contained in the catechism, confession, and canons of the national synod of *Dordrecht*; and that they should live in the utmost cordiality, charity, and brotherly affection, without Religious disputes in Holland

(A) *Dutch* writers, to qualify the disgrace resulting from this defeat, endeavour to persuade the world, that *du Bart*'s squadron was composed of large men of war; whereas it really consisted of light, neat, clean-built privateers (1). They likewise affirm that he was a *Dutchman* by birth, who, upon some discontent, retired into the *French* service; but they do not vouch this fact by proper authorities.

(1) *Volt. Sicc. tom. i.*



dispute, discussion, or controversy upon points already settled by the church. That with a respect to certain difficult matters left undetermined by the national synod, these they were ordered not to touch upon, or explain any otherwise than was authorized by the scriptures, and the general sense of the synod of *Dordrecht*. That they should introduce into their writings, sermons, lectures, or public courses of every kind, no uncommon axioms, no disputed principles, no novel opinions or doctrines: in a word, they were ordered to abstain from whatever could raise doubts, create schisms or divisions among the people; and if, through inadvertence, any of them should have given room for disputation, they were required to retract, or explain what they had advanced, agreeable to the established faith. All professors were farther enjoined from encouraging their pupils to apply philosophy to the mysteries of the Christian religion. They were ordered to confine this kind of reason- b ing to matters purely philosophical, and not to examine by the light of reason what was intended by the Author of our being to exceed reason. Upon the whole, the pastors of the church were fervently requested to be vigilant over their flocks, and to cultivate sobriety, decency, good order, and devotion among all ranks and degrees of the people. The ordonnance had a good effect, and suppressed in the birth controversies which might in time have created much trouble to the government b.

A. D. 1695.

THE operations of the succeeding campaign retrieved the reputation of king *William*; but it ought to be remembered, that marechal *Luxemburg* was now dead, and the command of the army given to *Villeroi*, a general neither equal to the marechal in capacity nor experience. *Namur*, defended by *Boufflers* at the head of a numerous garrison, and c covered by a formidable army, surrendered to king *William*; and the *French* king, in revenge, ordered *Brussels* to be bombarded c. This was followed by the bombardment of *Calais*, and some attempts upon other sea-ports on the coast of *France*. But these successes, though they inspired the allies, weakened *Lewis*, and drew the war nearer an issue, produced no immediate advantage. The states general had prosecuted the war with great vigour, in hope of obtaining such a peace as would recompense the expence and trouble of supporting vast armies and fleets. It was expected that every campaign would be the last, and this encouraged the people to submit to the heavy taxes with which they were loaded. Their frequent disappointment irritated them, and in all the provinces they began to exclaim loudly against measures calculated only to oppress the industrious subject, and d

*Insurrection at Amsterdam.*

A new tax laid upon burials, by the magistrates of *Amsterdam*, was highly resented by the populace; though the intention was to abolish a pernicious custom, that prevailed in almost all the towns of the United Provinces, of giving public entertainments, of feasting, and rioting, upon occasions where decency required the most solemn conduct and strict temperance. No sooner was the resolution of the magistrates known, than some evil-disposed persons excited a popular tumult, by persuading the vulgar, that all who were unable to pay the tax must be buried with such marks of ignominy as would render infamous the memory of the deceased, and add insult to poverty. Every thing was done to correct this prejudice; but the mob continually increased. The whole rabble of *Amsterdam*, foreigners and natives, assembled to oppose the regulation; and there were not e wanting several substantial citizens who regarded the new tax as unjust and iniquitous. The mob threatened to set fire to the city; all was in confusion, shops were shut up, and every kind of business at a stand. It was difficult to apply remedies to so desperate a disease: the military force in the city was insufficient to disperse so vast a concourse. The seditious were emboldened by the defenceless condition of the magistracy: they flew to the house of M. *Boreel*, one of the principal persons in the city, forced open the doors, poured in like a torrent, pillaged, destroyed, and threw into the canal his elegant and rich furniture. By this time capt. *Spaarogge* had collected a body of soldiers, with which he hastened to the defence of *Boreel's* house. He fired upon the mob; but was attacked with such fury, that he was forced to retreat to his own house. Thither the mob pursued, destroyed all before them, and committed f every violence of which an incensed brutal populace is capable. Happily for *Amsterdam*, night came on before they could proceed to farther business: this determined them to postpone the work until next morning; and in the mean time every man retired quietly to his own dwelling, as if nothing had passed. By day-light placards were fixed up in all public places, giving notice, that the tax, which had given so much offence, should not take place. Orders were likewise issued for all the burghers and soldiers to assemble under arms. Endeavours were also made to mount a few companies of horse, which were composed of all the young gentlemen in the city, persons of distinction in public offices, and rich merchants. These precautions, however, did not prevent the rabble from assembling, and attacking in a body the house of *Kirby*, the *English* consul, who, they alledged, had g

A. D. 1696.

b Suite de NEUVILLE, t. ii. p. 44.

c Univerf. Mod. Hist. 8vo. vol. xxv.



- a suggested the idea of a tax upon burials. Here they were repulsed with great vigour; upon which they turned their indignation against a Jew, distinguished by the name of the *rich Pinto*. To this resolution *Amsterdam* probably owed its safety. In an instant the whole *Jewish* quarter was in arms for the defence of their prodigious wealth, amassed with indefatigable industry. To them the burghers joined themselves, both marching in good order against the seditious, who, struck with the formidable appearance of glittering arms, began to disperse. Some were seized loaded with rich plunder, and immediately hanged; which produced such an effect, that in the space of a few minutes the streets were intirely cleared, and the city restored to its former tranquillity. However, it was thought advisable to remove all cause of fresh insurrections, and to annul the edict passed for levying the new imposition. The whole affair ended with the publication of a great reward to whoever should discover the authors of this sedition. It was shrewdly suspected that some persons, who were enemies to the magistracy, had excited the people; but proofs never appeared to justify the suspicion<sup>a</sup>.

- NOTHING considerable this year was performed in the *Netherland*; and as to the naval operations, they were equally unimportant. The only incident that merits notice, is the misfortune of a fleet of *Dutch* merchantmen homeward-bound from *Portugal*, which fell in with *du Bart's* squadron of privateers. The merchant fleet, amounting to two hundred sail, was under the convoy of five frigates, who were attacked by the enemy's largest ships, while the others were dealing destruction among the trading vessels, thirty of which they had taken. The frigates defended themselves vigorously, but were at last overpowered, one only escaping. Scarce was the action finished when the victorious *du Bart* descried a squadron of *Dutch* men of war, upon which he set fire to all his captures, after unloading the most valuable effects, and taking all the crews prisoners, and made the best sail he could out of the reach of danger.

- ABOUT the close of the year the duke of *Savoy* detached himself from the confederates, accepted of the terms proposed by *Lewis*, and thus paved the way for a general pacification. The duke went farther; he not only made peace with *France*, but joined his troops to the forces of that kingdom, which enabled *Lewis* to reinforce his army in the *Netherlands* with several regiments drawn from *Italy*. Probably this defection of an ally proved fortunate to the confederates, as it inclined them to listen to the conditions proposed by the *French* monarch, who declared that he had now sustained a war singly against all *Europe*, for several successive years, with no other view than to establish the tranquillity of Christendom on a more solid basis. The king of *England* saw the difficulties that would arise in procuring the supplies for continuing the war; the states general were not deaf to the clamours of the provinces, against the burthen of taxes; both were sensible of the mischiefs to be apprehended from *Poland* should the *French* interest prevail at the ensuing election; and the confederates in general were aware of the danger, that other powers might follow the example of *Savoy*, and strike up a separate peace. It became now a very serious question, Whether the crisis was not arrived that rendered it highly expedient to sheath the sword? *France* appeared forward for an accommodation, and even went so far as to demand passports for M. *Callieres*, to go to *Holland* to lay the basis of a general pacification.

- WITH the king of *England's* approbation the states had granted the passports required, and M. *Dykeveldt* was appointed to confer with the ambassador. M. *Callieres* had been instructed to grant all that was demanded by the imperial court, respecting the treaties of *Westphalia* and *Nimeguen*. This M. *Dykeveldt* reported to the deputies appointed for foreign affairs, who transmitted it to the states general. After mature deliberation the states declared, that as the *French* monarch had made the concessions required by the court of *Vienna*, matters were now in such a situation, that, in concert with their allies, they offered mediation of *Sweden* might be accepted. A transcript of their resolutions was sent to the different courts in *Europe*; but it soon appeared, that neither the emperor nor the Catholic king were satisfied that the conditions offered by *France* were either satisfactory or explicit. Yet were the *Spaniards* forced to sign a treaty of neutrality for *Italy*, whereby *Lewis* was set at liberty to employ all his strength in *Germany* and the *Netherlands*.

- THIS was the situation of affairs during the winter, and every thing indicated a peace; yet did all the parties resolve to treat sword in hand. In the spring the usual rivalry arose, who should first commence hostilities; and the *Dutch* were earlier in their preparations this year than any of the preceding: however, as the whole allied army was not assembled, no considerable enterprize was undertaken. The *French* would likewise seem to have given their chief attention to naval expeditions, and attempts to ruin the commerce of the ma-

<sup>a</sup> Suite de Hist. de NEUVILLE, tom. ii. pag. 142.



ritime powers. This spring their cruizers had been extremely successful. A small squadron set sail from *Dunkirk* in the month of *February*, encountered a fleet of *Dutch* and *Eng-* a  
*lish* merchantmen off *Ostend*, and made prize of fourteen vessels, most of which belonged to *Holland*. Three weeks after another fleet of *Dutch* merchantmen, under the convoy of three men of war commanded by admiral *Wassenaar*, fell in with a *French* squadron in the bay of *Biscay*. The enemy were greatly superior in strength; but *Wassenaar* fought with great gallantry, and defended himself until he was mortally wounded, and his ship shattered in pieces, when the next in command struck. The fate of the admiral determined the fortune of the whole fleet, the two other men of war made but a short resistance, and with them were taken twelve rich merchantmen, laden with wool, cotton, hides, and other valuable commodities <sup>c</sup>.

Congress at  
Ryswick.

THIS was the last act of hostility that passed between *France* and *Holland*. As early as the month of *February* all the allied powers, *Spain* excepted, had agreed to accept the mediation of *Sweden*, which was accordingly notified in form to the *Swedish* minister at the *Hague*. By the ninth day of *May* the congress was opened at *Ryswick*, when *France* proposed, by way of preliminaries, that the treaties of *Westphalia* and *Nimeguen* should form the basis of the present negotiation; that *Strasbourg* should be restored to the emperor on the same condition as before the war; that *Luxembourg* should be restored to *Spain*, together with *Mons*, *Charleroi*, and all the places in *Catalonia*, taken since the peace of *Nimeguen*; that the city and citadel of *Dunkirk* should be ceded to the bishop of *Liege*; that restitution should be made to the other allies, of all conquests since the peace b  
of *Nimeguen*; and that *Lorraine* should be restored, agreeable to the conditions of the said pacification. In a word, after tedious conferences the treaty was at length signed, and peace restored to *Europe*, upon conditions equally glorious and advantageous to the allies, and so unpopular in *France*, that the plenipotentiaries dared not for some time to appear in public. The reader will find them specified in former parts of this work. c

<sup>c</sup> Suite de Hist. de NEUVILLE, tom. ii. pag. 142.



# The HISTORY of DENMARK.

## S E C T. I.

*Containing the Geography of Denmark; the Laws, Religion, Manners, and other Particulars, which characterize the present State of that Kingdom.*

<sup>a</sup> **I**T is agreed upon all hands, that the kingdom of *Denmark* is one of the most antient monarchies in *Europe*, as a series of kings, either fabulous or true, may be traced in the *Danish* historians from the year one thousand and thirty-eight before the birth of our Saviour; that is, for the space of two thousand seven hundred and ninety-nine years.

How this part of *Scandinavia*, formerly called *Cimbrica Chersonesus*, acquired the name of *Denmark*, is a point greatly disputed among antiquarians, and still as doubtful as the etymology of most other names. Some believe the *Danes* to be the progeny of the antient *Danai*; and many of their kings have boasted of their having sprung in a direct line from *Antenor*. Others affirm, that they are the descendants of the antient *Dabi*, a people of *Scythia*, who, by an easy corruption, came in progress of time to be called *Dani*, and the country *Dani-mark*, or the land of the *Dani*; *Marc*, or *Mark*, signifying a country in several of the dialects of the *Teutonic*. But the most probable opinion is that of *Saxo Grammaticus*, the most antient and best *Danish* historian. According to him the *Danes* are so called from *Dan*, the son of *Humble*, the first founder of the *Danish* monarchy; and *Denmark*, compounded of *Dan* and *Marc*, that is, the country of *Dan*<sup>a</sup>; which etymology we shall retain, without entering upon an ocean of criticism and conjecture, in which, perchance, we might overwhelm ourselves and our readers (A).

<sup>c</sup> **B**EFORE we enter upon the history of *Denmark*, we shall first give a description of the country; the genius and character of the people; the nature of the soil, and produce of the countries under the dominion of the king of *Denmark*; the forces and revenues of the kingdom; the laws, government, religion, and manners of the country, with every other particular that relates to the present state of the people. If we consider only the extent of dominion, the king of *Denmark* may justly be reputed one of the greatest princes of *Europe*, his title being that of king of *Denmark* and *Norway*, of the *Goths* and *Vandals*, duke of *Sleswick*, *Holstein*, *Stormar*, and *Dithmarsh*, earl of *Oldenburg* and *Delmenhorst*; all which countries he actually possesses, except a moiety of the duchy of *Sleswick*, belonging to the duke of *Holst. in-Gottorp*. *Denmark*, including *Holstein*, in which the king has an undivided moiety, is bounded by the sea called *Categate*, towards the North; by the *Baltic* on the East; by the river *Elbe*, which separates it from *Bremen*, on the South; and by the duchy of *Saxe-Lawenburg* towards the South-East; extending from 54 degrees 40 minutes, to 58 degrees 20 minutes North latitude.

<sup>d</sup> **B**ESIDES which, the kingdom of *Norway*, separated from *Denmark* by the *Categate*, includes a space of about 11 degrees in length; that is, from 59 to near 71 degrees North latitude, being bounded by the ocean towards the North and West; by the kingdom of *Sweden* and *Swedish Lapland* on the East; and by the *Categate* sea to the South. It is a long narrow country, enclosed on the one side by the ocean, and on the other by the high barren mountains called *Dofrine*, which divide it from *Sweden*; most geographers reckoning it about eight hundred miles in length, and one hundred in breadth<sup>b</sup>.

<sup>e</sup> **P**REVIOUS to the war with *Sweden*, which ended in the year 1660, the provinces of *Schonen*, *Halland*, and *Bleking*, belonged to the crown of *Denmark*. They were wrested from it by the famous *Charles Gustavus*, and could never since, notwithstanding frequent attempts, be recovered, though the richest provinces belonging to his *Danish* majesty. Thus *Denmark*, at present, is on every side circumscribed by the sea, except a neck of land about three *Danish* miles over, by which it joins to *Holstein*.

<sup>a</sup> SAXO GRAM. Hist. Dan. p. 1. VELL. apud Pontan. p. 637. POLYDOR VIRG. ibid. PONTAN. p. 939. cum multis aliis. JO. SUANING. Ripen. Prolegom. p. 10. <sup>b</sup> IS. PONTAN. Chorogr. p. 648. GORDON'S Geog. Gram. MOLESWORTH'S Account of Denmark, p. 3.

(A) Such of our readers, however, as have a taste for this species of critical knowledge, may thoroughly indulge their appetite by consulting the learned *John Isaac Pontanus* in his *Chorographica Daniae Descriptio*, page 639.



The general  
division of  
Denmark into  
provinces.

THE dominions of the king of *Denmark* are generally divided into six grand districts or provinces, viz. *Denmark* properly so called, comprehending under it the islands of *Zealand*, *Funen*, *Langland*, *Laaland*, *Falstria*, *Mona*, *Samsøe*, *Arroe*, *Bornholm*, *Ankout*, *Læssø*, and that part of the continent called *North Jutland*. 2dly, The duchy of *Sleswick*, or *South Jutland*. 3dly, The duchy of *Holstein*. 4thly, The earldoms of *Oldenburg* and *Delmenhorst*. 5thly, The kingdom of *Norway*: and, 6thly, *Iceland*, with the islands lying in the northern seas. Of this large tract, *Jutland*, in extent and fertility, is the most considerable division, though the islands have the advantage in point of situation, and especially *Zealand*, in which stands *Copenhagen*, the capital of the *Danish* dominions, and the residence of the princes.

Island of Zea-  
land.

THIS island is nearly of a circular form, measuring about sixty leagues in circumference. The channel called the *Sound*, divides it from *Schonen*; the strait called the *Great Belt*, from the island of *Funen*; and from the islands *Mona*, *Falstria*, and *Laaland*, it is separated by a narrow channel to the southward. Its fertility is not extraordinary, though it produces a sufficient quantity of rye for the consumption of the inhabitants, but no other sort of grain. The face of the country is prettily diversified with little hills, woods, and lakes; but in all *Zealand* there is not one river, and only a very few brooks sufficient to turn a mill. With hardly any meadows, it produces great abundance of hay; all the grass springing up on the borders of corn fields, and banks of lakes and brooks, short, but sweet and nourishing. The lakes are well stocked with fish; the cattle numerous, small, and generally lean, owing to the necessity of keeping them within door for at least eight months in the year. In general the climate is but indifferent, especially near the capital, where, from the low situation, the air is rendered unwholesome by thick fogs; however, a gentleman who long resided at *Copenhagen*, in quality of envoy from his *Britannic* majesty, observes, that he seldom saw any of the natives afflicted with colds of the lungs, owing, as he imagines, to the atmosphere's being purified by the great consumption of beech wood in firing, the only sort of timber found in any quantity in *Zealand*. Here, as well as in almost all the other parts of *Denmark*, are only two seasons of the year, winter and summer; for, from the extremity of cold, the air immediately changes to an almost insupportable heat, and suffocating gross warm atmosphere, by which myriads of flies and vermin are generated.

Copenhagen,  
the capital.

COPENHAGEN, the capital of *Denmark*, is situated in the latitude of 56 degrees two minutes North latitude, and 12 degrees 53 minutes longitude, reckoning from the meridian of *London*. This city is neither very large nor antient, though the precise date of its foundation is disputed (B). In extent it approaches the nearest to *Bristol*, says *Molesworth*, of any of our *English* cities. The walls inclose a great deal more ground than is occupied by houses; however, as they were daily encreasing in his time, and that *Denmark* has not been since exhausted by any considerable wars, it is probable the city has received great improvements and additions. Its advantageous situation for trade, and the excellency of its harbour, are not to be surpassed, and were *Copenhagen* a free port, there is no doubt but it would soon become the emporium of the commerce into the *Baltic*. The harbour is surrounded by the fortifications of the town, and the entrance so narrow, that only one ship can enter at a time; besides which, it is shut up in the night by a strong boom laid across, defended on the one side by the cannon of the citadel, and on the other by a strong blockhouse, well mounted with heavy artillery. The whole haven, containing five hundred sail of large ships, is enclosed by a wooden gallery, close to which every ship has her appointed station; a circumstance that adds greatly to the beauty and conveniency of the scene, than which nothing can more be rich and regular, when a number of shipping happen to lie in port. The city is strong, both by nature and art; the situation being marshy, deep canals cut all round, and the fortifications executed agreeable to the best modern improvements; yet the works are chiefly composed of turf and earth. Experience has shewn its strength, it having sustained two remarkable sieges against a fine *Swedish* army, flushed with victory, and headed by the most magnanimous princes of their age. It is probable indeed, from these instances, that an enemy may carry on their approaches more easily in the winter than in the summer, the dykes being then covered over with ice, upon which the *Swedish* army marched. Its security, however, in this particular, consists in the impossibility of an army's keeping the field long, amidst the rigorous winters of all northern

<sup>c</sup> IS. PONTAN. Chorogr. Dan. p. 723, 724. POMPON. MELA. c. vi. CRANTZII Descrip. Man. Balt. p. 124. Vid. PONTAN. sub hoc An. MOLESWORTH ubi supra.

(B) A castle was first built on this spot in the year 1168, by archbishop *Wide*, as a protection against the pirates, which at that time swarmed in the *Baltic*. The conveniency of the situation, and the security which the

castle afforded, induced a number of the inhabitants of the island to resort thither, by which means it in time became a fine city and the capital.



- a countries. As to the buildings of the town, they are in general mean and despicable; even the king's palace is surpassed by the houses of private gentlemen in other countries. There are, notwithstanding, a few good public buildings, such as the change, arsenal, and observatory, erected by order of that excellent prince *Christian IV.* to whom almost all the decorations of *Copenhagen* are owing. To compensate, in some measure, the meanness of the royal palace, the king has at the other end of the town, a handsome pleasure-house, fine stables, and a beautiful garden, to which in the summer he frequently retires. What adds greatly to the conveniency of the city, is the contiguity of the little island of *Finack*, or rather *Amack*, joined to it by a bridge: hence, the markets of *Copenhagen* are plentifully supplied with fowl, beef, mutton, venison, corn, and culinary vegetables, all of which
- b *Amack* produces in the utmost abundance <sup>a</sup>.

THE other towns and fortresses of *Zealand*, or as others call it, *Sea-land*, are *Elfinore*, or *Helsingor*, about fifteen miles to the northward of the capital, standing on the narrowest part of the *Sound*.

*CRONENBURG*, a very strong castle, situated about a quarter of a mile from the former.

*FREDERICSBURG*, twelve miles West of *Elfinore*, a castle and royal palace, much admired by the *Danes*, it being built in the middle of a fine lake.

- c *ROSCHILD*, antiently the metropolis of *Denmark*, situated at the bottom of a gulph, twenty miles to the westward of *Copenhagen*. Here is a fine, large, and very antient cathedral, filled with the tombs of the *Danish* monarchs, some of which are very magnificent. As to the town, it has declined in proportion as *Copenhagen* increased, and is now reduced to an inconsiderable and ruinous monument of its former grandeur.

*HOLBECK* stands at the bottom of a bay, eighteen miles West of *Roschild*.

*PRESTOE*, a port, and town of some trade, on the *Zealand* coast, opposite to the island *Mona*.

*KALLENBURG*, said also to have some trade, situated on the sea-coast, fifty miles westward of *Copenhagen*.

*KOGE*, a small town on the *Zealand* side of the *Sound*, about twenty miles South of *Copenhagen*.

- d *KERSOR*, standing on a promontory opposite to *Funen*, which forms a good harbour on the north-side of it, which, with the towns of *Skelfor* and *Warienburg*, make in all about eleven cities, towns, and fortresses; besides which, *Zealand* is computed to contain about three hundred villages.

- NEXT in consideration and situation stands *Funen*, an island bounded by *Samsøe* on the North, the *Baltic* on the South, the *Great Belt*, a straight of about twenty miles over, that separates it from *Zealand*, on the East, and on the West by a strait, which divides it from *Jutland*. This island, formerly called *Fionia*, is about fifty miles in length, forty in breadth, abounds in lakes, woods, corn fields, hogs, and horses; the last being the only commodity the inhabitants export. Its capital is called *Odense*, and was formerly a flourishing town, but now on the decline: besides which, *Funen* has three other towns, and no less than two hundred and fifty villages (C).
- e

*LAALAND*, or *Laland*, is a small but plentiful island, having *Zealand* on the North, *Falstria* on the East, the *Baltic* on the South, and *Langland* on the West, measuring about thirty miles in length, and twenty in breadth. Grain and wheat in particular, is the chief production of the soil; and with this the inhabitants supply the markets of *Copenhagen*, and other towns of *Zealand*, and the rest of *Denmark*. The *Dutch* used likewise to buy up a considerable quantity of corn here; but whether that trade be still continued, is what we cannot affirm. *Molesworth* calls this likewise a *Stifts-ampt*, which has several of the neighbouring lesser islands under its jurisdiction.

- f *LANGLAND* borrows its name from the figure of the island; its length being upwards of thirty miles, and the breadth scarce eight. Here is a pretty market-town called *Rudkøping*, and about sixteen large villages.

*FALSTRIA* is separated from *Zealand* by a narrow strait on the North. It is about twenty miles long, and sixteen broad, and has two considerable towns, *Nykøpping* and *Syd-køpping*.

NEXT stands *Mona*, a small island, not exceeding fifteen miles in length, and five in breadth, separated on the South-West from *Falstria* by a narrow strait (D).

<sup>a</sup> PONTAN *ibid.* MOLESWORTH, *ubi supra.*

(C) The island of *Funen* is a principal government called *Stifts-ampt*; a term we shall explain when we come to treat of the nature of the government.

(D) *Molesworth* calls this island *Mune*, though we constantly find it in all *Latin* writers specified by the appellation of *Mona*, which we have therefore retained.



Arroe and  
Alsen.

*ARROE* and *Alsen* are two small islands at no great distance from the former, which produce large crops of aniseeds, a carminative much used in seasoning the food, and mixing with the bread, over all the *Danish* dominions. a

Bornholm.

*BORNHOLM* is an island of more consideration, both on account of its extent, and the frequent contentions it has occasioned between the crowns of *Denmark* and *Sweden*. The length of *Bornholm* is twenty-one miles, and the breadth above thirteen. It has three considerable towns, *Rottum*, *Sendwick*, and *Nexia*, a great number of villages, several extraordinary privileges, and is fertile and populous. To these islands may be added the small islands of *Lessaw*, *Samsoe*, *Anbout*, with a variety of others of less consideration, with which this part of the northern sea abounds. But we shall leave these petty divisions of the potent kingdom of *Denmark*, to give a description of *North Jutland*, one of the most valuable and antient provinces of the *Danish* monarchy. b

Jutland.

*JUTLAND*, the country of the antient *Jutes*, called *Cimbri* by the *Romans*; and their country, including *Sleswick* and *Holstein*, *Cimbrica Chersonesus*, is bounded by the *German* ocean on the West and North, by the *Baltic* on the East, and by the duchy of *Sleswick* on the South. This large country is divided into the provinces of *Aalburg*, *Wiburg*, *Arhusen*, and *Ripen*; the first of which is sometimes called *Burglaw*. *Aalburg* is situated in the most northern part of *Jutland*, and comprehends a space from the North-East to the South-West of about one hundred and fifty miles; some writers say one hundred and thirty, and forty miles in breadth. It contains thirteen bailiwicks, one hundred and sixty parishes, and five very considerable towns, called *Aalburg*, *Nykopping*, *Tysted*, *Seeby*, and *Schagen*. c

Province of  
Aalburg.

Wiburg.

THE province of *Wiburg*, bounded on the North by *Aalburg*, is of a circular form, about forty miles in diameter. It is divided into sixteen bailiwicks, and two hundred parishes, containing the towns of *Wiburg*, *Nybye*, *Harkier*, and some others of less note. The country is beautifully watered by three lakes, among which one is called *Otbo*, from the emperor of that name, who threw his javelin into it when he made an incursion into this country.

Arhusen.

NEXT in order comes the province of *Arhusen*, bounded on the North by the former, about sixty miles in length, and thirty in breadth. *Arhusen* contains above three hundred villages, two capital cities, called *Aarhus* and *Rander*, besides several market-towns of less consideration. d

LASTLY comes *Ripen*, the fourth province of *Jutland*. Within this district stand the cities and towns of *Ripen*, *Kolding*, *Fredericsoedde*, *Weil*, *Warde*, and *Ringkopping*. *Ripen* is situated on the river *Nipsick*, which, separating into three branches, runs through the city and divides it into as many parts. This is a place of some trade, was formerly a bishop's see, had an university, has still a fine magnificent cathedral, a great number of good private buildings, and a large assembly of the nobility and gentry of the province.

Duchy of  
Sleswick.

THE duchy of *Sleswick*, or *South Jutland*, is the joint property of the king of *Denmark* and duke of *Holstein*. It is above sixty miles in length, forty five in breadth, and contains the towns of *Sleswick*, *Gottorp*, *Ekrenford*, or *Ekelford*, *Fredericstadt*, *Tonningen*, *Husum*, *Flensburg*, *Glucksburg*, *Hadersleben*, *Tonderen*, *Lbom-Closter*, *Sunderburg*, and *Nordburg*, whence the duke of *Holstein-Nordburg* takes his title. In most towns and bailiages, both princes have a separate and distinct authority and jurisdiction, particularly in the bailiages of *Hadersleben*, *Ripen*, *Flensburg*, the territory of *Christianpris*, the islands of *Roam* and *Mandoo*, and the west-side of the island of *Foer*, all which are subject, without participation, to the king of *Denmark*; whereas the bailiages of *Gottorp*, *Husum*, *Tonderen*, &c. belong exclusively to the duke of *Holstein*. In *Gottorp* stands the noble palace of the duke of *Holstein*, situated in the middle of a lake to the westward of the city of *Sleswick*. This is esteemed by all good judges, one of the finest buildings of the North, and has the advantage of a large well laid-out garden, adorned with fountains, cascades, and every thing that can render the abode delightful. The duke has likewise here a fine library, and valuable collection of books and curiosities, both natural and artificial, particularly a copper globe, ten feet and an half diameter, with a sphere, shewing the sun's course in the ecliptic, and the motion of all the celestial bodies, by means of wheels turned by a stream that falls from a neighbouring mountain (E). f

Palace of  
Gottorp.

<sup>c</sup> Vid. PONTAN. Chorogr. ubi supra. MOLESWORTH ibid. PUFFENDORF, Hist. Univers. t. iv. PONTANUS Chorogr. p. 359.

<sup>f</sup> Vid.

(E) The palace of *Gottorp* suffered greatly in the year 1688, from the barbarity of the *Danes*, who, without any right, or even plausible pretence, seized upon it, together with the duke's person, and all his other do-

minions; which, however, our nation and some other powers that interested themselves in the duke's quarrel, obliged them to restore in the year 1689 (1).

(1) Vid. Molesworth's Account of Denmark, ibid.



- a As to the duchy of *Holstein*, it is divided in the same manner as *Sleswick*, between the king of *Denmark* and the duke of *Holstein*. It is a fief of the empire, and the king of *Denmark* is, for that reason, classed among the *German* princes; whereas, *Sleswick* is absolutely a fief of the crown of *Denmark*. This duchy extends about an hundred miles in length from East to West, and nearly half as much from North to South, including *Dithmarsch* within these limits, and even *Wagerland* and *Stormar*, though the country, properly called *Holstein*, consists chiefly of the inland parts, lying between *Jutland* and *Stormar*. The chief towns included within this district are, 1st, *Kiel Chilonum*, a place of considerable trade, a good harbour, and strong citadel, rich, and populous for this country. An university was founded here in 1669; and here also is held the annual assembly of the states of *Holstein*. 2dly, *Rensburg*, or *Reinolsburg*, esteemed the strongest fortress in the whole duchy, being almost wholly enclosed by the river *Eyder*. 3dly, *Wilster*, a neat well-built town. 4thly, *Itzehoe*, situated on the river *Stoor*; and 5thly, *Newmunster*, at the mouth of the same river. Some years since there arose a dispute between the king of *Great Britain*, as elector of *Hanover*, and the king of *Denmark*, as likewise a prince of the empire, about the lordship of *Steinborst*. The former insisted, that it belonged to his dutchy of *Larvenburg*; and the latter, that it formed a part of the *Danish Holstein*. Without entering upon the merits of this altercation, it will be sufficient to observe, that the difference was amicably compromised, his *Danish* majesty relinquishing all right to the said lordship, on receiving from the king of *Great Britain* the sum of seventy thousand crowns, as an equivalent.

Duchy of  
Holstein.

- d There were also some other points, chiefly regarding precedency, adjusted in this treaty.

THE province of *Dithmarsch* lies between *Holstein Proper* and the *German* ocean. It has two considerable towns, viz. *Meldorp* and *Lunden*, both carrying on some trade.

Dithmarsch  
province.

- c As for the province of *Stormar*, or *Stormasch*, it is very considerable on account of its trade, and the great care with which the country is cultivated, which greatly resembles *Holland*, being like it, low in the situation, and protected against the sea by strong dykes and banks. The vicinity of the *Elbe*, and of *Hamburg*, gives it great advantages in commerce, inso-much that *Altena* once became the rival of that opulent hans town; a circumstance which, some think, brought on its ruin, it being burnt to the ground by the *Swedes*, at the instigation of those jealous merchants. No historian has, however, stated this fact in a clear light; and *Voltaire*, with all his professed candour, has left it in as great obscurity as he found it. Since then it has been rebuilt, and appears with more splendor than ever, but with less solid wealth and power. Besides *Altena*, the province of *Stormar* has three other considerable cities, viz. *Krempe*, or *Crempen*, *Pennyburg*, and *Gluckstat*: the last is a small city, placed on the *Elbe*, about thirty miles from *Hamburg*, and said to be strongly fortified. The king of *Denmark* had once formed a project of obliging all ships, going or returning from *Hamburg*, to pay a toll here; but the execution was found impracticable, as so many powers, and particularly the two great maritime powers, were so particularly interested, in opposing a scheme which would lay their commerce under restrictions, and subject it to the caprice of the *Danes*.

Stormar pro-  
vince.

- e THE last provinces which we shall describe for the present, are *Wageren*, *Oldenburg*, and *Delmenhorst*. The first of these, bounded by *Holstein Proper* on the West, is about fifty miles in length from North to South, and thirty in breadth. The country had its name from the *Wagrii*, a people of *Sclavonia*, by whom it was subdued. The chief towns are *Sageburg*, *Oldesloeb*, *Ploen*, and *Oldenburg*, formerly a town of great trade, though now on the decline. We shall defer the description of *Norway*, *Iceland*, and the other dominions of the king of *Denmark*, as we propose assigning to each of these a separate section, on account of their extent, and their having once been distinct kingdoms.

- f IN dominions so far extended and divided by seas, as those of *Denmark*, the nature of the soil must be various. At least a fourth part of the island of *Zealand* is laid out in royal forests, filled with stags, wild boars, and other game, reserved intirely for the king's use, it being criminal in a peasant to kill one, though he finds them in large flocks devouring his corn.

Produce of  
Denmark.

THE island of *Funen* produces corn and wood sufficient for the purposes of the natives; however, the only article for exportation it affords, consists of a few horses. On the contrary, *Laaland* is a fine grain-country, plentiful especially in wheat, with which it supplies most part of the *Danish* dominions in small quantities; for this is a kind of bread but little used by the *Danes*.

- g THE islands of *Falstria*, *Langland*, and *Mona*, all afford corn sufficient for the consumption of the natives. *Jutland* abounds in cattle, and is not deficient in corn. The horses and hogs of the country are excellent, and so nourishing the pasture, that it is incredible how sheep and black cattle fatten upon the barest spots of ground, though it is indeed a general practice, to transport lean cattle from thence to *Holland*, a sort of trade in which the *Dutch* find their account. The duchy of *Sleswick* is so abundant in corn, cattle, and horses, that



the inhabitants dispose of a considerable quantity of horses to their neighbours. *Holstein* a likewise, is a pleasant fruitful country, which has been compared to *England* in its variety of woods, hills, rivers, meadows, and corn-fields. *Oldenburg* abounds in a breed of horses, much esteemed for their beautiful cream colour. In a word, the dominions of his *Danish* majesty afford the inhabitants most of the conveniencies of life, though they furnish but few articles of luxury or commerce.

Persons and  
dress of the  
Danes.

As to the persons of the *Danes*, they are in general tall, robust, and well made; their features and complexion good, and their hair of a flaxen, yellow, or red colour, in curling and adorning which they take infinite pains. Another writer, however, assures us, that the *Danes* are for the most part gross, like the *Dutch*, in their shape, and their mien rather forbidding. This remark is, in particular, applicable to the women, who cannot be sur- b passed by their sex in clumsiness of shape, and awkwardness of address. Both men and women, however, affect to imitate the *French* dress in the summer, though in winter, like the other northern nations, they wrap themselves up in furs and wool, keeping themselves always neat in their linen, shifting often, and affecting a genteel appearance.

Manner of  
living.

THE vulgar live chiefly on rye bread, lean salt-fish, stock-fish, roots, and bad cheese; but the tables of persons of condition are plentifully covered with a variety of dishes. Gluttony and drunkenness are, indeed, the vices to which a *Dane* is most addicted. The coldness of the climate first introduced the drinking of strong spirits, and custom has carried it into excess. The men, says Mr. *Molesworth*, are fond of strong liquors, and the women do not refuse them. A friend, whether male or female, no sooner enters a house than c brandy is presented, and the same cordial goes liberally round at table. The women, indeed, retire soon after dinner; but the men generally sit till they have conferred the compliment of depriving each other of all sense and motion.

Learning and  
genius of the  
Danes.

It is a general observation, that *Denmark* has produced but few great geniuses, either in the arts or sciences; that they neither excel in imitation nor invention; are neither good mechanics, nor deeply skilled in speculative learning: yet there have prodigies in every species of knowledge appeared in *Denmark*. It has produced one remarkable astronomer, more than one profound critic, and several very valuable historians, however low the taste for polite learning may have sunk at present. Philosophers have endeavoured to explain the reasons, why shining talents are seldom conspicuous in northern cold climates; and to d the physical causes we may probably add some political ones, which would seem to have a great influence over *Danish* genius. Their excesses in eating and drinking must necessarily blunt the faculties of the mind. Fancy, judgment, and memory, are all weakened or destroyed; and these causes greatly corroborated by the despotism of the present government, and the little encouragement given to literary merit. It is true, the vulgar in general read and write; the clergy usually talk impure *Latin*, and the gentry cannot be called illiterate; but this mediocrity is the summit of their ambition, a glorious contention and rivalry for excellence being utterly unknown in *Denmark* <sup>a</sup>.

Character.

THE character of the people exactly tallies with their erudition; they are no more emulous of excelling in virtue than in knowledge. *Molesworth* observes, that the common people are a poor mean spirited dastardly race, totally degenerated from the warlike disposition of their ancestors; equally addicted to fraud themselves, and suspicious of it in others. *Puffendorf* says of the nobility and gentry, "that they have lost much of their antient glory; " at present they seek rather to enjoy their revenues in ease and luxury, than to toil for military fame <sup>b</sup>;" and it is even the interest of the court, that the nobility should neglect the exercise of arms, which once rendered them so formidable to their kings, and the nation so respected by all her neighbours. If once their military spirit was roused, it would probably be attended with efforts for the recovery of their liberties.

BEFORE the government was made hereditary and absolute in the present royal family, that fatal measure in the year 1660, the nobility or gentry lived in great splendor and affluence. Their country seats were magnificent, and their hospitality unbounded, because the means of supporting it was adequate: they spent most of their time about their estates, and of their revenues among their neighbours and tenants, by whom they were considered as so many princes. When the states were annually convened, they met their sovereign with retinues as numerous and brilliant as his own; they frequently eat at the same table with him; their suffrages were of the greatest weight in all public debates; for the commons were generally directed by them, because upon them was their dependence. Now they are fallen from that height of insolence and power, their condition is low, and they diminish daily in number and credit. *Molesworth* affirms, "that their estates scarce pay " the taxes imposed on them, which obliges them to grind the faces of their poor tenants, g " to get an overplus for their own subsistence. I have been assured, (says the noble wri-

<sup>a</sup> MOLESWORTH, c. vii.

<sup>b</sup> PUFFENDORFF, Hist. Univ. t. iv. p. 180.



- a "ter) by some gentlemen of good repute, who formerly were masters of great estates, that they have offered to make an absolute surrender to the king of large possessions in the island of *Zealand*, rather than pay the taxes; which offer, though pressed with earnestness, would by no means be accepted. Upon my enquiry into the reason of it, I have been informed, that estates belonging to those gentlemen, lying in other places which had the good fortune to be taxed less than the full value of their income, were liable to pay the taxes of any other estate appertaining to the same gentleman, in case that other estate was not able; so that some have been seen, with a great deal of joy, declaring, that the king had been so gracious as to accept of their estates." What a picture this of the most abject and deplorable slavery! and how striking a contrast to their once happy condition, when their estates were rated for the public support, just as inclination and public spirit directed the possessors! <sup>a</sup>

Condition of the nobility.

- THESE, and several other causes equally oppressive, have effected the fall of the antient *Danish* families, and the ruin of those noble seats, resembling palaces, where they lived with the magnificence of princes. Now they retreat into some obscure corner, as if to conceal the disgrace they have brought upon themselves, by the want of firmness in the defence of their privileges. They are all ambitious of procuring employments, civil or military, at court; this indeed being necessary to secure to their families a competent subsistence, and screen their estates from the exorbitant exactions of the public collectors. Few of them, however, can expect to be provided for in this manner, as civil employments are neither numerous nor valuable, and as strangers are generally chosen into public offices in preference to the natives; the court imagining itself, that they can be more assured of the fidelity of foreigners, on whom they bestow fortunes, than on the posterity of those whose fortunes and liberties they have ruined. To this we may perhaps add another collateral reason for the unnatural conduct of the court, which possibly finds the courage and spirit of the nobility dwindled away with their freedom and poverty. It is farther remarkable, that in the disposal of posts and offices, such as are of ordinary birth and fortunes are always preferred to the more antient and wealthy nobility. Here the most lucrative and honourable posts, are filled by men of the lowest station and education; not that they have ascended to them by dint of merit, but that they are found the best executors of the will of absolute power and despotism. Another advantage which the court finds in the promotion of such persons, is, that if they have grown wealthy by extortion, and clamours are raised loud against them, they can easily be reduced to their primitive condition, and the revenue encreased by it, without creating discontents among the nobility, on account of kindred, alliance or friendship. Thus, in some respects, the policy of the court of *Denmark* resembles the arbitrary measures of the *Porte*; they both permit their officers to oppress the people, in order to fatten on the spoils of the nation, without incurring the odium of being the immediate instruments of the public misery <sup>b</sup>.

The policy of the court in the disposal of offices.

- OUR sensible author is of opinion, that the difficulty of promising a comfortable subsistence, and the little security there is of property, when attained by toil and industry, is the occasion of that prodigality observable among all degrees of people in *Denmark*. Expences in equipages, retinues, and fine cloaths, amount no where to such a pitch of extravagance, in proportion to the income, as in *Copenhagen* <sup>c</sup>. Nothing can be more true, than that parsimony is not only the cause but the effect of riches; for, in general, the more wealth a man has, the more does he labour to acquire. But in *Denmark* the courtier never thinks of realizing his money; instead of buying estates, he remits his cash to the banks of *Amsterdam* and *Hamburg*. The gentleman spends in his pleasures the fortune which might become dangerous, by gaining him the reputation of riches. The merchant and burgher live upon credit, there being few of either worth one hundred thousand rixdollars (F). As to the peasant, he no sooner finds himself in possession of a rixdollar, than he squanders it upon brandy, to prevent his landlord's seizing upon it. In a word, oppression and arbitrary sway beget distrust and doubts about the security of property: doubt beget profusion, men chusing to squander on their pleasures, what they apprehend may excite the rapaciousness of their superiors; and this profusion is the legitimate parent of that universal indolence, poverty, and despondence, which so strongly characterize the miserable inhabitants

<sup>a</sup> Lord MOLESWORTH's Account of Denmark, c. viii. <sup>b</sup> PUFFENDORFF, t. iv. *ibid.* MOLESWORTH, *ibid.* <sup>c</sup> *Id. ibid.*

(F) This is the account of lord *Molesworth*, who seems to have made very accurate observations on the then state of *Denmark*; but we have reason to believe that the wise and politic conduct of his present *Danish* majesty, and his royal father, has effected a change greatly to the advantage of the country. The latter

in particular, was the great promoter of the *Danish* commerce to the *East-Indies*, which, on his accession to the throne, was sunk to a very languid condition. Every branch of trade and industry revived under his auspices, which enabled him to support the government, after he had abolished some of the oppressive taxes.



of *Denmark*. We speak of what the country was in the beginning of the last reign, in consequence of the nature of their government; for though the excellent disposition and mild administration of *Christian VI.* and *Frederic V.* alleviated the miseries of the people, they by no means altered the fundamental principles of the present constitution. Before their time, the trading towns and villages, *Copenhagen* excepted, were falling into ruin and decay; boroughs, which had lent their king considerable sums of money upon emergencies, were, in lord *Molesworth's* days, unable to raise an hundred rixdollars (B).

The peasants  
sold with the  
lands, and  
transferable  
like stock.

To set this affecting picture, which is the best lesson to a people as yet blessed with their liberties, in the strongest point of view, we shall beg leave to lay before the reader a few more observations from the same author. In *Zealand*, he informs us, the peasants are as absolute slaves as the negroes of our colonies in the *West Indies*, with this difference, that they are worse fed. They and their posterity are unalterably fixed to the land in which they were born; the landholders estimating their wealth by their stock of boors. If an estate be sold, the peasants are likewise transferred with it, like wood, houses, and cattle. Yeomanry, the bulwark of happy *England*, is a state unheard of in *Denmark*; instead of which the pitiable drudges, after labouring hard to raise the king's taxes, must pay the overplus of the profits of lands, and their own toil, to the greedy and necessitous landlord. Should any of them prove of a more diligent and inventive turn than his companions, so as to live better, repair his farm-house, and put forth the appearance of a degree of happiness and ease, superior to others, it is probable he may be removed from a neat, pleasant and commodious house, to a naked and uncomfortable habitation, that the landlord may increase his rent, by letting the improved farm to another.

The hardships  
they undergo  
from having  
the troops  
quartered upon  
them,

from supplying  
the king and  
court with  
horses and  
waggons in  
their progresses.

THE quartering and paying the king's troops is another grievance no less oppressive than the former, to which the miserable peasant is subject. The late experience of our own innkeepers, and their complaints to parliament in the year 1758, may give us an idea of the condition of the *Danish* peasants, oppressed with the load of those insolent inmates, who lord it wherever they are privileged by the constitution. Another grievance to which they are liable, is the obligation they are under of furnishing the king, the royal family, their attendants, baggage, and furniture, with horses and travelling waggons, whenever they undertake a progress to *Jutland*, or *Holstein*, or even through *Zealand*, to any of the royal country houses. On such occasions, all the peasants lying on the road, are summoned to attend with their horses and waggons, at their own expence, no regard being had to the harvest, which is the usual season for the royal family, to travel. The insolences committed by the petulant and worthless lacqueys, and other servants of the court, our author says, have excited his compassion for the unhappy boors, whom he had seen beaten and treated upon a footing with their cattle. However, this usage would be tolerable, were they subjected to it only when the king makes a progress; but born to be slaves, the peasants are forced to attend, in the same manner every creature of the court, who has obtained his majesty's order, a favour seldom denied to any man of the least weight and influence.

The great  
change in the  
condition of the  
peasants.

Diseases conse-  
quent to their  
situation.

FROM all these circumstances it is observable, although *Denmark* has a tendency to be exceeding populous, as appears from the swarms of northern nations, which, in former ages, over-ran all *Europe*; yet poverty, oppression, and poor diet, greatly obstruct procreation, and prevent the encrease of the people. Before the fatal revolution in 1660, there was hardly a family in *Denmark* that was not in possession of a piece of plate, besides silver spoons, gold rings, and other conveniencies and ornaments, of which they are still fond: at present there is nothing of value to be seen in the house of a peasant, all being sold to pay the king's taxes, and gratify the rapacious avarice of the collectors.

ANOTHER consequence which our author deduces from their poverty, is the frequency of apoplexies and epileptic disorders, among the common people. "One, says he, shall hardly pass through a street in *Copenhagen*, without seeing one or two of those poor creatures groveling on the ground in a fit, and foaming at the mouth with a circle of gazers and assistants about them." Whether these disorders be the genuine result of the causes he ascribes, and the nature of their diet, which is composed of lean salt meats, stock-fish, &c. we cannot pretend to decide, without entering upon a disquisition foreign to our purpose; sufficient it is, that the reader has a view of the deplorable condition of the *Danish* peasant, who wanted nothing besides this dreadful disease to crown his misery. There is one disease they call *slacbt*, which may be deemed endemial, on account of its

(B) This nobleman relates, that when he resided in *Denmark*, the collectors of the poll-tax were forced to accept of old feather-beds, brass and pewter pans, and household furniture, instead of money, from the once wealthy inhabitants of *Kieg*, though this little town supplied *Christian IV.* with the sum of two hundred thousand rixdollars, upon a notice so short as twenty-four hours (1).



a universality here among all degrees of people. *Moleſworth* ſays it is a kind of apoplexy, ariſing from diſcontent and trouble of mind; but how truly the reader is left to judge.

b FORMERLY valour and wealth were the only titles to nobility, the nobles and gentry having no real diſtinction. No degrees of rank, or patents of honour, were dependent on the crown; of late years, however, to compenſate the loſs of ſolid privileges, the court confers a few imaginary honours, ſuch as the dignities of *count* and *baron*, to the favourites of the king. Theſe, inſtead of becoming more independent, are, in conſequence of their empty titles, the real ſlaves and tools of the crown, and uſed accordingly as the inſtruments of legal oppreſſion. One excluſive right indeed they enjoy; it is that of diſpoſing of their eſtates contrary to the courſe of law, by will or teſtament, provided that ſuch will be ſigned and approved by the king during the life of the teſtator.

Degrees of nobility in Denmark.

THERE are beſides two orders of knighthood in *Denmark*, that of the *Elephant* and *Dane-Broge*, of which the firſt is the moſt honourable, and conferred only on perſons of the higheſt diſtinction and merit. This order was inſtituted by *Chriſtian I.* at his ſon's wedding, the badge being an elephant with a caſtle on its back, ſet with diamonds, and hung on a watered ſky-coloured ribband. As to the *Dane-Broge*, it is the reward of inferior diſtinction; the badge being a white ribband with red edges, having a ſmall croſs of diamonds ſuſpended to it, and an embroidered ſtar on the breaſt of the coat, with this motto, *Pietate et Juſtitia*.

c THE antient form of government in *Denmark* was ſimilar to that which the *Goths* and *Vandals*, eſtabliſhed in almoſt all countries where their arms were victorious. To theſe barbarians do we owe the model of a conſtitution far excelling all others, in a juſt mixture of liberty and ſubordination. Till the people reſigned their rights in the year 1660, the king of *Denmark* was elected by his ſubjects of all degrees, divided into different claſſes (G), called *States*. Theſe being convened, were to chuſe for their prince a man, whoſe perſon was unexceptionable, who was valiant, juſt, merciful, affable, prudent, a maintainer of the laws, a lover of the people, an encourager of merit, in a word, adorned with all the accompliſhments and virtues neceſſary for the execution of ſo important a truſt. Due regard for the royal line was always preſerved, and the people thought themſelves happy, if they found in the late king's family virtues and abilities adequate to the great and weighty duty of a monarch. When they happen to be miſtaken in their choice, and, inſtead of the patriot, the warrior, and the ſtateſman, they had promoted a cruel, vicious, and profligate tyrant, they always aſſumed the right of depoſing, baniſhing, and even putting to death their king; and this either by open trial before the ſtates, or, if he was thought too powerful to be brought to public juſtice, by ſecret conſpiracies. In his room they elected the next of kin, if he had merit, or the hero who had hazarded his life for the public, by undertaking the expulſion or the death of the tyrant.

Form of government.

e FREQUENT conventions of the different ſtates of the kingdom was a fundamental article of the *Daniſh* conſtitution. Here all matters relative to government were tranſacted, wholeſome laws enacted, peace or war determined, marriages for the royal family projected, taxes impoſed, promotions to the great offices made; in a word, every thing that concerned the legiſlative power. It was a principle of government, that no conſtant tribute ſhould be paid, or any taxes levied on the people, but by the conſent of all the ſtates, and for the ſupport of a neceſſary and juſt war, or payment of marriage portion. The king's ordinary revenue aroſe from the crown-lands and demefnes, his herds and cattle, foreſts and ſervitudes. Thus he lived, like a ſubject, on the produce of his own eſtate, and not as now by the ſweat of the peaſant's brow.

f As the legiſlative power was veſted in the ſtates, ſo the king was poſſeſſed of the executive: he was to ſee a due and impartial adminiſtration of juſtice; nay, often to preſide in perſon; ſedulouſly to watch for the welfare of his people; to command their armies; to cheriſh induſtry, religion, arts, and ſcience; to keep upon terms of friendſhip with the nobility, and to protect the commons from their insolence and power.

IN this ſituation, with no other alteration than the encreasing power of the nobles, did the conſtitution remain until the revolution in 1660, which produced a change equally aſtoniſhing in itſelf, and fatal to the liberties of the people. As this new-modelling of

(G) This fact has the teſtimony of all hiſtorians, and is farther confirmed by that memorable answer made by *Waldemar* to the pope's nuncio, who aſſumed great authority in the kingdom. "Our nature, ſays the monarch, we have from God, our kingdom from our

" ſubjects, our wealth from our parents, and our religion from the church of *Rome*, which laſt we are willing to reſtore, if you envy us the felicity it brings (1).

(1) *Pontan. Hiſt.* p. 320.



the government was effected at a period very disastrous to the nation; after the king had lost a great part of his dominions in the war with *Sweden*; when the treasury was exhausted; the public spirit low; without bloodshed; without force; and in the space of two days, it may justly be deemed one of the most remarkable events in history: however, we shall only touch upon it in this place, that the reader may have a view of the present state of the *Danish* government.

*The crown rendered absolute and hereditary.*

IMMEDIATELY after a peace was concluded with *Sweden*, a diet of the states assembled to consider of the means to re-establish the public affairs, and enable the people, almost undone by the misfortunes attending a tedious and bloody war, to recover their losses. As the difficulties which would occur were obvious, the king foresaw the disputes that must necessarily arise. He therefore had it artfully insinuated to the clergy, and the president of *Copenhagen*, speaker of the commons, that the public tranquility might be easily restored, if all the members of the state would bear their proportion of the expence. The commons, in consequence, laid before the nobility the deplorable situation of the people, and the impossibility of raising money for the current service, unless they consented to pay their share, which was the more reasonable, as they were the greatest gainers, and the only mortgaged men in the kingdom. The nobility, who were numerous, insolent, and powerful, not at all apprised of the collusion between the king and commons, dealt very roundly with the latter, telling them it was the highest presumption to enquire into their privileges, and the grossest ignorance in them to dictate to their masters; for vassals they were, and should remain. Fired with this haughty answer, the speaker of the commons replied, that since they would not use the means to preserve their privileges, they were unworthy of them; that their answer to the commons was equally insolent and cruel; and that though the commons could not make themselves noble, yet they would shew them it was in their power to make the weight of subjection fall upon others as heavy as, till now, it had lain upon themselves. After this spirited reply, the speaker retired, and was followed by the clergy and commons to a man, to a hall provided at some distance for that purpose. Here they came to the sudden and fatal resolution of devolving their own authority upon the king. Several private messages passed between them and the court in the evening, and next morning they attended his majesty in a body, and were admitted to an audience. They set forth, that as the present constitution did not, in their opinion, answer the end of government, they were resolved to put the administration wholly in his majesty's hands, because they were sensible of his prudence, virtue, and public spirit, as well as his great love for his people. His majesty at first pretended to have some scruples about accepting an arbitrary power; but, on the commons insisting upon their request, he told them how much he was obliged to them for their just sentiments of his affection; but that the consent of the nobility was necessary to render any public act, of the nature they proposed, valid and of effect. At the same time he ordered the city gates to be shut, under the specious pretext of securing it against danger from the ferment arisen in the diet; and having the army intirely in his power, it was impossible for any of the nobility to retire to their estates, without his leave, which brought his intrigues to a speedy issue. Now the nobility discovered their error; but it was too late and irreparable: some part of their privileges they determined therefore to resign, in order to secure the rest. With this view they made his majesty an offer to advance his prerogative considerably, and to settle the succession in the male line of his issue; but they were given to understand, that this would neither answer his majesty's purpose, nor satisfy the clergy and commons. At last they were forced to surrender all, and to render his majesty arbitrary, and the crown hereditary in his issue, whether male or female. A few days after the king, queen, and royal family, appeared on a kind of theatre erected for the occasion; and being seated in chairs of state, under canopies of velvet, received the homage of the nobility, clergy, and people, in sight of the army. Thus the states of *Denmark*, without compulsion, almost without intrigue, divested themselves by a certain fatality of those privileges, which had cost their ancestors so much blood and treasure. In this condition does the constitution now remain, the government being an absolute and despotic monarchy, the rigour of which has, however, been softened by the mild and just administration of the excellent princes who have since reigned.

ALTHOUGH the king of *Denmark* professes to square his conduct by the antient and fundamental laws of the kingdom, yet these he takes the liberty of new-modelling, or repealing, as he sees proper. He is the guardian of orphans, and assumes to himself the disposal of heirs and heiresses in marriage. As he is intitled to a third of the money arising upon the sale of lands, no estates can be sold without his permission, except those who are raised to the dignity of counts or barons.

THE king, in his council, determines all public affairs; deliberates on war and peace, alliances and treaties; and of taxes, fortifications, trade, &c. without any other assistance than



a than that of the secretaries of state, who are esteemed, notwithstanding, rather as ministerial officers than counsellors of state. Of these great officers there are four, who direct business in their separate departments. The first is secretary for the affairs of *Denmark*; the second, for those of *Norway*; the third, for foreign affairs; and the fourth, is secretary at war.

ONE felicity still remains to *Denmark*; it is the brevity and perspicuity of the laws, justice being no where obtained with less expence, or greater expedition. The whole body of *Danish* laws is contained in a moderately sized quarto volume, written in the vernacular tongue, and so plainly, simply, and intelligibly, as scarce ever to require a comment. As they are grounded upon equity rendered familiar to the meanest understanding, every  
b man capable of reading, may soon become acquainted with his own case, and even able to plead it, without the assistance of those pests of society, attornies, solicitors, and the pettyfoggers of the law. Here is none of that chicane, and mystery of the law, which raises and destroys so many estates in other countries; a few advocates are sufficient to conduct the pleadings of all the litigious persons in the nation; and as their fees are small, and all suits necessarily determined within a year and a month after their commencement, they are seldom burthensome to the parties.

*Laws in Denmark; their brevity.*

IN *Denmark* are three courts of justice, each of which has power to give a definitive sentence, and must acquit or condemn, though there lies an appeal from one to another, but without the formality and expence of again passing through the whole process. The most  
c circumscribed court is the *Herredsfogds*, similar in nature to our leet-court. It is a tribunal appointed for the dispatch of business in the country, to which the *Byfogds* court corresponds in towns and cities. From these there lies an appeal to the *Landstog*, or general head court for the province; and from thence to the *Higt-Right* court at *Copenhagen*, composed of the first nobility, and often presided by the king's majesty in person, the whole charge not exceeding ten or twelve pounds sterling. The *Byfogds* court of *Copenhagen* has this peculiar privilege; that its verdicts, instead of passing through the *Landstog*, is revised by the burgomaster and common-council of the city, proceeding immediately from them to the *Higt-Right* court. Should the matter in debate happen not to be positively specified in the written law, which seldom happens, the verdict is then in the king's breast, or in  
d that of his representative, who may be called keeper of the royal conscience. The sentences passed in the inferior courts are seldom partial, the judges dreading the revival of the high court, where strict justice is administered between one subject and another. The misfortune however is, that the first article of the law reserves to the king the privilege of altering or explaining it at pleasure; whence it is, that in all causes wherein his majesty or his favourites are interested, the subject can expect but little justice, especially if money be the point in litigation.

IN the inferior courts, the reasons upon which every verdict is founded are specified; but in the supreme court, no reason is expressed for the sentence; and the judges of the lower courts, are not only punished for misdemeanours committed in the execution  
e of their office, but obliged also to render satisfaction to the party injured by an unjust sentence.

IN *Denmark* are no public societies of lawyers, or inns of court. Every man takes up the profession at pleasure, as it requires but little learning to become acquainted with laws so concise and intelligible; and indeed, the profits are so small, that few are induced to assume the long robe, who can apply themselves to any other profession. One excellent regulation we must not omit; it is, that all clerks and registers are obliged to bring the whole process of trial within a limited number of sheets, including the allegations, proofs, and sentence. A certain price is affixed to each sheet; and thus the parties have a certainty of the utmost expence of a proceeding. How happy would it be for this  
f nation, which boasts of the freedom of its constitution, could some check be given to the rapaciousness of the interpreters of those once simple, but now embarrassed laws!

THE salaries of the judges are paid out of the exchequer; and so trifling are they, that a judge of the lower court hath not above twenty-five pounds *per annum*, and others proportionably, which would be a strong temptation to pervert justice, were they not awed by the supreme court. By the king's order, the magistrates of towns provide pleaders for the poor, and those who are unable to defend their own cause; an institution founded upon humanity, which we could wish to see followed in countries more applauded for liberty and generous sentiments.

IN criminal cases the severity of the law is extraordinary; and to this many writers have  
g attributed the good order and strict discipline of the people. The crimes of murder, robbery, house-breaking, high-treason, or even seditious discourses, are seldom heard of: so fixed is the government now on the basis of despotism, that the most turbulent spirits are

awed



Regulations  
regarding fire,  
and good or-  
der.

awed into implicit obedience. The most frequent crimes are manslaughter and thieving, and the punishment is beheading, which is done by one stroke of a sword (H). a

In *Copenhagen* there is a magistrate of police, who presides over the morals of the people, quiets disturbances, composes differences among the merchants, examines whether their goods be marketable, restrains every profession within its proper bounds, causes the streets, bridges, and causeways, to be kept in repair, sees the markets properly supplied with bread at a reasonable price, seizes prohibited goods, assists with a proper body of men to extinguish fires, with every thing else which regards the good order, the safety, and the conveniency of the city (I).

CHIMNEY-sweepers are bound to keep an exact register, upon oath, of all the chimnies they sweep, that, in case of accidents, those by whose avarice or neglect they have happened, may repair the damage at their private expence. Torches and flambeaux are prohibited in the streets; instead of which, persons of the first distinction use large close lanthorns fixed upon a pole; a necessary precaution in a town where so many houses are built of fir timber. The *polity master*, as he is called, regulates likewise the price of travelling in open waggons, and severely punishes all impositions on passengers. He imprisons all who travel on the king's particular road, without permission; all poachers and sportsmen, who appear with guns, dogs, or game: lastly, he suppresses riots among the soldiers, who are prohibited to be seen in the streets after the signal for retiring is made by beat of drum. b

Regulations of  
apothecaries.

OF all the regulations in *Denmark*, perhaps that of the apothecaries is the most useful and salutary. No man is permitted to exercise that profession, until he passes the examination of the college of physicians, and is allowed unanimously to be skilled in his function. In lord *Molesworth's* time only two apothecaries were permitted to open shops in *Copenhagen*, and one only, in each of the other towns. Their shops and medicines are carefully inspected every quarter by the magistrates and physicians, and all the bad drugs thrown away. The price is affixed to every article, and the apothecaries are obliged to keep registers of all the medicines they sell or make up, with the names of the patients, and the proper dates; so that they are never at a loss upon whom to charge any unfortunate accident. c

Stifts-Ampts.

IN the country the government is conducted by dividing it into certain districts, called *Stifts-Ampts*, of which there are seven; four in *Jutland*, and three in the islands. Every *stifts-ampt* is subdivided into a lesser jurisdiction, called *Ampt*. A person of quality is generally chosen *stifts-amptsmān*, a post equivalent to lord-lieutenant in *England*, or intendant in *France*, to which last it approaches the nearest. *Amptsmān*, or under-governor of an *ampt*, is generally a person of inferior rank, who resides in the principal town of his district, and is entrusted with all matters relating to the public; the quartering of soldiers, providing for their march, collecting the king's taxes, directing the peasants employed in public works, or when the king travels: these employments are for life, and given as rewards to those who have faithfully served the court. Persons who have resided at foreign courts in quality of ambassadors, are usually preferred to *stifts-ampts* on their return, if their conduct has received the approbation of his majesty. His salary is a thousand crowns, and that of the *amptsmān* four hundred; but the chief advantages arising from their posts, are the interest they in consequence have at court, by which they shift off the most grievous taxes from their estates; and the great power and authority which it gives them within their jurisdiction, where they are considered as petty princes.<sup>a</sup> d

Revenues.

THE king's revenue arises either from the duties paid by his own subjects, from the customs paid by foreigners, or from the crown-lands, fines, and confiscations. The taxes upon his own subjects are either fixed or variable; we mean, that the prince in some cases chuses to follow a rule, established by himself, which, however, he may alter, if he finds

<sup>a</sup> Vide MOLESWORTH'S Account of Denmark, ubi supra.

(H) The executioner or *beadsman*, as he is called, though infamous by his profession, compensates the want of reputation by solid profits, arising from other employments annexed to his office. His business it is to keep the sinks and offices in order, remove all rubbish and every thing offensive out of the streets, keep stables and out-houses clean and sweet, with several other necessary employments, in which no *Danish* servant will, upon any consideration, engage (1). For this purpose he has under him a great number of servants called *Rakers*, and as he charges his own price, soon raises a fortune superior to that of some of the chief nobility.

(I) One excellent custom is strictly observed in *Copenhagen*, and enforced by a law, of which the magistrate of police is judge. Here are select companies of men paid by the public, whose sole business it is to watch and extinguish fires, no others daring, on pain of death, to approach within a certain distance, lest, under pretence of helping the unfortunate, they should seize the opportunity of plundering them: a law this which not only prevents losses and frauds, but greatly contributes to suppressing fires, by the order and regularity observed on these occasions (2).

(1) *Molesworth*, chap. xv.

(2) *Idem ibid.*



a it necessary. Of the first sort are the duties upon imports and exports, and formerly the excise upon the necessaries of life, now abolished. There are also duties upon marriage licences, upon stamp-paper, on bargains, contracts, grants, and proceedings at law. That is, the duty is laid upon the paper, and all the proceedings necessarily written on stamp-paper, the duty on which last amounts to several rixdollars each sheet. Formerly an excise was laid on brewing, malt, and corn that was grinded in mills; but we are told that this duty is either entirely abolished, or at least greatly lowered. Such were the fixed duties, which seldom received any alteration. The variable duties are, the land-tax, assessed not by the acre, but by the annual value of the farm or estate; the poll-tax, imposed upon every subject according to his wealth; money levied for repairing the old fortifications, or erecting new; an occasional tax laid on the marriage of a princess for the payment of her portion; a tax laid upon tradesmen, for the liberty of exercising their several occupations; the ground-rents in all cities and towns, taxed according to the value of the house, or the ability of the tenant. In *Holstein* the lands are taxed by the plough, each plough paying a certain sum of money monthly. About the year 1690, a valuation was made of all the houses in the cities and towns within the king's dominions, and the lands in the country were surveyed, the more easily to assess them, and determine their real value. The ground-rent in towns and cities was fixed at four *per cent.* of the real value of the ground, supposing it were put up to sale. As to the poll-tax, the most moderate assessment is in the following proportion. A citizen worth eight or ten thousand rixdollars, pays four for himself, four for his wife, two for each child, one for each servant, and as much for every horse. A publican pays one rixdollar for himself, another for his wife, twenty four stivers for every child, and sixteen for every servant. The tax levied for erecting and repairing the fortifications is usually laid high. A merchant worth six or eight thousand dollars, shall often pay sixty-eight dollars; an ordinary citizen eight or ten, and others in proportion; but the reader is to observe, that we have no late accounts of the state of the revenue, which is probably collected in a manner infinitely less oppressive than it was after a long and ruinous war.

b

c

In *Norway* the revenue arises from a certain proportion of the timber, tar, fish, and oil; that are exported, and also from certain duties upon these. To this may be added a small profit arising from mines; but the last and most considerable branch is drawn from the crown lands and confiscations. However, the king frequently grows the poorer for the addition to his demesnes by confiscations; for he no sooner becomes the proprietor, than labour ceases, improvements are neglected, and the whole is often converted into forests for his diversion; a most impolitic and destructive practice, happily abolished in our own country.

d

Upon the whole, the king's revenues are very considerable; and lord *Molesworth* has computed them as follows: The toll of the *Sound* worth sixty-five thousand rixdollars, *per annum*; the rest of the toll of *Denmark*, farming at one hundred and sixty five thousand rixdollars; the excise of *Copenhagen* farmed at one hundred and forty thousand rixdollars; the excise of the rest of his majesty's dominions at one hundred and forty thousand rixdollars, the smaller taxes of the kingdom at one hundred thousand rixdollars; the whole revenue of *Norway* at seven hundred thousand rixdollars; the crown lands, confiscations, &c. at two hundred thousand rixdollars; the revenue of *Iceland*, farmed at twenty-seven thousand rixdollars; *Oldenburg* and *Delmenhorst* at eight thousand; and the toll upon the *Wefer*, at five thousand: the whole amounting to two millions six hundred and twenty-two thousand rixdollars, from which a deduction of four hundred thousand rixdollars ought to be made, as the poll and fortification taxes were never levied in the same year. The sensible author of the *Present State of Europe*, estimates the revenue at nearly the same sum, though we are apt to believe he has been led into this mistake by lord *Molesworth*, who wrote in the year 1690, without reflecting upon the great increase of industry and commerce, and the extraordinary addition to the revenue from these, as well as from foreign subsidies, which amount to above a million of rixdollars from *France* alone. Certain it is, that the exportation of beef, butter, tar, timber, &c. has greatly increased of late years, and has proportionably enriched the exchequer, and the private trader, tho' it would be difficult to ascertain the exact value of this increase (K).

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It

(K) That the reader may have a clearer idea of the above revenues, as well as of other particulars mentioned in the preceding pages, it may be necessary to give him a short account of the *Danish* coins, weights, and measures. A rose noble is eighteen shillings *sterl.* a ducat nine shillings, a rixdollar four shillings and six-pence, a flet-dollar three shillings, a rix mark eleven-pence, a flet-mark nine-pence, a silver one penny; besides which, there is a variety of smaller copper coins. It would appear, however, that the rixdollar and silver have no fixed valuation, as several writers reckon the former at four shillings and nine-pence half penny, and the silver at nearly a penny farthing. Their weights are the great and small hundred, the first one hundred and twenty, and the latter one hundred and twelve pounds: they have also their lispound, equivalent to our stone, and their shippand, which makes twenty lispounds. An hundred weight *English* hardly amounts to ninety-two *Danish*

Mod. Hist. Vol. XI.



It is allowed on all hands, that specie is scarce in *Denmark*, few persons having any ready cash lying by them; and the traders through whose hand it passes, having small capitals and large debts in *Holland* and *Hamburg*, no sooner receive money than they pay it away again. Another circumstance which greatly contributes to the draining *Denmark* of its specie, is the payment of the troops, as at least half the officers are foreigners, who place whatever they accumulate in foreign banks; a practice too frequent among the officers of state likewise. Formerly the balance of trade against *Denmark* used to carry off large sums; for it was estimated that foreign imports for the consumption of the country, exceeded the exported produce by near a fifth<sup>a</sup>: but how they were for such a number of years able to support so losing a trade, is what we are unable to comprehend. At present we believe the balance is in favour of the *Danes*, with respect to most countries where they trade, labour being incredibly cheap. The most plentiful coin, even now, is copper; whence if a man has a large sum to receive, he is forced to employ wheel-barrows to carry it off; and we have heard merchants declare, that in their accounts they have charged a certain sum for that purpose; a presumption this of the scarcity of money, notwithstanding we see the baser coins prevail in rich countries, though for different reasons.

Pay of the troops.

To an *Englishman* unacquainted with the value of money in northern countries, it would be incredible what an army the king of *Denmark* supports at a less expence than this nation can maintain eight regiments of horse and foot. It is computed, that *Denmark* and the *German* dominions maintain an army of sixteen thousand foot, and four thousand horse, and two thousand dragoons, in profound peace; and *Norway* thirteen thousand foot, and near three thousand horse and dragoons; together with three thousand seamen, who are employed in the king's dock-yards, when they are not wanted for the equipment of a squadron. From comparing this proportion of troops with the revenue, we may easily conclude how small their soldiers pay must be; but the less the treasury is drained by the payment of troops, the more does the poor peasant suffer upon whom he is quartered. All the navy-officers are in constant pay in peace as well as in war; whence it is, that the king of *Denmark* is able to equip a fleet of thirty sail of men of war upon almost the shortest notice (L). Thus we see that an army of between thirty and forty thousand men, and three thousand seamen, the charges of the civil list, the maintenance of the courts, king's children, public ministers, officers of justice, &c. are supported upon a revenue not greater than the civil list of *Great Britain*; whence we may judge of the œconomy of the government, the scarcity of specie, and the cheapness of provisions in *Denmark*.

Religion, marriages, &c.

It is time we should now come to treat of the religion, marriages, and funerals of *Denmark*, with which we shall close this section, and our account of the present state of the kingdom; adding only a few reflections upon the true political interest of that nation, with respect to the powers with whom she is connected, either by commerce, treaties, or situation.

In *Denmark* the people were pagans till the year 826, when St. *Augarius*, bishop of *Hamburg* and *Bremen*, first introduced Christianity in the reign of *Harold Clakius*, the first Christian *Danish* monarch<sup>b</sup> (M). About the year 1537, the doctrine of *Luther* was first propagated in this northern kingdom, by *Bugenhagen*, a *Pomeranian* divine, who met with a strong patron in *Frederic I.* Since Protestantism was established, no other religion, and particularly that of the church of *Rome*, has ever been admitted into the kingdom, or, at least, permitted worship in it, 'till of late years. Perhaps no Catholic country in *Europe* requires a stricter conformity than *Denmark*, people being prohibited to talk with freedom on the points in dispute, or to absent themselves from the churches upon any pretence. The clergy are the tools of the government, their doctrine being a blind and implicit obedience to superiors; in return for which they are protected by the court, and are highly respected by the people, because they see them regarded by the administration; which

<sup>a</sup> MOLESWORTH, *ibid.*

<sup>b</sup> SUANING. Chron. Dan. 63. MEURSIU Hist. & PONTAN. sub hoc regno.

*nish* pounds. A *Danish* ell is about one-third less than an *English*; but of their liquid measure we find no exact account, nor indeed any thing so accurate as we could wish concerning their weights or dry measure (I).

(L) It will not be disagreeable to the more curious reader to see an account of the pay of the several officers and soldiers, which is as follows: a captain of foot is paid twenty rixdollars per month, a lieutenant eleven, and an ensign ten. A serjeant's pay amounts only to six rixdollars, a drummer's to three rixdollars and eight stivers, and a corporal's to about four rixdollars a month. A common soldier receives no more than seventeen stivers weekly, the rest of his pay being applied for bread, cloathing, and other things. As to the pay of the supe-

rior officers, we have no certain information: we are told, however, that a colonel's, including his pay as a captain, amounts to fifty rixdollars monthly, a lieutenant-colonel's thirty, and a major's twenty. Officers of horse have in peace the same pay with the foot, his horses being wholly maintained by the peasants on whom he is quartered. In *Norway*, we are told, that little money is expended in the payment of the troops, the private soldiers being wholly subsisted by the boors.

(M) This prince is not ranked among the *Danish* monarchs, being set up only by the *Jutlanders* while *Regner* was employed in a war with the *Irish*, and on his return deposed and slain.

(1) *Vid. Arith. Comm. Busch. p. 15.*



a makes their precepts be received with more weight. They intermeddle in no civil affairs, nor are they retained at court, or the houses of the nobility, in quality of chaplains; this office being always performed by a lacquey.

In the pulpit the clergy assume the authority of the ministers of *Christ*, and reprove with great freedom sinners of quality, who have practised public vices; nor are any liberties consistent with the duties of their function taken amiss, provided they never intermeddle with politics. The common people adore them for the spirit with which they reprehend their superiors; for nothing is so grateful to mankind, as to see those raised by fortune above them brought down to their own level. Their benevolences to the clergy are in proportion to the degree of satisfaction they receive in this respect; whence it is, that a minister of courage can raise his stipend to double the value. Another circumstance that greatly contributes to keep up the authority of the clergy, is their retaining confession, without which persons of the highest quality are denied the sacrament.

The *Danes* have constituted superintendants in the room of bishops and archbishops, who are deprived of the authority as well as the name of right reverend; however, they take it kindly to be addressed by this title, after which they have a hankering. Within the *Danish* dominions are ten of those superintendants, viz. one in *Zealand*, one in *Funen*, four in *Jutland*, and four in *Norway*. They have no temporalities, hold no ecclesiastical courts, have no cathedrals with deans and chapters, but are chiefly employed in animadverting on the doctrines and manners of the clergy and people. The superintendant of *Copenhagen* has a kind of superior authority, and a stipend proportionable, which is fixed at two thousand rixdollars yearly. Each of the other *Danish* superintendants have fifteen hundred, and those of *Norway* one thousand rixdollars each; hardly the value of a moderate *English* living. They preach without book, and use abundance of action. They observe holidays with the same rigid devotion as *Sunday*, the gates of *Copenhagen* being shut during divine service, and the people very constant in their attendance; but the service being ended, they relax their spirits with all kinds of pastimes and diversions. It is even common to sit down with a clergyman at cards immediately after he has quitted the pulpit, where he has preached so feelingly as to drown his congregation in tears. The clerical habit is a plaited black gown, with short wide sleeves, a large stiff ruff, and a round flat cap, resembling our university matriculating cap.

PENANCES imposed by the confessor are readily performed by the people; nor do they refrain coming to church, tho' they are condemned to stand like criminals at the door for whole months. To conclude, there is no country in the world where the minds of the clergy and people are more upon a level than in *Denmark*. If you meet with few of extraordinary talents and qualifications, as few are seen who merit the appellation of madmen, fools, or enthusiasts. A certain equality reigns among them, every one keeping the common beaten road of sense, without addition or diminution.

As to the marriage ceremonies in *Denmark*, they differ but little from our own. What chiefly deserves notice is, that the parties are often contracted for years before marriage is solemnized in church, and as intimate before as after the ceremony. It is sufficient that it be performed before the woman brings forth her first child; this is no offence in the eye of the people, nor is it animadverted upon by the clergy. The espousals, however, are extremely solemn before friends; and the parties are then, and not before, deprived of the liberty of marrying elsewhere: yet we are told by some writers, that the first contract is valid in law, the marriage ceremony being esteemed only a public declaration of their engagements.

The *Danes* bury their dead with the utmost funeral pomp; and it is not uncommon to keep a corpse for years, in order to make preparations for the utmost magnificent interment. The poor indeed have their remains laid in the ground with less ceremony; tho' even among them it is usual to have a band of hired mourners, employed by the parish to attend the body to the grave.

With respect to the interest of *Denmark*, it may be collected from what we have said of its present state. The rapid progress of the *Russians* to a civilized, warlike, and potent nation, renders it indispensibly necessary, that the crowns of *Denmark* and *Sweden* live in strict harmony, to secure the independence of both. As the maritime powers are, however, the strongest barriers against the encroachments of that vast empire, it is above all things necessary, that *Denmark* should cultivate their friendship; and this is equally important to the security of his majesty's trade and dominions. How far the present disturbances in *Germany* ought to induce his *Danish* majesty to break off his connections with *France*, and support his *Prussian* majesty, and the Protestant interest, at the hazard of breaking with *Russia* and *Sweden*, though with respect to the last he has little to fear amidst the civil commotions of the nation, it requires no great depth of sagacity to penetrate. But

c MOLESWORTH, *ibid.* Present State of Europe, *ibid.*



we have already exceeded our limits, and must now enter upon the *Danish* history, where we find such a long series of kings, as will render it impossible for us to enter upon a minute recital of all the important events, without swelling our work to an enormous size. However, as we believe no complete history of this nation has ever appeared in any modern language, we doubt not but the bare annals of so antient and famous a people will be acceptable to the curious reader.

## S E C T. II.

Containing the History of the Danish Monarchs to the sixteenth Year of the Christian Æra.

## D A N.

Dan, 1st king  
of Denmark.  
Ante Christ.  
1038.

ALMOST all historians agree, that *Dan*, the son of *Humble*, a native of *Zealand*, was the founder and first king of the country called *Denmark*, from his name. His possessions and influence were very considerable, not only in *Zealand* but in the islands of *Langland* and *Mona*; it was his courage, however, and skill in the art of war, that raised him to the crown of *Denmark*, and induced the inhabitants to chuse him for their king. He governed *Zealand* for his aged father, when the *Saxons* made an irruption into *Jutland*. The people, in despair, implored his assistance, promising him the sovereignty of the country, if he drove out the enemy. *Dan*, fired with ambition, immediately raised an army, marched against the *Saxons*, obtained a complete victory, and reaped the promised reward. Soon after his father died, leaving him sovereign of *Jutland*, *Zealand*, *Langland*, and *Mona*, about one thousand and thirty-eight years before the birth of *Christ*<sup>a</sup> (A). To strengthen his interest, and secure his possessions, he determined upon a strict alliance with the *Saxons*; and for this purpose married *Gritba*, a lady of great consideration among them, by whom he had two sons. After reigning forty years with the utmost justice and reputation, he died greatly lamented by his subjects.

## H U M B L E.

Humble, 2d  
king.  
A.C.N. 998.

THIS excellent prince was succeeded by his eldest son *Humble*, who was elected by the unanimous voice of the people (B). His reign was short, according to some historians<sup>b</sup>, and all agree that it was unfortunate; for he was deposed by his brother, and reduced to a private station, seven years after he had been raised to the throne.

## L O T H E R.

Lother, 3d  
king.

LOTHER now usurped the crown of his unfortunate brother, who supported his misfortunes with a constancy and magnanimity which declared him worthy of a better fate. The usurper governed the *Danes* with the utmost rigour and severity; he banished, or put to death, all the nobility whose power rendered them dangerous, or wealth excited his avarice. Suspicion, lust, and cruelty, made him at length intolerable to a people, whose spirit was not yet extinguished by oppression. They revolted, and *Lother* lost his life, on account of those very vices by which he obtained his crown<sup>c</sup>.

## S K I O L D O.

Skioldo, 4th  
king.  
A.C.N. 966.

By the votes of the people, his son *Skioldo*, then a boy, was appointed to succeed *Lother*. The sweetness of his disposition, his bodily strength, and his courage, distinguished even at that age, had determined the states not to punish the son for the crimes of the father; and the virtues which *Skioldo* displayed in the course of a long and prosperous reign, amply rewarded the justice of their choice (C). An extraordinary instance of his strength and in-

<sup>a</sup> SUANING. Ripen. Chron. Dan. p. 25. PONTAN. Hist. Dan. p. 12. SAXO GRAM. Hist. Dan. p. 5. MEURSII Hist. Dan. p. 1. <sup>b</sup> SUANING. p. 26. <sup>c</sup> SAXO GRAM. p. 1. PONTAN.

(A) Some writers deny that the kingdom of *Denmark* is so antient as *Grammaticus*, and the other authors we quote in the margin, assert. *Gasser* in particular affirms, that *Dan* lived only four hundred and ninety years before *Christ*; but we must either suppose, that the reigns of the *Danish* princes were uncommonly short, or that their historians have given lives of several kings who never existed; but *Gasser* does not take it upon him to assert the latter; and the absurdity of the former supposition is too evident to require any refutation. Indeed, the regular and clear genealogy and chronology

of those princes, put it beyond all doubt, that *Denmark* is one of the most antient monarchies in *Europe*.

(B) We are told by *Saxo Grammaticus*, and the most antient *Danish* historians, that the electors stood upon long stones which they raised on one end on the ground, and by their stability, prognosticated the felicity of the future reign (1).

(C) *Jo. Suaningius*, in his Chronology of the *Danish* kings, places *Bogbio*, the son of *Humble*, before *Skioldo*; but we find his conjecture confirmed by the authority of no *Danish* historian (2).

(1) Gram. p. 1.

(2) Ibid. p. 26.



- a trepidity happened at the age of fifteen. Being on a party of hunting, he seized upon a wild boar, of a monstrous size, and held the furious beast with his girdle until he was assisted by his companions; a specimen of his valour that rendered him more dear to his subjects, by whom he was already beloved. Soon after his reputation received additional lustre, by his engaging in single combat with the two most celebrated wrestlers and boxers of those times, whom he defeated. He married *Avilda*, a *Saxon* lady, who had been addressed by her king: this drew upon him a war with the *Saxons*, which terminated in the death of their prince, and the reduction of the country by *Skioldo*. However, his lenity was no less conspicuous than his courage; he permitted the conquered *Saxons* to chuse another king, contenting himself with a moderate tribute, to reimburse his people for the expences of the war. After this he applied his mind to the arts of peace; he rewarded virtue, punished vice, and encouraged industry. It was his constant saying, 'That the true grandeur of a prince consists rather in making his subjects happy, than in oppressing his neighbours, with a view to extend his sovereignty.' He was the patron of the poor; the protector of the injured, and the succour of the distressed. In a word, his virtues were so extraordinary, and his people so sensible of the blessings they enjoyed during his long reign, that all good kings were, for a series of ages, surnamed after him. Sinking at last under old age and infirmity, the nobles proposed that he should raise his son *Gram* to a partnership with him in the throne, in order to ease him of the weight of government, and instruct the young prince in the art of reigning. This proposition was vehemently opposed by *Ringo*, a nobleman of the first distinction in *Zealand*, who was ambitious of fixing the crown upon his own head. *Skioldo* immediately raised some troops, attacked the rebel, defeated and killed him, and after firmly establishing his son in the throne, expired, universally beloved and lamented. To this day the place where his palace stood is called *Skioldeneffa*.

G R A M.

- d *GRAM* inherited the virtues as well as the crown of his father. His whole reign was a series of victories and conquests, arising less from his ambition than the turbulence of his neighbours. The king of *Sweden*, taking advantage of the youth of *Gram*, made an irruption into *Jutland* with a powerful army; but he was attacked and slain by the young monarch of *Denmark*, who soon after annexed *Sweden* to his own crown. *Gram* discovering that *Swarin*, viceroy of *Gothland*, was conspiring against his life, in order to raise himself to the throne of *Sweden*, challenged him to single combat, and slew him. Scarce had he finished this gallant action, when honour called him to *Norway*, to revenge the disgrace of his sister, ravished by *Suibdager*, who had deposed her husband, and usurped the crown of *Norway*. After a course of victories gained over the *Norwegians*, at length he fell by the hand of *Suibdager*, and died with the reputation of a great prince, whose character was soiled with no other blemish than inconstancy and infidelity to his wives. He left behind him two sons, *Guthorm*, by *Groa*, his first wife; and *Hadding*, by *Signe*, his second, after e repudiating the former.

Gram, 5th king.  
A. C. N.  
888.

S U I B D A G E R.

*SUIBDAGER* pursuing his victory, united the crowns of *Denmark* and *Sweden* to that of *Norway*, to neither of which he had any natural right. Moved by the prayers of *Groa*, the divorced wife of *Gram*, he replaced *Guthorm* in the throne of his father, on condition that *Denmark* should be tributary to him; gave *Sweden* to his own son *Asmond*, reserving only *Norway* to himself; after which he was defeated and slain by *Hadding*, the second son of *Gram*, in a sea-fight off the coast of *Sweden*.

Suibdager, 6th king.  
A. C. N.  
856.

G U T H O R M.

- f. *GUTHORM* enjoyed the crown of *Denmark* but a short time: he found himself despised by the nobility, and hated by the common people, for stooping to hold a tributary crown. His father's virtues rose in their memory; they upbraided the son with them, which sunk so deeply into his mind, that he fell sick and died of grief, being succeeded by the brave *Hadding*, the avenger of his father's death, and conqueror of the usurper *Suibdager*.

Guthorm, 7th king.

H A D D I N G.

NUMBERLESS are the exploits related of this hero, which favour so much of fiction, that we will not venture to give them a place in our history. During his exile he traversed almost all the northern kingdoms, attended by *Harpinga*, a *Danish* lady, who supported all the fatigues and hardships they underwent, with a more than masculine constancy and in-

Hadding, 8th king.  
A. C. N.  
816.

<sup>d</sup> Gram, p. 2-

<sup>e</sup> PONTAN. MEURS. & SAXO GRAMMAT. ubi supra.



trepidity. She shared all his misfortunes, conquered by his side, alleviated his distress, applied balsam to his wounds, and was at length the companion of his prosperity, after surmounting incredible difficulties. He was no sooner placed on the throne of *Denmark*, than *Asmond* king of *Sweden*, thirsting to revenge his father's death, attacked him with a numerous army; but he was so well supported by his faithful subjects, that he slew with his own hand in battle, *Henry* prince of *Sweden*, and afterwards the king his father, whose body he pierced with his lance. In this engagement *Hadding* received a wound in his foot, of which he was lame all his life after. Returning from this war, he found the treasury robbed in his absence, and immediately ordered *Gramer*, to whom he had committed the charge of his money and jewels, to be hanged upon a gibbet; an example that struck such terror as induced his accomplices to replace their share of the spoils.

WHILE *Hadding* was busied in framing laws, and establishing good order and tranquility in his kingdom, he was suddenly attacked by *Uffon*, the second son of *Asmond*, who after his father's death had succeeded to the throne of *Sweden*. *Uffon*, aware of the valour and power of *Hadding*, would not venture upon an open war; but collecting a great fleet and army, he made a descent upon the coasts of *Denmark*, set fire to the towns, carried off the inhabitants, and after laying a great part of the country waste, retreated to his own kingdom, whither he was closely pursued by the *Dane*, after he had first secured his frontiers by strong guards and garrisons. What he wanted in courage *Uffon* fully supplied in cunning; he declined battle, and so harassed *Hadding* with marches and countermarches, cutting off his provisions, laying waste the countries through which he must pass, and attacking his out-parties, that, reduced to the last extremity, he determined to hazard all to come to an engagement. As the *Danes* were by this time worn out with fatigue, and weakened by famine, the *Swedes* found it no difficult matter to resist their most strenuous efforts; upon which *Hadding* retired with prodigious loss, first to *Helsingia*, a northern province of *Sweden*, and from thence to *Norway*, where he applied to *Hacquin* the king for assistance. While the reinforcement was levying, he fell in love with *Hacquin's* daughter, married to a deformed nobleman of *Norway*, whom he challenged to fight. After having slain the husband, he obtained the daughter in marriage, with the consent of her father, herself making no scruple about espousing a king, though the murderer of her husband. The auxiliaries being ready to march, *Hadding* a second time led his army into *Sweden*, which so terrified *Uffon*, that he determined to effect by assassins what he had not the courage to attempt by a fair and open war. Promising his daughter, a beautiful young lady with a large portion, to whoever would bring him the king of *Denmark's* head, *Thumming*, a nobleman of *Sweden*, undertook the inglorious exploit; but finding all his attempts frustrated, he had recourse to the *Biarmes*, a people at that time inhabiting the remoter parts of *Finland*. Still he was unsuccessful; but that nothing might be wanting to gain so noble a prize as the king's daughter, he applied himself to magic: here likewise all his arts were foiled by an old magician in *Hadding's* camp, who countermined all his plots and contrivances. At last, mad with despair, he made an assault upon the *Danish* camp, and was repulsed with great loss. *Hadding* pursuing his victory, resolved to put an end to the war, by besieging *Uffon* in *Upsal*, then the capital of *Sweden*. *Uffon*, to ward off the impending blow, sent ambassadors to the *Dane*, with terms of accommodation, and gave some of his nobility as hostages: upon which *Hadding*, who suspected no treachery, entered *Upsal*, and was splendidly entertained. The house was filled with assassins, who were ready to execute their baseness on a signal given, before which they were fortunately discovered by some of *Hadding's* guard; and immediately put to death. To revenge the perfidy, *Hadding* pursued the war against *Uffon*, attacked, defeated, and killed him in the field; but with a generosity becoming a conqueror, gave the kingdom to *Hunding*, *Uffon's* brother, and buried the royal corpse with funeral honours, which the villainous treachery of his life little merited. After numberless exploits performed in *Jutland*, *Courland*, *Saxony*, and *Britain*, he laid violent hands on himself, probably in disgust at the unnatural conduct of his favourite daughter *Uwilda*, who had made repeated attempts upon her father's life. Thus he fulfilled a prophecy well known among the *Danes*, *Swedes*, and *Saxons*, "That *Hadding* would escape all the snares of his enemies, and the treachery of his own blood, only to lay violent hands on himself" (D).

<sup>a</sup> SAXO GRAMMAT. a p. 10. ad p. 20. PONTAN. Hist. p. 15. MEURS. Hist. p. 4, 5, 6. SUANING. Chron. Dan. p. 29, 30.

(D) We find in some historians, that *Hadding*, after his return from *Britain*, hanged himself in presence of his whole court. It was reported that he died in that island, and *Hunding* king of *Sweden*, celebrating his funeral rites, was drowned in a caldron of wort. *Hadding's* death is attributed to his grief for this misfortune (1).

(1) *Suaning*. p. 30.



F R O T H O I.

a

*HADDING* left two children by *Ragnilda*, a daughter of *Hugh* king of *Russia*. *Frotho* the son succeeded to the crown of *Denmark*, and *Suanhuido*, the daughter, to the sovereignty of *Sweden*. *Frotho*, from his excellent qualities, was surnamed *Giffmild*, or *Generous*, inheriting all the virtues of his father, with his throne. On his accession he found the treasury so exhausted, that he was unable to advance the soldiers their arrears. To remedy this evil, without laying fresh taxes upon the people, he attacked a dragon, as tradition reports, or rather *Draco*, a famous pirate, who had laid up prodigious wealth in remote caves, which he defended by a strong body of desperate ruffians. *Draco* was slain, and all his treasures fell into the hands of the conqueror, who was enabled thereby to enter upon the mighty designs which he had formed in his mind. In a word, he conquered *Britain*, *Scotland*, (for at that time the country south of the *Tweed* went by the name of *Britain*) *Sleswick*, *Russia*, *Pomerania*, *Holstein*, and other countries. He seized upon *London*, the capital of *Britain*, by an ingenious stratagem; for causing it to be rumoured that he died in the camp, leave was asked of the *British* governor to bury the royal corpse in a certain temple in the city, and a treaty concluded for this purpose. The governor suspecting no treachery, admitted a corpse, attended by a numerous procession of supposed mourners, who had concealed arms under their cloaths. Others dropped in afterwards; and when *Frotho* thought his strength sufficient, the signal was made for his men to fall upon the *Britons*, which they obeyed with incredible fury, slaying all before them till they got possession of the city, in spite of the desperate defence of the inhabitants. Returning thence to *Denmark*, he entered upon a fresh war with the king of *Sweden*, who had married his sister, and perished in battle, not by the hands of the enemy, but oppressed and borne down by the weight of his own armour, leaving behind him three sons, *Haldan*, *Roe*, and *Scal*, and the reputation of a great warrior<sup>b</sup>.

Frotho I. 9<sup>th</sup> king.  
A. C. N.  
761.

H A L D A N E.

*HALDANE*, the eldest, an ambitious, cruel, and unnatural prince, succeeded to his father's crown, which he endeavoured to render secure by the death of his two brothers, in a manner equally brutal and insidious. It is indeed supposed by historians, that they both aspired to the throne; the only circumstance that can at all palliate the king's cruelty, who, not contented with polluting his hands with the blood of his brethren, steeped them in that of his most faithful subjects of all ranks; notwithstanding which he lived to an old age, the dread and detestation of his people. He left behind him two sons, *Roe* and *Helgo*, the successors of his throne, but not of his vices.

Haldane,  
10<sup>th</sup> king.  
A. C. N.  
685.

R O E and H E L G O.

By right of seniority, as well as by the voice of the people, *Roe* might have reigned alone; but he absolutely refused the crown upon any other conditions than sharing his power with *Helgo*: an uncommon instance of affection, founded upon kindred and affinity. *Roe* was of a stature contemptibly small and mean; but this external defect he more than compensated by the greatness of his soul, his courage, generosity, and other manly virtues. He was a strict observer of justice, and the first prince who reduced the customs of the people, founded upon long tradition, to a written system of laws. Before his time, historians relate, that custom was the only rule of action. Murder, robbery, and theft, were punished, not as infractions of the law, but of the natural rights of mankind; *Roe* was the first who specified the punishments consequent on certain crimes, and reduced the law imprinted by nature on the human mind, to a more fixed and definite meaning and system. He was the founder of the city *Roschild*, which exists to this day: and while he was busied in civilizing his subjects, framing certain rules for government, and decorating the country with churches and buildings, his attention was diverted from the arts of peace, which he cultivated so diligently, to engage in a war with the king of *Sweden*. *Frotho* I. had given that kingdom in trust to *Regner*, the late king, who constantly paid the promised tribute; but he dying, and his son *Hotbrod* succeeding to the throne, the young monarch was ambitious of throwing off the yoke, and holding his crown independent of *Denmark*. With this view he refused to pay the usual homage and tribute, which gave birth to the present war, that ended with the life of *Roe*, who fell in battle, bewailed by his subjects, but most by *Helgo*, his brother and successor<sup>c</sup>.

Roe and Helgo.

H E L G O.

*HELGO* was a prince more addicted to war than his excellent brother. While he shared the throne with *Roe*, he greatly enlarged the *Danish* dominions by the conquest of a num-

Helgo, 12<sup>th</sup> king.  
A. C. N.

<sup>b</sup> PONTAN. p. 16. l. i. MEURS. Hist. l. i. p. 8. SAXO GRAM. l. ii. p. 20. SUANING. Chron. Interval. l. iii. p. 52. <sup>c</sup> PONTANUS, l. i. p. 17. SAXO GRAMMAT. l. ii. p. 17.



ber of northern states; and now the first act of his prowess, since his reigning alone, was the engaging in single combat with *Hunding* prince of *Saxony*. Him he slew in the field, and of consequence annexed *Saxony* to his own dominions, as had been previously agreed. Returning thence to *Jutland*, he drove out a body of *Saxons* who had taken possession in his absence. After this he engaged the king of the *Vandals* by sea, and coming off victorious, he stopped for refreshment at a little island in the *Baltic*, where he became enamoured of a girl of mean station, by whom he had a daughter, that afterwards became the mother of *Rolfo*, who succeeded his father in the throne; an abominable incest, which obscures all the former glory of his reign.

SCARCE had *Helgo* finished the *Vandal* war, when resolving to avenge his brother's death, he marched against *Hotbrod* of *Sweden*, whom he slew in the field of battle, reducing the whole kingdom to obedience. The more fully to satiate his revenge, he established a cruel law, by which a *Dane* might, on any provocation, put a *Swede* to death with impunity. Placing the crown on the head of *Atisla*, son of *Hotbrod*, who had engaged to pay the tribute discontinued by his father, he returned to *Denmark*, and either from a disgust to public affairs, or as other writers more probably suggest, from recollecting the horrid impiety he committed in debauching his own daughter, he laid violent hands on himself, and died a martyr to his crimes. He was, indeed, a prince in whom the noblest virtues and grossest crimes were blended: his military ability, and attachment to his brother, would have rendered his fame immortal, were not those virtues more than ballanced by his unnatural lust, and shocking cruelty <sup>a</sup>.

### R O L F O.

THE virtues of *Rolfo* soon obliterated the memory of his disgraceful birth. The graces of his person equalled those of his mind, and his stature and strength were so extraordinary, that he was surnamed *Rbrage*, a *Danish* word, expressive of these qualities. His valour and martial spirit did not, however, interrupt the peaceable felicity of his subjects; for tho' he wished for an opportunity of signalizing his prowess, yet he suppressed his inclinations to war from just views of policy, and a fatherly regard to the interest of his people. He was at length drawn into a war with his own step-father, the king of *Sweden*, to punish his inhuman usage of the queen, who was mother to *Rolfo*. The king of *Sweden* was killed in battle, and *Rolfo* soon after perished by the treachery of a *Danish* nobleman, whom he had distinguished by numberless instances of his favour; and, among others, by marrying him to his sister. No prince had ever more strongly engaged the affections of his people than *Rolfo*, though ambition had pushed on his brother-in-law to this shocking parricide. His virtues were splendid: magnificence, generosity, and valour, were united in his person. Justice, clemency, and a strict regard to his promises, had set him far above all the former kings of *Denmark*, in reputation. In a word, historians are so full of his praises, that we might suspect them of painting with the pencil of fancy, if their portraits were not amply attested by facts superior to all expression <sup>c</sup>.

### H O T H E R.

*ROLFO* dying without children, the states immediately assembled for the election of a new king, and chose in his room *Hotber*, grandson by his daughter to *Hadding*, the father of *Frotho* I. This young prince had been sent in his infancy to *Norway*, and educated at the court of that monarch with the greatest care and indulgence. Upon notice of the death of *Rolfo*, he was advised by the king of *Norway*, to offer himself a candidate for the crown, who promised to assist him with all his interest and force. While preparations were making to execute this plan, a messenger arrived from *Denmark*, acquainting him of the election of the states, upon which he immediately set out for that kingdom. In gratitude to the king of *Norway*, he espoused his daughter, whom he raised to the throne of *Denmark*. By this marriage he involved himself in a war with *Balder*, a northern prince, who had paid his addresses to the princess, before *Hotber* had made any proposals to her. Several furious battles were fought between the rivals, when at length *Balder* was defeated and slain in a sea-fight, which gave name to that strait called to this day *Balderfount*. This glorious victory brought on the death of *Hotber*; for *Balder's* father, resolving to avenge his son, summoned all his nobles, and, in a pathetic speech, recommended it to their care to wipe off their late disgrace, by some signal exertion of their courage. Upon which *Boe*, his son-in-law, undertook to finish the quarrel with *Hotber*, and accordingly challenged him to single combat. The king of *Denmark* accepting his proposals, called his council, and, as if he had some foreboding of his fate, he pressed the states to declare his son *Rorick* the successor:

<sup>a</sup> SUANING, Chron. p. 33.

<sup>c</sup> MEURS. p. 10. PONTAN. p. 19.



a he told them, that the event of war was doubtful, but the civil divisions which would happen in his kingdom certain, should it please the gods to deprive him of life before the succession was settled. Were his kingdom once secured against the calamities he foresaw, then would he cheerfully devote his life to glory, and the good of *Denmark*. The king's speech had such an effect, that *Rorick* was unanimously elected heir-apparent to the throne, though then but a child; after which *Hotber* went to meet his antagonist, by whose hands he fell (E).

NOTWITHSTANDING *Rorick* was appointed by the people to succeed to his father, the victorious *Boo* found means to lay aside this election, and fix himself in the throne; but how long he reigned, whether he died a natural death, or was deposed, history is silent; b and, indeed, some of the most accurate *Danish* historians, omit him intirely in the catalogue of kings<sup>a</sup>.

*MEURSIUS* and *Saxo Grammaticus* alone affirm, that he never ascended the throne<sup>b</sup>. We shall therefore continue the series of princes from *Hotber* to his son, without interruption. as the point is disputed, and at this distance of time cannot possibly be determined with certainty:

# R O R I C K S L Y N G I B O N D.

BEFORE *Rorick*, or, as some writers call him, *Roderick Slynigibond*, had fully arrived at the years of maturity, he found it necessary to head his own armies, and oppose a formidable league which threatened destruction to *Denmark*. The young monarch used the utmost diligence in levying forces, and equipping a fleet, and his endeavours were c seconded by the affections of his subjects, who neglected nothing which might contribute to the glory of their king, on which rested their own security. It had been stipulated in a treaty offensive and defensive, made between the *Swedes*, *Courlanders*, and some other northern powers tributary to *Denmark*, that they should unanimously throw off their submission to this crown, refuse all tribute and homage, and defend each other with all their forces, in order to reduce the pride and power of *Denmark*. This resolution was taken with spirit, but soon broke through, by the superior fortune and valour of the Danes, who, headed by their king, defeated the allies by sea and land, forcing them d to pay a heavier tribute than before. Soon afterwards the victorious *Rorick* fell by accident into the sea, and was drowned, leaving behind him the reputation of a just and warlike prince, emulous of nothing so much as the affections of his people, and national honour. Other writers alledge, that the cause of his death, as well as the duration of his reign, are very doubtful; but all agree in giving him the highest character (F). One circumstance, however, seems to prove, that his reign was not so short as *Grammaticus* alleges; for he left a son who succeeded to his throne, and a daughter whom he married to *Harwendil* prince of *Jutland*; yet they say he engaged in the *Swedish* war when he was scarce of age, and died soon after it was finished: consequently this war must have been of long duration, or *Rorick* must have survived it for a great number of years, as the reader will find by consulting the last note.

Rorick Slynigibond 15th king. A. C. N. 483.

<sup>a</sup> J. SUANING. Chron. Dan. ibid. PONTAN. 18.

<sup>b</sup> SAXO GRAM. l. 3. p. 46. MEURS. l. i. p. 10.

(E) It merits observation, that some antiquarians suppose *Dan*, the founder of the *Danish* monarchy, reigned about the time that *Saxo Grammaticus*, *Meursius*, and *Pontanus* place *Hotber*, the 14th king, that is, the year before *Christ* 490. It must, indeed, be acknowledged, that the period allotted by these historians for a king's reign, is as much too long, as that assigned by *Gasser* and others is too short. This prince is entirely omitted by *Saxo Grammaticus*, *Meursius*, and *Pontanus*; but we have ventured to insert him upon the authority of the accurate *Suaningius*, and the learned *Lyschander*, who makes him the 16th king from *Dan*, the founder of the *Danish* monarchy (1).

(F) At this time *Harwendil* and *Feggo*, or *Fogo*, two brothers, reigned in *Jutland*, and paid homage and tribute to the crown of *Denmark*. The former had married, says *Meursius*, the daughter of *Rorick*, by which means he succeeded to his crown, soon after which he was treacherously murdered by his brother *Feggo*. *Hamlet* his son, suspecting that his uncle's ambition occasioned his father's death, feigned madness, the better to conceal his purpose of revenging his fa-

ther's murder, in which he at length succeeded, having stabbed *Feggo* with his own hand at a public festival, while he was surrounded by all his nobility. Many of the circumstances related by *Saxo Grammaticus*, are exactly copied by our great dramatic writer in the tragedy called *Hamlet*. The event, however, is different; for, according to the historian, *Hamlet* enjoyed his uncle's crown for a great number of years, and died with the reputation of one of the best princes that had ever filled the throne. However, all the best critics are of opinion that neither *Harwendil*, *Feggo*, or *Hamlet*, ever reigned in *Denmark*, affirming that *Rorick* was immediately succeeded by *Viglet*, who killed *Hamlet* prince of *Jutland* in battle, as he was endeavouring by force to succeed to the crown of his grandfather *Rorick*. *Pontanus* and *Suaningius* positively affirm, that neither of these *Jutland* princes ever ascended the *Danish* throne, though they admit the truth of all the other circumstances related by *Meursius*: indeed, *Saxo Grammaticus* himself does not place them among the *Danish* monarchs (2).

(1) Vid. Suaning. Chron. Dan. Lysch. Gen. Dan. sub vocib.

(2) Vid. Suan. p. 37. Pont. l. i. p. 20.



## V I G L E T.

Viglet, 16th  
king.

*VIGLET*, son to the preceding king, did not succeed to the throne without a bloody competition, in which he slew his rival *Hamlet* of *Jutland*. This was the only act of valour he performed in the course of a long life. His whole reign was more indolent and pacific than that of any of his predecessors. The mildness of his disposition drew on him the contempt of the warlike *Danes*; yet nothing could alter his resolution to preserve the tranquillity of the kingdom.

## G U I T L A C H.

Guilach,  
17th king.

AFTER a reign of forty-eight years he died, and was succeeded by *Guilach*, whom some writers call his son<sup>c</sup>; though others are of opinion, he succeeded in prejudice to the right of *Vermund*, the avowed son of *Viglet*. We find nothing recorded of this prince, but that he reigned thirty-two years, leaving the throne vacant, and to be filled by the states, who assembled during his last illness to appoint a successor<sup>d</sup>.

## V E R M U N D.

Vermund,  
18th king.  
A. C. N. 352.

The extraordinary  
history of  
Uffon the  
king's son.

*VERMUND*, the son of *Viglet*, next succeeded, who was no less remarkable than his father, for a mild, pacific, indolent disposition; but there were not wanting the seeds of courage, though circumstances never so fell out as to afford him an opportunity of displaying the valour of his ancestors. After a long reign he at length became the joyful father of a son, who, to appearances however, promised him no great felicity as he grew up. He arrived at the age of manhood before he was ever heard to utter a syllable; and many of his actions bespoke a weak intellect, bordering upon idiotism. The old king was greatly affected, and, to add to his misfortunes, was afflicted with loss of sight, in consequence of old age, and a malady that had seized him some years before. Under these circumstances the aged and venerable *Vermund* was insulted by the prince of *Saxony*, who offered himself a candidate for a throne, which he said the spirit of the *Danes* ought never to permit being filled by a blind dotard, or a natural fool; for this was the purport of an insolent harangue, pronounced by his ambassador at a full diet of the states of *Denmark*. *Vermund*, stung with reproach, forgetful of his old age and blindness, and eager to vindicate his majesty, replied, that the reproach thrown upon him was truly worthy of a *Saxon*; that a man of spirit would contend for the honour of defending a prince, sunk under age and infirmity, instead of endeavouring to aggravate his misfortunes, by despoiling him of his just rights; and, finally, that notwithstanding blindness and decrepitude, he doubted not but the gods would give him still strength sufficient to repel all the attempts of so vain-glorious a boaster, in consequence of which hope he was willing to rest the fate of his crown upon the issue of a single combat between them. Astonished with the courage of the old prince, the *Saxon* ambassador declined the challenge, saying it was unworthy of his master to contend with a blind man, who had a son able to support his quarrel. The states were silent at this reply, which *Uffon*, prince of *Denmark*, observing, rose up in a fury, and told the ambassador, that the king had a son, and *Denmark* a prince, able and willing to defend their rights and the honour of the nation. "Tell your insolent master, says he, that *Uffon*, whom he supposes unworthy of succeeding to the crown, will not only accept of his challenge, but fight singly against him and any other *Saxon* he will make choice of." Surprised at this intrepid reply from a prince who had never spoke before, or ever given the slightest proofs of spirit or understanding, the states joyfully appointed the time and place for deciding the quarrel. They, however, represented to *Uffon* the rashness of engaging with two antagonists, each of them probably of equal strength with himself; but he was fixed in his resolution. Accordingly the parties met, and the old king ordered himself to be conducted to a precipice that hung over the sea, near the field of battle, resolving to put an end to his life, should his son be worsted, and the kingdom of *Denmark* disgraced. The combatants engaged with the utmost fury; *Uffon*, like the brave *Horatius*, on whom depended the fate of *Rome*, gradually retreated and defended himself, until he had separated the enemy, and exhausted their strength; after which he attacked the weakest with such intrepidity and strength, that he soon laid him dead at his feet. Now the two princes fought hand to hand, and *Uffon* perceiving his superiority, generously offered to grant the *Saxon* his life, if he would submit to pay him homage, and a tribute; which the other refusing, he laid him dead at one stroke, and was carried triumphant off the field on the shoulders of the *Danish* nobility, who were overjoyed to find valour, strength, and understanding, united in the person of a prince,<sup>e</sup>

Uffon defeats  
the prince of  
Saxony.

<sup>c</sup> MEURS. *ibid.*

<sup>d</sup> LYSCHANDER *Gen. Dan.* p. 28. *PONT. Danic. Antiquit.* p. 15.



<sup>a</sup> they had till then beheld with pity and contempt. *Vermund* did not long survive this glorious achievement of his son; excess of joy put an end to his life, and *Uffon* was raised by the unanimous voice of the people, to the dignity which he had so seasonably vindicated<sup>a</sup>.

O L A U S I.

Soon after his accession he changed his name to that of *Olaus*, and was surnamed the *Merciful*, from the generous proposal he had made to the *Saxon* prince, as well as from his natural good disposition. His reign was an uninterrupted series of felicity to his subjects, and victories over his enemies; but history relates no particulars. He married a lady of noble birth in *Sleswick*, by whom he had a son, who was raised to the throne upon the death of *Olaus*<sup>b</sup>.

Olaus I. 191<sup>b</sup>  
king.  
A. C. N. 292.

D A N II.

THE young king was called *Dan*, the second monarch of that name who had swayed the *Danish* sceptre. No prince was ever more beloved during the first years of his reign. His military capacity had greatly enlarged his dominions, and the tributes paid by foreign princes augmented the power, wealth, and glory of the state; but, flushed with success, he became insolent, cruel, and prodigal of his wealth and fame, dying at an advanced age, as much detested for his vices as before he was esteemed for his virtue<sup>c</sup>.

Dan. II. 201<sup>b</sup>  
king.

H U G L E T H.

<sup>c</sup> *HUGLETH* was next elected king; but whether he was the son of the preceding monarch we have no account. All that history relates of him is, that he conquered in a sea-fight *Hometh* and *Hogrin*, two of the chief persons in *Sweden*, who had long exercised piracy in the *Baltic*, and scourged all the coasts with a powerful fleet. He likewise kept the king of *Sweden* in awe, though he had raised a powerful army to support a resolution he had formed of discontinuing the tribute, and shaking off the *Danish* yoke. It would appear that his reign was uncommonly long, as from the year 225 before the birth of *Christ*, to the year 172, we find no other king mentioned; and indeed, some historians call him by the name of *Hugleth the Little*, second son to *Dan*<sup>d</sup>.

Hugleth, 217<sup>b</sup>  
king.

F R O T H O II.

<sup>d</sup> AFTER the death of *Hugleth*, *Frotho*, the second of that name, surnamed the *Vigorous*, was raised to the throne. There never was a prince endued with nobler qualities of mind and body; more courteous, generous, and brave; he soon became the darling of his people, and the terror of his rebellious neighbours, most of whom were tributary to his crown. He subdued *Norway*, after killing the king in single combat, and annexed it, with some islands in the *Baltic* before unconquered, to his dominions. Having reigned thirty years he breathed his last, leaving the crown, with the consent of the people, to his son *Dan*, who became the third monarch of that name<sup>e</sup>.

Frotho II.  
22d king.

D A N III.

<sup>e</sup> IN the very beginning of *Dan's* reign, the *Saxons* were so insolent, as not only to refuse payment of the tribute due to the sovereign of *Denmark*, but to insist on *Dan's* reimbursing them all the money extorted from them by his father, by *Hugleth*, *Dan* II. and by *Olaus* and *Uffon*; a demand which soon produced a war, in which they were forced to submit to their former condition. This prince engaged likewise in a war with *Sweden*, concerning the event of which history is silent. All we know is, that he was wounded in a single combat by the *Swedish* monarch. We are told, indeed, that after this he conquered all those states inhabiting the countries on each side the *Elbe*, to whom the *Danes* gave the general name of *Saxons*; after which he was seized with an acute fever, that carried him off in the prime and vigour of life<sup>f</sup>.

Dan III.  
23d king.

F R I D L E F F.

<sup>f</sup> To him succeeded *Fridleff*, surnamed the *Swift*, who immediately, on his accession, entered into a close and intimate correspondence with the king of *Halland*; for at this time *Halland* was a separate and independent sovereignty. The intention of this league was to secure and protect each other's dominions against all enemies, to clear the seas of pirates, and thoroughly to reduce the *Swedes* and *Norwegians*, who wanted only a fit opportunity to shake off the galling yoke of *Denmark*. This treaty, like most other compacts between princes, was broke as soon as either party imagined he could take an advantage of the other. The monarch of *Halland* was the first aggressor; he raised an army, and made a

Fridleff, 241<sup>b</sup>  
king.

<sup>a</sup> GRAM. l. 4.

<sup>b</sup> MEURS. l. i. p. 15.

<sup>c</sup> PONTAN. l. i. p. 21.

SAXO, p. 65.

<sup>d</sup> Jo. SUANING.

Chron. Dan. p. 42. SAXO GRAM. t. iv. p. 66.

<sup>e</sup> PONT. SAX & C. ibid.

<sup>f</sup> MEURS. ibid.



descent on *Denmark*, at a time when security had rendered *Fridleff* totally unprepared to receive him; but the vigour of this prince made him soon repent his treachery. *Fridleff* assembled a powerful army, and defeated *Huirvill* in a pitched battle, making great slaughter of his troops. In the pursuit *Huirvill* was killed, and *Fridleff* not only eased of the war, but fully revenged upon his insidious enemy, whose kingdom he annexed to his own dominions. After this we are told he carried his arms into *Ireland*, and having overrun a great part of the country, made himself master of *Dublin*, the capital. The same attempt he made on *Britain*, from whence, after sustaining a signal defeat, he scarce escaped with life. Chagrined with this repulse, he determined upon applying his mind to domestic affairs, and studied rather to make his old subjects happy, than to acquire new, in which laudable undertaking he died, at an extreme old age<sup>a</sup>.

## F R O T H O III.

Frotho III.  
25<sup>th</sup> king.  
A. C. N. 37,

SUCH was the reputation *Fridleff* acquired with the people during the last years of his reign, that they unanimously agreed to raise his son *Frotho*, then a child, to the weighty charge of governing a powerful kingdom. Guardians were immediately appointed him, and the affairs of the nation committed to a select council of the nobility, with this reserve, that all their decrees should be submitted to a general diet of the states, and there confirmed or repealed as the people thought proper. In this situation things remained for the space of fourteen years, when the king took the government upon himself. The first years of his reign passed in indolence and inactivity, whence he gained the name of *Frotho the Pacific*; but the corruptions that had crept into the administration, waked him at length out of this lethargy, to an exertion of those extraordinary abilities, which, in a little time, acquired him the appellation of *Great*, and the reputation of the most valiant prince of his age. He carried on nine wars with the most powerful northern nations, and came off victorious in all. At length poison accomplished what neither the courage, the numbers, nor the animosity of his enemies could effect. A variety of fabulous circumstances relating to this event, are recorded by all the *Danish* writers; but we have omitted them as favouring too strongly of the ignorance and prejudices of those times, to be read with pleasure in a more enlightened age.

## S E C T III.

*Comprehends the History of Denmark, to the Year 981 after the Birth of Christ.*

## H I A R N.

Hiarn 26<sup>th</sup>  
king.  
A. post nat.  
Christ. 16.

**F**R O T H O dying without male issue, the diet took the extraordinary resolution of making him king, who should write the best verses on the memory of the late monarch; and *Hiarn* being adjudged the best poet, was accordingly raised to the throne, in reward of his superior genius. He was of that class of people called *Scialdres* in *Denmark*, and *Bards* in other countries, whose business it was to roam about the country, reciting their productions at the houses of the great, and entertained by them as the repositories of the wit and learning of the times; all history, and the achievements of their ancestors being contained in those long tales and narratives composed by the ingenious bard. The poet did not long enjoy his exaltation, being deposed by *Fridleff*, a relation to the late king, who had spent the greater part of his life in foreign service, and was now returned upon the news of his majesty's death, to lay claim to his crown. This he obtained by killing the poor bard in single combat, and convincing the states, by a relation of his conduct in the services in which he had been engaged, that his valour merited the highest distinctions. *Pontanus* indeed relates from *Grammaticus*, that *Hiarn*, after several battles by sea and land, which he maintained with great obstinacy, was at length slain by his rival, in a sea fight on the coast of *Jutland*, the island *Hiarn*, situated on that shore, taking its name from this unhappy event<sup>b</sup>.

## F R I D L E F F II.

Fridleff II.  
27<sup>th</sup> king.

No sooner was *Fridleff* seated in the throne, than he sent ambassadors to *Norway* to demand *Fergertha*, daughter to that king, in marriage. The insolent refusal of the *Norwegian* monarch produced a war between the two kingdoms, which terminated in the death of *Amand* king of *Norway*, and in the espousal of *Fridleff* with his daughter. We are told of a number of miraculous battles this courageous prince fought with certain giants<sup>c</sup>.

<sup>a</sup> SUANING. Chron. p. 45. GRAM. l. v.

<sup>b</sup> MEURS. l. ii.



- a of Norway, during a glorious reign of twelve years; at which period he died, greatly esteemed by his subjects, and respected by all the neighbouring states<sup>1</sup>.

F R O T H O IV.

- b FROTHO IV. his son, then but twelve years of age, was proclaimed his successor. Frotho IV. 28th king. This prince began to give very early proofs of his virtue and generosity: inasmuch that before he arrived at maturity, he quashed a dangerous rebellion that had been raised by a combination of the principal nobility, to dethrone him, merely by the prudence of his conduct, and steadiness of his measures, without spilling a drop of blood. He obtained the surname of *Generous*, from the beneficence and humanity of his disposition, which was never so amply gratified as with the opportunity of bestowing favours on deserving objects. His courage was likewise displayed in several battles he fought with *Swerting* and *Harif*, two Saxon lords, who had raised great armies in defence of their liberties, and with a view to throw off their subjection to Denmark. *Swerting* perceiving that *Frotho* was invincible in the field, had recourse to treachery, pretended a perfect reconciliation, and invited the Danish monarch to a festival, at which he proposed destroying him by setting fire to the house. The good fortune of *Frotho* saved him, however, from this dangerous snare, and his valour turned the due punishment upon the insidious Saxon, whom he attacked sword in hand, and soon laid dead at his feet: but he died himself not long after, of a wound he had received from a poisoned weapon in the contest with *Swerting*<sup>2</sup>.

I N G E L L.

- c THE states immediately assembled and chose his son *Ingell*, or *Ingle*, to succeed his father. This prince at first abandoned himself to a life of indolence and debauchery, into which he was artfully drawn by some of the nobility, who formed designs upon his crown, intending by this means to alienate from him the affections of his people. The foresight and natural good sense of the young monarch penetrated into their machinations, and recovered him at a time when he was plunged in a life of dissipation and pleasure. All of a sudden he discarded his old companions, and, like our *Henry*, assumed at once a behaviour and dignity worthy of majesty. This dismissal of the first nobility of the realm occasioned murmurings among them, which soon broke out into open rebellion. Here it was d that *Ingell* distinguished his valour, his prudence, and his clemency. He first defeated his enemies, obliged them to submit to his terms, and then not only pardoned them, but took them again into favour, which he esteemed the true method of gaining their affections, and securing their allegiance; but he first insisted upon a total reformation of their manners, and enforced this by his own example<sup>3</sup>. We find indeed a different character of this prince in *Meursius*, who relates, that after the suppression of this rebellion, he fell again into his old courses, and ended his reign in the same inglorious manner in which he began<sup>m</sup>.

O L A U S II.

- e UPON his death his son *Olaus* II. ascended the throne, inheriting all the vices of his father, without one of his virtues. His whole reign, which happily did not exceed ten years, was a series of luxury, profusion, and the most scandalous lust and debauchery. He died however seemingly penitent, as appears by the speech he made to his sons on his death-bed, in which he exhorts them to retrieve by their conduct the national honour, which had greatly suffered by his weak and dissolute measures (G). Olaus II. 30th king.

F R O T H O and H A R O L D I.

- f FROTHO V. and *Harold* I. sons to the late monarch, were both raised to the throne, sharing the sovereignty between them; the one presiding over naval affairs, and the other taking it upon him to direct whatever belonged to the armies and land-forces of the kingdom. *Frotho*, as the eldest, chose the former province; a presumption that marine employments were held more honourable and important than the land-service (H). Frotho V. and Harold I.

<sup>1</sup> Id. ib. PONTAN. p. 24. l. i. p. 47.

<sup>2</sup> SAXO GRAM. l. vi. et. Aust. citat.

<sup>3</sup> SAXO GRAM. l. vi. SUANNIN.

<sup>m</sup> MEURS. l. ii. p. 24.

(G) *Saxo Grammaticus* and *Pontanus* called this prince *Olaus* the first, although it appears, upon undoubted authority, and indeed upon their own, that *Uffe* had changed his name to *Olaus*, who is, for this reason, properly distinguished by the appellation of *Olaus* the first (1)

(H) The Danish writers are divided in their opinions concerning the departments these princes agreed upon. *Pontanus* says, that maritime affairs were committed to *Harold*; though this probably happened after the miscarriage of his brother (2).

(1) *Suan.* p. 48.

(2) *Pontan.* l. i. p. 27.



Harold refuses  
to enlist mar-  
ried men.

He is murder-  
ed by his bro-  
ther.

Frotho slain  
by the sons of  
Harold.

Haldane II.  
and Harold II.

Harold is de-  
feated and  
slain by the  
king of Swe-  
den.

Haldane  
reigns alone  
and defeats the  
Swedes.

*Frotho* entered first upon action, and made an unsuccessful descent upon some of the neigh-  
bouring coasts, his soldiers, most of whom were married, refusing to engage in any dan-  
gerous enterprize, by which their families might be brought to ruin; and *Meursius* ex-  
pressly affirms, that the influence which *Frotho's* queen had over him, occasioned his disgrace.  
The particulars, however, of this affair are not recorded, and we only know that he quitted  
his employment in disgust to *Harold*, who immediately established a maxim, that no mar-  
ried man should be enlisted into the sea or land-service; a measure that was attended with  
the happiest consequences. The soldiers, emulous of glory, and free from domestic cares,  
braved all dangers, and obtained numberless victories under the conduct of the brave *Harold*;  
after which they were permitted to return home, to settle and enjoy the fruits and glory of  
their toil and courage. *Frotho* was stung with envy at the success of his brother's arms, whose  
valour had so much eclipsed his own actions; and unable to support the sight of a person,  
whose victories reminded him of his own defeat, and whose public character he deemed a  
tacit reproach, took the base resolution of having him murdered. His resentment had  
fortified his heart against the dictates of honour, brotherly love, and humanity: he em-  
ployed an assassin, accomplished his end, and then murdered the tool of his villainy, the  
better to conceal it. But parricide is a crime, against which the Almighty seems, in a  
particular manner, to have pointed his vengeance. *Frotho's* own conscience was a suffi-  
cient accuser, and gave such evidence against him, as convinced the whole world that *Ha-  
rold* met with his death from the hand of his own brother. All his measures were dic-  
tated by phrenzy and despair, which became visible in his countenance. He imagined he  
could not be secure while the children of *Harold* lived, and took measures to quiet his  
mind, by encreasing the number of his crimes, and superadding the murder of his ne-  
phews to that of his only brother. His designs, however, were frustrated by the vigi-  
lance of a nobleman, to whom the education of the young princes was committed. After  
concealing his pupils in a cave, the faithful guardian returned to court, and implored his  
majesty that he would abstain from shedding his own blood, and not deprive his innocent  
nephews of life, after robbing them of a royal and brave parent. *Frotho*, pretending to be  
moved by the intreaties of this honest nobleman, had nearly accomplished by dissimula-  
tion what he could not effect by force. A few years after, he got the young gentlemen  
into his hands, and was going to have them assassinated, when their own address saved  
them: they pretended to quarrel, and desired leave to decide their dispute by the sword,  
which the king readily granted, in expectation that their warmth, courage, and animosity,  
might effect his purposes, without dipping his own hands in their blood. He was even  
cruel enough to be a spectator of the fight, and thus his punishment was brought about by  
the invisible operations of Providence; for the princes, upon a signal agreed, turned upon  
their uncle, and in an instant laid him dead on the ground with their swords. Thus pe-  
rished the treacherous and bloody *Frotho*, by the hands of his own nephews, after a reign  
rendered infamous to all posterity, by the barbarous murder of a brother, who was the  
greatest ornament of his family and kingdom, as well as the most valorous prince of his age.

#### H A L D A N E II. and H A R O L D II.

*FROTHO* was succeeded by the two sons of *Harold*, the oldest named *Haldane*, and the  
youngest called after his father. *Haldane* immediately engaged in a war with *Siward* king  
of *Sweden*, for reasons with which we are unacquainted; after giving him frequent and  
signal defeats, he at length slew him in battle with his own hand. *Erick*, the son and suc-  
cessor of *Siward*, to revenge his father's death, made a sudden descent on *Denmark*, with  
a powerful armament, while *Haldane* was taken up in deciding a dispute with some *Saxon*  
lords. *Harold* immediately assembled an army, and gave the *Swedes* battle; but the suc-  
cess was not agreeable to his courage and the justice of his cause; for after an obstinate  
engagement he was slain in the arms of victory, which now immediately declared for *Erick*.  
Upon this *Haldane* immediately returned to *Denmark*, drove *Erick* out of his dominions,  
pursued him into *Sweden*, defeated him, and terminated the quarrel by the death of his  
enemy, whom he engaged in single combat. After this glorious transaction, he fitted  
out a powerful fleet against the pirates who infested his coasts, and was no less successful  
in this than he had been in all his former wars. Towards the close of his life, and in a  
very advanced age, he married the princess of *Norway*, and by her had a son born on the  
very day in which he died, of a lingering disease contracted in consequence of the fatigue  
and cold he sustained in his last campaigns. Such were the actions of the glorious *Hal-  
dane*, commonly called the son of *Thor*, (a *Danish* deity) from his invincible courage and  
those generous qualities which seemed to elevate him above the rank of mortals. His  
name had spread itself over all the northern kingdoms, and in *Sweden* particularly his me-

<sup>a</sup> SAXO GRAM. l. vi. MEURS. p. 24.

<sup>b</sup> PONTAN. l. i. p. 27. SUANING. p. 47.

<sup>c</sup> SAXO, ibid.



a mory was no less respected than in his own proper dominions; such was the clemency, affability, and engaging manners of this celebrated warrior <sup>d</sup>.

U N G U I N, or H A G U I N.

THE diet of the states elected in the room of *Haldane* his cousin, nephew, or as some historians allege, his natural brother *Unguin*, or *Haguin*, king of the *Goths*. Some writers call this prince the son-in-law of the late king, tho' *Meursius* and *Pontanus* affirm, that *Haldane's* daughter had been given in marriage to *Ebbo*, a northern prince, in her father's life-time. All we know of this reign is, that it was short and bloody, the crown being obstinately disputed by *Reginaldo* king of *Sweden*, by whom *Unguin* was slain. Unguin, or Haguin, 33<sup>d</sup> king.

b S I W A L D.

*REGNALDO* did not, however, succeed in his designs, for the states immediately elected *Siwald*, Siwald, 34<sup>th</sup> king. in the room of his deceased father. The war still continued with *Sweden*, some say, from *Reginaldo's* continuing his claim, while others affirm, that *Siwald* renewed it with intention to avenge his father's death. *Pontanus*, indeed, speaks of the *Swedish* war as if it had happened towards the close of *Siwald's* reign, and attributes the many quarrels in which he was at first engaged to the beauty of his daughter, who raised contentions among all the northern princes, some of them endeavouring to force *Siwald* to comply with their proposals. Indeed, the transactions of his reign are so variously related, that we can affirm nothing of this monarch more than that he did not degenerate from the heroic spirit which had distinguished almost all the preceding kings of *Denmark*. His death is as variously related as his life, some writers asserting, that he died in his kingdom; while others affirm, that he ended his days a miserable exile in *Scotland* <sup>e</sup>, whither he had been driven by *Haco*, the son of *Hamund*, who had defeated him in a sea-engagement; a circumstance which *Saxo Grammaticus*, *Meursius*, and other historians relate of *Siwald* II (I).

S I G A R.

*SIWALD* left behind him three sons, *Sigar*, *Alfo*, and *Alger*, the former of whom, by right of primogeniture, succeeded to his crown. We say by right of primogeniture; for Sigar, 35<sup>th</sup> king. A. D. 1774. though the *Danes* kept in their own hands the power of electing monarchs, yet they seldom set aside the royal issue, and particularly the eldest son, unless incapacity or some other reason rendered it necessary. This prince being of an indolent tame disposition, committed the care of government to his brother, a prince of a very different cast, and equally respectable for the qualities of his body and mind. The first act of *Alfo's* administration, was the sending ambassadors to demand in marriage *Avilda*, daughter to the king of *Gothland*; a lady who, at this time, contrary to the manners and disposition of her sex, exercised the profession of piracy, and was scouring the seas with a powerful fleet, while a foreign prince was offering sacrifices to her beauty at the shrine of love. *Alfo*, perceiving that this masculine lady was not to be gained by the usual arts of lovers, took the extraordinary resolution of addressing her in a method more agreeable to her humour. He fitted out a fleet, went in quest of her, and engaged her in a furious battle, which continued two days without remission; thus gaining possession of a heart to be conquered only by valour <sup>f</sup>. After this conquest of the brave Amazon, *Alfo* turned his arms against other pirates who had infested the coasts of *Denmark*. In this expedition he fell in with a fleet commanded by the three sons of *Hamund*, king of *Ireland*, and immediately entered upon action. After continuing the whole day an engagement, which was fought with equal obstinacy on both sides, night separated the combatants, and next morning proposals were made for an accommodation, which were accepted by the parties. They each of them had sufficient proofs of the courage of their antagonists; and as neither harboured any personal resentment, they parted with hearty professions of sincere esteem and friendship. Alfo disputes the heart of the prince of Gothland by arms, and after conquering her marries the amazon. Notwithstanding this treaty, *Alfo* again renewed the war against the *Hibernian* princes, at the instigation of an old crafty *Danish* nobleman, who persuaded him that his honour was engaged in obtaining a complete victory over those boyish commanders. In consequence he fitted out a fleet, engaged them a second time, and after killing *Helvin* and *Hamund*, the two eldest of the brothers, was himself slain by the hand of *Hagabert* the youngest. The victorious *Hagabert*, hearing of the extraordinary beauty of the king of *Denmark's* sister,

<sup>d</sup> GRAM. p. 110, & seq.

<sup>e</sup> MEURS. & SUANING. *ibid*.

<sup>f</sup> GRAM. l. 17.

(I) *Suaningius* relates, that *Siwald* gave his daughter in marriage to *Ubbo Otharo*, in preference to all the other rivals; and that, assisted by his son-in-law, he attacked *Reginald* and slew him in battle: that afterwards he killed in single combat forty *Swedish* warriors, and concluded his warlike achievements by the death of *Sterchateer*, a *Swede* of the greatest strength and courage of any person of his times (1).

(1) *Ibid*. p. 49.



dressed himself in women's apparel, and found means to insinuate himself in quality of a  
 maid of honour to the princess, to whom he soon made a declaration of his sex and quality,  
 and the motives which had compelled him to so extraordinary a proceeding. His youth,  
 beauty, and love, soon wrought upon the affections of *Signa*, for that was the princess's  
 name, and the consequence was the loss of her virtue, and of *Hagabert's* life; for the in-  
 trigue coming to *Sigar's* ears, he ordered him to be hanged upon a gibbet without form  
 of trial. This was so cruel a stroke to the fond *Signa*, that in despair she set fire to the  
 palace, and afterwards strangled herself, putting an end to a life which would be insup-  
 portable to her, after the ignominious catastrophe of her lover. *Sigar* was inconsolable at  
 the unhappy end of a sister and brother he loved with a tender affection; and his mis-  
 fortune was aggravated by the melancholy situation of his kingdom, now invaded by a  
 powerful army from *Ireland*, commanded by *Haco*, the king's fourth son, who was come to  
 revenge the death of his brethren. *Sigar's* grief did not, however, prevent his taking every  
 possible measure for the security of his kingdom. He placed guards on the coasts, and  
 took possession of all the strong posts through which *Haco* must pass to *Roschild* and *Letbra*,  
 then the residence of the *Danish* monarch; but all these precautions were eluded by the  
 art and conduct of *Haco*: he ordered his men to cut down boughs and green branches of  
 trees, which they held in their left hands, marching with their drawn swords in the right.  
 So extraordinary a phenomenon as a moving forest terrified the *Danish* out-guards, and  
 made them abandon their posts without the least resistance; so that *Haco* met with no ob-  
 struction until he arrived with his army at *Letbra*, where *Sigar* was encamped with a body of  
 forces. A battle ensued, and the *Danish* monarch fell, while he was exerting a courage  
 superior to what it was ever imagined he possessed <sup>a</sup>.

### S I W A L D II.

Siwald II.  
 36th king.

IN his room was elected *Siwald* II. his son, by the unanimous voice of the people. So  
 eager was the young king to expel *Haco*, or *Hacquin*, as *Pontanus* calls him, and to revenge  
 his father's death, that he assembled an army composed of both sexes, and gave bat-  
 tle to the *Irish*, after *Haco* had embarked near half his army. The fight continued for near  
 three days without victory's declaring herself, till *Haco* fell towards the close of the third  
 day; upon which a panic immediately seized his troops, who were slaughtered without  
 mercy by the *Danes*, until they were satiated with blood. Such was the carnage made  
 on the field, that to this day it goes by the name of *Valbrana*, a word expressive of the  
 horrible slaughter <sup>b</sup>; though *Meursius* alleges, that this appellation was given to the field  
 in which *Sigar* was defeated and killed. It is, indeed, the general opinion, that both princes  
 perished in this engagement; and the male line of the royal family being extinct, the go-  
 vernment of the kingdom was committed to five of the nobility, who divided the autho-  
 rity. *Zealand* was given to *Hunding*, *Schonen* to *Ostmar*, *Funen* to *Hano*, and *Rorick* and *Ho-*  
*ther* were chosen to preside over *Jutland*, which countries would seem to have constituted  
 the whole of the *Danish* dominions at that period. In this situation was *Denmark* governed  
 for the space of forty-one years, till *Haldane*, who had espoused *Gurith*, daughter to *Siwald*,  
 was raised by her means to the throne. <sup>c</sup>

### H A L D A N E III.

Haldane III.  
 37th king.

THIS prince, the third of that name, was inferior to none of his predecessors in valour, and  
 the other qualities of a great king; but his strength was so remarkable as to procure him  
 the surname of *Strong*. The manner in which he gained the consent of *Gurith* his queen  
 to address her, was an extraordinary instance of his prowess; for he slew with his own  
 single arm, twelve guards, the boldest men who could be found, placed round her per-  
 son to deny access to all suitors; a precaution which some attribute to her chastity, and  
 others, to the policy of the regents, who were sensible they must surrender their authority  
 as soon as she was married. Some years after his accession to the throne, he engaged in  
 a war with *Vifet* (K), a prince who had been his rival in the affections of *Gurith*. Several  
 desperate battles were fought between them, in the last of which *Haldane* was killed, yield-  
 ing to the good fortune of his enemy, and rival in glory and in love <sup>c</sup>.

### H A R O L D III.

Harold III.  
 38th king.

AFTER his death the states met for the election of a new king, and their choice fell  
 upon *Harold*, the son of *Haldane*. *Harold* began his reign with an attempt to complete the  
 measures entered upon by his father, the reduction of the regents, who had refused to

<sup>a</sup> SAXO, *ibid.* PONTAN. l. i. p. 33.

<sup>b</sup> MEURS. l. ii.

<sup>c</sup> *Ibid.* etiam SAXO PONTAN. *ibid.*

(K) *Vifet* was son to *Hunding*, viceroy or regent of *Zealand*. He succeeded his father in that office, and kept his authority for several years after the accession of *Haldane* to the throne. Probable it is, that his refusal to surrender it was one of the chief causes of the war.



- a surrender their authority to *Haldane*, though duly elected by the states. In this he was more successful, having obliged all the provinces to submit to the crown in the space of a few years. He begun his operations with declaring war against *Vifet*, who had killed his father: him he destroyed at a festival, which *Vifet* gave to his friends at the celebration of his nuptials with a lady of *Schonen*. He next directed his arms against the governor of *Southern Jutland*, and soon reduced that country, by the death of the governor, whom he slew in the field of battle. His next expedition was against the regents or governors of *North Jutland*, in which he met with the same success. *Zealand* and *Funen* followed the fortune of the other provinces; and thus the kingdom of *Denmark* was again reunited, and all those petty tyrants subdued and destroyed in the space of two years, by the vigorous and intrepid conduct of *Harold*, who was now a second time proclaimed king of all *Denmark*. After this he restored by force to his throne and dominions *Asmond* king of *Norway*, from whence he had been driven by a strong party that had declared in favour of his sister. During his residence in *Norway*, *Ivar* king of *Sweden* breathed his last, leaving three sons, *Ingo*, *Olaus*, and *Ingell*. *Ingo* the eldest succeeded to his throne; but, not satisfied with his paternal dominions, he and his brothers, supported by a powerful army, made a descent on *Denmark*. *Meursius* relates, that the brothers only meditated an invasion, the news of which coming to *Harold*, he immediately entered *Sweden*, attacked the forces commanded by *Ingo* and *Olaus*, whom he slew in the field, after entirely routing their army. This defeat obliged *Ingell* to sue for peace, and accept of the terms which *Harold* thought fit to impose.
- c The *Danish* monarch, equally generous in prosperity and firm in adversity, granted such conditions as *Ingell* ought to have been satisfied with; he seemed to acquiesce, expecting soon to find an occasion of wiping off the late disgrace. Accordingly he invaded *Schonen*, while *Harold* was lulled in profound security, and carried off by violence the sister of the *Danish* monarch, whom he espoused. Hence the war was renewed, prosecuted with various success, and at length happily terminated, *Harold*, as just as brave, preferring an indifferent peace to the most successful war, which must necessarily be attended with the blood and ruin of many of his subjects. He was scarce returned from *Sweden* before the insolence of *Ubbo*, lord of *Emden*, or one of those states which now compose the circle of *Westphalia*, called him again into the field. It was not long before *Ubbo* found cause to repent his temerity; for he was defeated and taken prisoner, but afterwards set at liberty by the clemency of the conqueror. Nor was this all; *Harold* married him to his daughter, secured his friendship, and by his means strengthened his own interest upon the continent: but his success was not limited to these conquests; he reduced several nations upon the *Rhine*, took the *Vandals*, a people inhabiting that country on the *Baltic*, situated between the *Vistula* and the *Elbe*, into his protection, over-run *Aquitain*, and a part of *Britain*, which, says *Grammaticus*, had withdrawn its allegiance from *Denmark* since the death of *Frotho* III. But what sets the equity of this monarch in the most conspicuous view, is that, after raising an army to punish the perfidy of *Ingell* king of *Sweden*, he not only desisted from the enterprise on the death of that prince, but appointed guardians to his infant son, though the fairest occasion offered for annexing *Sweden* to his own dominions; a rare instance of moderation, which deserves to be recorded in honour of sovereignty. The young *Swedish* king, unmindful of his obligations, no sooner arrived at the age of maturity, than he declared war against his generous benefactor *Harold*, the event of which was the death of this great prince, admired even by his enemies for the elevation of his spirit, his valour, generosity, and above all for his justice. We find by the preparations made for the war, to what a prodigious height of power this monarch had raised the kingdom of *Denmark*. *Saxo Grammaticus* relates, that his fleet was so numerous as to extend like a bridge across the *Sound*, separating *Zealand* from *Schonen*; and that, besides common soldiers he mustered thirty thousand nobility in his army. His death occasioned the defeat of this otherwise invincible power, and obliged the *Danes* to patch up a peace at the price of *Schonen*, which was ceded to the victorious *Ringo*.

He conquers  
Ubbo, lord of  
Emden.

Harold's character.

# O L O or O L A U S III.

THE glorious *Harold* was succeeded by his sister's son, a prince of a very opposite character to his uncle (L). His name was *Olo*; and first he was appointed to the government 38th king.

<sup>a</sup> Saxo, I. vii.

<sup>c</sup> MEURS. I. ii. p. 30.

(L) *Pontanus* speaks differently of this prince, though we know not upon what authority. According to him, *Olo* possessed the noblest qualities of mind and person, having this remarkable circumstance about him, that his eyes killed like those of the basilisk; meaning, perhaps, the sternness of his countenance, which struck terror into

his enemies; a conjecture which we find supported by a fact. One of the *Danish* nobility having resolved to stab him, when he was undressing to enter the bath, the grim and fierce countenance of *Olo* made him drop the poignard just as he had raised it to give the fatal blow (1).

(1) *Meurs.* I. ii. p. 30.



of *Schonen* by *Ringo*, who likewise obliged the *Danes* to submit to the authority of *Herba*, a woman of a masculine spirit. Upon their remonstrances, however, he recalled her, and compensated her with the sovereignty of that country now called *Sleswick*, where she built the city of that name. *Olo* he substituted in her place, whence it appears that *Denmark* was, in consequence of *Ringo*'s victory, little more than a province of *Sweden*, though all the *Danish* writers omit *Ringo*'s name in the list of their kings. Whether it was, that the *Danes* were uneasy under the administration of a prince imposed upon them by their inveterate enemies the *Swedes*, or whether their disaffection arose from his own cruelty, as some writers affirm, is a point disputed by historians: certain, however, it is, that he was taken off by a conspiracy, formed against him by many of the chief nobility of the kingdom, and his son *Omund* elected king: a presumption that *Olo*'s misfortune arose from personal pique and mal-administration, more than from the resentment of his subjects against the *Swedes* <sup>f</sup>.

## O M U N D.

*Omund*,  
39th king.  
A. D. 331.

*OMUND*, says *Meursius*, was elected, not out of regard to his father's memory, but from the expectation which so promising a youth afforded, of his resembling in virtue his great uncle *Harold*. When arrived at age, his nobility advised him to think of encreasing the royal family by marriage. This made him turn his thoughts to the daughter of *Ringo*, whom he had seen and admired when he visited the court of that monarch in his youth: but to the accomplishment of his wishes there was an obstacle which he determined to surmount. *Ringo* had publicly declared, that he never would receive for his son-in-law a prince who had not signalized his valour. To render himself worthy of this honour, *Omund* entered upon a war with the king of *Norway*, who had lately refused to pay the usual homage to the crown of *Denmark*, and a powerful fleet was equipped for the occasion. In his way he was joined by *Oddo*, a prince who had received some cause of disgust to the *Swedish* monarch. *Ringo* was at this time cruising with a fleet off the coast of *Ireland*, and *Oddo* persuaded his new ally, that now was the opportunity for recovering the liberty of *Denmark*, curbing the power of *Sweden*, and accomplishing his wishes with respect to *Ringo*'s daughter. Persuaded with these arguments, *Omund* complied with *Oddo*'s proposal of making a descent on *Sweden*, which was accordingly executed. Intelligence being sent to *Ringo*, he returned instantly for the protection of his dominions, and a furious engagement ensued, in which both parties claimed a victory. To render things more decisive, they recruited their forces by mutual agreement, and fought a second battle more bloody than the former, at the close of which *Ringo* was mortally wounded. Upon this he sent for *Omund*, and told him, that now he had given proofs sufficient of his valour to merit the daughter of a warrior, and therefore he should contentedly resign himself into the arms of death, as he had the happiness to see his family strengthened by the alliance of such a son-in-law; after which words he expired. *Omund*'s next exploits were against *Rusla*, a warlike virgin, who usurped the sovereignty of some provinces of *Norway*, and endeavoured to extend her power over *Denmark* likewise. Her he defeated in a sea-fight, but not so decisively but she soon recruited her forces, and was again ready to enter upon action. *Omund* not caring to hazard a defeat from a woman, determined to use policy, and by dint of gold weaned from her the allegiance of the *Norwegians*, who deserted her, and afterwards delivered her into the hands of her brother, whom she had dethroned, in revenge for which he put her to death, and was mean enough to pay homage to *Omund*, in acknowledgment of his services. Having honourably concluded some other wars in which he was necessarily engaged, *Omund* preserved his dominions in profound peace for a number of years, and then died sincerely regretted and esteemed by his people, who immediately chose his eldest son to succeed him. He was, indeed, a prince equally skilled in the arts of war and of peace, who had obliterated by the prudence and success of his administration, all memory of his father's cruelty <sup>g</sup>.

## S I W A R D.

*Siward*,  
40th king.

*SIWARD*, on his accession to the throne, was complimented by an embassy from the king of *Sweden*, who demanded his sister in marriage. Imagining that this alliance might assist in uniting kingdoms always at variance, and prove advantageous to both, *Siward* complied, and the treaty was concluded. *Halland* was the place fixed upon for the celebration of the nuptials; but the *Swedish* monarch being beset by ruffians on the road thither, broke off the treaty and prepared for war, from a notion that the assassins had been hired by *Siward* to murder him. Both kings having raised forces, they met on the confines of <sup>g</sup>

<sup>f</sup> Aut. citat. ibid.

<sup>g</sup> MEURS. p. 31.



a the spot appointed for a more friendly intercourse, and a battle ensuing, the *Swedish* monarch was slain, and his army totally defeated (M). Defeats and kills in battle the king of Sweden.

THE war with *Sweden* in which *Siward* was engaged, furnished some tributary princes on the continent with an opportunity of revolting. They raised an army, obtained a victory, and reduced their sovereign to great straits. Such was their success, and the ill fortune of *Siward*, that he lost all his dominions except *Zealand* and a few inconsiderable islands. His spirit, however, was not broke; he raised fresh forces, and determined either to perish by their hands, or to reduce to obedience his rebellious subjects. Accordingly, he engaged the rebel army, commanded by one *Simon*, and just as victory began to declare for him, died of a wound he received by the hand of the rebel general, after he had given a mortal blow to his antagonist, both falling dead upon each other. Such was the end of this brave but unfortunate prince, who had become odious to many of his subjects, rather from a spirit of rebellion in them, than any fault in him. He left two sons; but they being carried off and kept prisoners by the rebels, his brother was elected king in his room <sup>a</sup>. He is slain in battle against the rebels.

## B A T H U L.

*BATHUL* was raised to the throne less upon account of his own merit, which was but inconsiderable, than from a regard the people had for the blood royal, and respect for the memory of *Siward*. The state of *Denmark* was now truly deplorable; her dominions rent in pieces by rebellion, her power and credit sunk, and a king elected; the most unfit in the world to retrieve her affairs, by courage or conduct. There remained, of all the potent kingdom of *Denmark*, but *Zealand*, *Funen*, and those little islands, called by the *Danes* *Smalands*; *Jutland*, *Norway*, *Schonen*, *Sleswick*, *Embsen*, and other countries on the continent; as well as several islands were dismembered from the crown. In this situation it would probably have remained, had not *Jarmeric*, the son of *Siward*, fallen upon the means of recovering his liberty, returning into *Zealand*, and of asserting the dignity of his ancestors; which was sunk during the weak and timid reign of his uncle *Bathul*, who now willingly resigned the burthen of sovereignty, to which he found his own strength unequal. Bathul, 41st king.  
The deplorable condition of Denmark.

## J A R M E R I C.

d THE first endeavours of this heroic prince were to recover the revolted provinces, and reduce them to their former obedience. He begun with *Sweden*, that had led the way and encouraged his subjects in their rebellion, by which *Gotbar* the king got possession of *Schonen*, *Jutland*, and some other *Danish* provinces. He raised a great army, entered *Sweden*, defeated and killed *Gotbar*, and of consequence recovered all that the *Swedes* had taken from his father and uncle: thence he marched into *Sleswick* and *Holstein*, and soon reduced them: from *Sleswick* he marched into *Pomerania*, and thence to *Silesia*, laying all that country under contribution, and exacting an oath from the nobles, that they would pay homage and a yearly tribute to the crown of *Denmark*. In a word, he not only recovered in a short time all the countries his ancestors had ever possessed, but greatly enlarged the boundaries of the *Danish* sovereignty. All this prosperity was not unattended with a mixture of adversity and domestic misfortunes, which more than counterbalanced the power and grandeur of *Jarmeric*. He had discovered an intrigue that was carrying on between a beautiful young lady he had taken for his second wife, and *Broder*, a son he had by his former. Enraged at a crime so unnatural, he gave orders they should both be instantly put to death, a sentence which was executed accordingly upon the queen; but his son found means, thro' the favour of his keepers, to escape, and raise civil commotions, which ended only with the life of his father, whom he besieged, took, and put to death, in a strong castle which *Jarmeric* had built as a retreat in case of any unforeseen change of fortune. It is true, that both the queen and *Broder* were innocent of the crime laid to their charge, the whole being a contrivance of *Bicco's*, a nobleman of great power and ambition; who, out of resentment or envy to *Jarmeric*, wanted to distract his councils. Such was this man's art and address, that he fomented the quarrel between the father and the son to such a height, that notwithstanding filial duty on the one side, and paternal affection on the other, strongly urged them to a reconciliation, they were both made to believe that their security could only be effected by the death of the other. Thus ended the glorious reign of *Jarmeric*, a Jarmeric, 42d king.  
His conquests retrieve the face of affairs.  
Is put to death by his own son.

<sup>a</sup> SAXO, l. viii. PONTAN. p. 34.

(M) The event of this battle is variously related, *Meursius* in particular affirming, that *Siward* was defeated, and forced to retreat precipitately to *Jutland*, where he was a second time routed by the *Sclawi*; a people who had revolted from his authority, and pursued to the island of *Funen*; upon which he made peace with *Sweden*, by ceding *Schonen* to that crown (1).

(1) *Meurs. Hist. lib. ii. p. 31.*

monarch



monarch inferior to none in valour and greatness of soul; but unhappily credulous in his temper, and easily wrought on by these diabolical instruments, who never fail to insinuate themselves in all courts, and create divisions with a view of raising themselves <sup>a</sup>.

### B R O D E R.

Broder,  
43d king.

*BRODER* succeeded to his father's throne by the unanimous voice of the people, who soon had reason to repent their choice. The indolence and weakness of his reign encouraged several of the provinces recovered by his father, again to revolt; and the *Swedes* in particular took possession of *Schonen*. This is all we know of him, history being silent concerning the manner of his death, and of most of the particulars of his life <sup>b</sup>.

### S I W A L D III.

Siwald III.  
44th king.

He was succeeded by *Siwald* III. a prince who had arrived to a great age before he was raised to the throne. The transactions of his reign are no less obscure than those of his predecessor; nor do we know any thing of the circumstances of the kingdom, until his son *Snio* was joined with him in the sovereignty.

### S I W A L D III. and S N I O.

Siwald III.  
and Snio.

*A cruel famine prevails in Denmark, and occasions a barbarous proposal, which gave birth to the first migration of a colony from this country.*

A. D. 383.

Now *Denmark* began to resume her wonted vigour, and immediately entered upon the recovery of *Schonen*, and the revolted provinces, which were soon obliged to submit, and surrender the ringleaders of the rebellion. *Snio* in the next place resolved to secure the crown in his family by marriage, and accordingly sent ambassadors to demand the daughter of the king of *Swedish Gothland*, who were all put to death by this savage prince, under pretence of their being spies. Irritated at this indignity, *Snio* raised a powerful army, entered *Gothland*, laying the country waste with fire and sword. *Gotho*, for that was the king of *Gothland's* name, perceiving that his forces were unable to resist the rapid progress of the *Danes*, challenged *Snio* to single combat, a proposal which he accepted, on condition that the kingdom of the vanquished should submit to the conqueror. Upon this *Gotho* declined the combat, sent his daughter into *Sweden*, and fought a battle, in which his army was defeated, and himself forced to submit to the terms imposed by the victorious *Snio*. The king of *Sweden* married his ward, and while he was enjoying all the pleasures of love, was suddenly despoiled of his wife and treasure, by a rapid descent made on his kingdom by *Snio*, who carried her off in triumph. This rape gave occasion to a long and bloody war, which was terminated by a greater misfortune. Both kings having levied all their subjects, hardly any persons were left to cultivate the lands; the consequence of which was a cruel famine, that carried off incredible numbers of the people. This gave birth to a law, prohibiting, on pain of death, that a single grain of corn should be converted into malt, or used in any other manner than bread, of which the rich were in equal want with the poor; but this edict not having the desired effect, it was proposed by *Aggo* and *Ebbo*, two noblemen of *Jutland*, or of some other of the *Danish* provinces, that all the old men and children should either be put to death, or compelled to seek for new habitations in foreign countries. Intelligence of this execrable scheme coming to the ears of *Cambora*, or as other writers call her *Magga*, the king's mother, a woman of an heroic spirit, she immediately entered the council-chamber, and in a very pathetic speech, represented the inhumanity of sacrificing their aged parents and innocent babes, who were unable to secure themselves possessions in foreign countries. It would better become, she observed, the piety and valour of the *Danes* to send forth their young men upon expeditions, which required strength, vigour, and health; and thus supply the wants of the infirm, weak, and aged, by leaving them their share of the public stock of provisions. This, she said, would answer the same purpose as barbarously sacrificing with their own hands, those beings who gave them life, and those innocent tender babes, whose support depended on their parental fondness. She proposed, that if the enterprize appeared so dangerous as to terrify any of the nobility from taking the command of this large colony, to lead it in person, and banish herself from her native soil, for the sake of her country, for the sake of humanity, and every principle the most dear and valuable to a true-born *Dane*. *Snio* immediately acceded to her proposal, and assembled the nobility and commons to settle the plan of migration. In this assembly it was agreed, that every ninth man in *Denmark* and the provinces, able to carry arms, should compose the colony: that it should be conducted by *Aggo* and *Ebbo*; and that the place of rendezvous should be that province lying between the *Elbe* and the *Oder*, and washed by

<sup>a</sup> SAXO; l. viii. PONTAN. p. 34. citat. SUAN. p. 53.

<sup>b</sup> MEURS. l. ii. p. 34.

<sup>c</sup> SAXO, ibid. PONTAN. & MEURS. lib.



a the *Baltic*, the antient name of which is not determined (A). By this means plenty was introduced in *Denmark*, and *Snio* lived in peace to a good old age, after having by prudence and conduct restored his kingdom to its antient splendor, and without a single blemish upon his reputation, except his carrying off by force the queen of *Sweden*, which may be looked upon as the cause of all the dreadful misfortunes which afterwards attended him by a cruel and ruinous war, and a still more destructive famine. We are not informed by any historian, whether *Sitwald* his father resigned the throne to *Snio*, or whether he died soon after he had taken him a partner in the throne. Character and death of Snio.

B I O R N O.

b *BIORNO* his son succeeded *Snio*; a prince of little merit according to *Saxo Grammaticus* Biorno. and *Meursius*, though *Lyschander*, *Pontanus*, and *Suaningius* affirm, that the male royal line was extinct in *Snio*. All writers indeed agree, that here is a chasm of two hundred and ninety-eight years in the *Danish* history, *Biorno* alone standing in the space between *Snio* and *Gormon*; that is, from the year 401 after the birth of *Christ*, to the year 699 of that æra; a period this the most busy but obscure in ancient history, during which all those very extraordinary migrations were made from the northern countries, which destroyed the *Roman* empire, and wholly changed the face of affairs in *Europe*. *Pontanus* and others, to fill up this chasm, relate the expedition of the *Wandali*, *Longobards*, *Lombards*, and other northern nations, giving at the same time a long list of *Saxon* and *Swedish* kings; but as Some difficulties concerning the chronology.  
c these matters relate nothing to our history, we think it more satisfactory intirely to pass over this period, and resume our narrative with *Gormon*, who was elected to the throne in the year 699 or 700 after the birth of our Saviour (B) <sup>b</sup>.

G O R M O N I.

ACCORDING to *Lyschander*, *Gormon* was the fiftieth and second monarch who wielded the *Danish* scepter from *Dan*, and a prince the most extraordinary of his age, not for the usual qualities of a king, but his profound skill in magic, and deep penetration into the secrets of nature. We must refer the reader to the wonderful tales he will find related of his magic skill, by *Saxo*, who ascribes them all to a strict correspondence he maintained with the parent of deceit; they might pass for truth in the age of that entertaining writer, but they will scarce furnish amusement in these enlightened times, where even fiction itself requires the assistance of probability. We know only for certain of this prince, that he lived to an advanced age without engaging in any wars with his neighbours, and was succeeded by his son *Gotrick*, surnamed the *Generous* <sup>c</sup>. Gormon I. 52d king.

G O T R I C K.

SOME writers call this prince *Guilach*, and others *Godfred*; but we chuse to follow the authority of *Grammaticus* and *Pontanus*. In the first year of his government the *Saxons* Gotrick, 53d king.  
e rebelled, and he raised a powerful army to suppress them, which he soon effected, by giving them a signal overthrow, and obliging them, upon the birth of a *Danish* prince, to send a present to the king of an hundred milk white horses, in token of their submission and vassalage to the crown of *Denmark*. Immediately after, he married the princess of *Norway*, sending at the same time an ambassador into *Sweden*, to appease certain tumults which broke out at the general diet of that kingdom: but the ambassador's authority was despised, and himself killed by a large stone thrown at him in the mob; an insult which *Gotrick* thought it his duty to punish <sup>d</sup>. In consequence he invaded *Sweden*, defeated the persons concerned in the murder of his ambassador with a heavy fine. Scarce had he returned from *Sweden* before *Saxony* was over-run by *Charlemagne's* army, while *Vitichond* lord He subdues Sweden.

<sup>b</sup> MEURS. p. 36.

<sup>c</sup> SAXO, l. 8.

<sup>d</sup> MEURS. & GRAM. ibid.

(A) Various are the conjectures of historians and critics concerning the time of this migration, the place where the colony established itself, and the derivation of their name, all agreeing that they were called *Lombards* after their departure, and *Winnuli*, or *Winili*, before. The *Danish* writers to a man affirm, that the famine which occasioned the migration happened in *Snio's* reign; though *Paulus Diaconus*, and other writers, make it later. *Prosper*, a writer of credit, asserts, that they settled in the isle of *Rugen* and country adjacent, till the year 484, when they removed themselves into *Pannonia*, and other provinces of the *Roman* empire. As to their name, some derive it from their beards, *Longo-Barb*; others from their weapons called *Bardens*, or *Longo-*

*Bardens*; but the curious reader will find a satisfactory account of this people, whether *Lombards* or *Longobards* (for we make a distinction) in the nineteenth volume of our Antient History, p. 12. 497. & sequent. (1).

(B) To supply the chasm, *Lyschander* in his *Genealogy* of the *Danish* kings, and *Suaningius* in his *Chronicon Danicum*, give the following table of kings; viz. *Rorick* II. *Swan* I. *Guilach* II. *Harold* III. (according to them;) *Ercball*, *Vermund* II. *Omund* III. to whom succeeded *Biorno* his son, whom we have made the son and successor of *Snio*. Of these princes they give no account, nor have they even quoted their authority for inserting them.

(1) Vid. & Got. Proteg. Hist. Got. p. 53. & Pontan. Hist. Dan. l. iii. p. 39. ad p. 57. Radbec. Atalant. t. i.



Saxony over-  
run by Char-  
lemagne's  
army.

of the country, unable to resist so potent a force, implored the assistance of *Gotrick*, whose sister he had married; and the *Danish* monarch readily promised him speedy succour, because he saw the necessity of checking the growing power of *Charlemagne*, who, like an impetuous torrent, threatened to swallow up all *Europe* in one universal monarchy. *Charlemagne's* retreat to oppose the *Saracens* prevented a battle at this time with the main army; but some posts which he maintained were forced, and his troops driven quite out of *Saxony*. When *Charlemagne* returned from *Spain*, *Gotrick* sent ambassadors to remonstrate to him, that *Saxony* was a fief of *Denmark*, which he thought himself bound to protect. He therefore requested him not to disturb the peace of that country, which would necessarily reduce the *Danes* to the necessity of opposing him with all their power, a measure that would not at all be agreeable to a people who entertained the highest respect for his majesty. As *Char-*  
*lemagne* gave no explicit answer to this remonstrance, *Gotrick* resolved to enforce it by arms, and accordingly sent a powerful reinforcement to *Vitichond*, which enabled him to drive the *French* out of the barrier towns, and garrison them with *Danes* and *Saxons*. *Charlemagne*, offended at this presumption, sent an army under *Conrade* to reduce all *Saxony* to his obedience; but this general was defeated, and his army dispersed. Enraged at the indignity, *Charlemagne* entered *Saxony* at the head of an army, and by forced marches had nearly surprised *Vitichond*, who fled precipitately and took shelter with *Gotrick* beyond the *Elbe*. His army being destitute of a commander, became an easy prey to the *French* monarch, who determining to strike terror in the inhabitants, ordered above four thousand *Saxons* to be executed, after which he retired with his army, leaving strong garrisons in all the towns<sup>a</sup>.

Gotrick re-  
covers Saxony  
a second time.

*GOTRICK* no sooner had advice of this defeat, than he led his army into that deplorable country, expelled all the *French* garrisons, and reduced it to its former obedience. Upon his return to *Denmark*, he heard that *Charlemagne* proposed sending his son *Pepin* with a mighty army, to invade the *Danish* provinces upon the continent, and resolved to oppose him with an equal force. He levied a prodigious army, and equipped a fleet of above three hundred large ships, with which he proposed making a descent on the coast of *France*, and by this means to weaken *Pepin's* army. In a word, such was the valour, the conduct, and the mighty force of *Gotrick*, that *Charlemagne's* empire was never more endangered than from this formidable enemy, had not an unforeseen accident, and his usual good fortune, saved that powerful monarch. After *Gotrick* had over-run *East Friesland*, and some other provinces belonging to the enemy, leading his army straight to *Aix-la-Chapelle*, at that time the capital of *Charlemagne's* empire; he was stabbed in his tent by a centinel, bribed, as some writers imagine, by *Pepin*, to remove this dangerous rival to his father's glory. Other writers imagine, that this unworthy action was committed by his own son, in revenge for his having repudiated his mother, and taken another wife. Be this as it will, certain it is that the great *Gotrick* fell by the hands of an assassin, at a time when he was about to dispute the empire of *Europe* with the greatest monarch of the world, leaving behind him the reputation of a just, brave, merciful, and munificent prince, possessed of every quality which could gain the love of his own subjects, and the esteem and respect of all other nations. That he was the dread of his mighty competitor, appears from the excessive and indecent joy which *Charlemagne* expressed on the news of his death<sup>b</sup>. The exact time of this event is disputed; but *Suaningius*, and some of the best writers, place it in the year 801 after *Christ*.

Is treacher-  
ously murdered.

Gotrick's  
character.

#### O L A U S IV.

Olaus IV.  
55th king.

*GOTRICK* being killed, his eldest son *Olaus*, the fourth of that name, was elected king of *Denmark*. This prince is entirely omitted by many historians, and others place him after *Hemming*, though *Saxo Grammaticus* and *Meursius* expressly say, that he was the son and immediate successor of *Gotrick*. *Olaus*, while he was endeavouring to bring to justice the murderers of his father, had the misfortune to involve himself in a civil war, in which we have reason to believe he perished, though we do not find this circumstance mentioned by any writer besides *Eric of Pomerania*.

#### H E M M I N G.

Hemming  
56th king.

ACCORDING to the same author, he was succeeded by *Hemming*, his only child. The first act of this prince's administration was to conclude a treaty with *Lewis the Pious*, settling the limits of their respective dominions, which was effected to the satisfaction of both parties, without any encroachment on the boundaries of *Denmark*, now comprehending great part of the *German* continent. After reigning for two years with great applause, this ex-

<sup>a</sup> PONTAN. l. iii. MEURS. ii.

<sup>b</sup> SUANING. p. 62.



a cellent monarch yielded up his last breath, and left his kingdom to his two cousins, *Siward* and *Ringo* c.

S I W A R D and R I N G O.

*DENMARK* was divided between them, and a constant jealousy and perpetual wars ensued, by which this potent kingdom began to dwindle, and lose the respect it had so long commanded from the surrounding states. At last the condition of the *Danes* became deplorable. *Siward's* subjects deposed him, and raised his infant son *Regner* to the throne, which furnished his rival *Ringo* with a fair occasion of invading *Zealand* and *Schonen*, where he met with little resistance. Immediately on his arrival he threatened with the most cruel and ignominious death, all the inhabitants who refused to acknowledge him for their king. In this critical situation, the people desired he would permit them to deliberate upon his proposal, which being granted, they assembled to debate on the measures which they ought to pursue. On the one hand their affection, and the oath they had sworn to *Regner*, inclined many of the inhabitants to remain firm in their duty; on the other, the power and dreadful menaces of *Ringo* terrified them. Various measures were proposed, and all were attended with a thousand difficulties; in consequence of which the assembly was ready to break up without coming to any conclusion, when *Regner*, though then but twelve years of age, spoke in the following manner. "To what purpose is it, my faithful friends, to irritate a powerful enemy, by an obstinate attachment to an unhappy prince, whom you have not strength sufficient to defend? As deserting your king, and flying from your colours without urgent necessity, would be a crime of the most heinous nature, so, adhering to them at the hazard of your own lives, when you are sensible you cannot better the cause in which you are engaged, is downright folly, and a trespass against the first principles of nature. Deceit in some cases is allowable: can it ever be practised in a more just cause than the present, or with more probability of success? You must deceive the enemy you are unable to combat; you must counterfeit submission, until an occasion offers of resuming your principles, recalling your king, and throwing off the yoke of the oppressor. Adverse fortune is never so easily surmounted as by yielding to it." This sensible oration from a child determined them to follow his advice, as soon as they had conveyed him safe into *Norway*. They accordingly submitted to *Ringo*, and immediately gave notice of their intention to *Siward*, who without hesitation struck his tents and marched to give battle to his rival, equally desirous of coming to a decisive action. The armies met and engaged with unrelenting fury, until *Ringo* was killed and victory had declared in favour of his adversary, who had likewise received a mortal wound, of which he died the next day; and happy had it been for *Denmark*, had this event happened earlier, though each was deserving enough of the crown, had he enjoyed it without a competitor. It was their rivalry and ambition that reduced the kingdom to its melancholy situation, and the continuance of their wars would probably have made way for its total conquest by some foreign power d.

*Siward and Ringo.*

*Civil wars in Denmark.*

*Regner's speech to his friends.*

*Death of Ringo and Siward.*

R E G N E R.

BOTH these princes being removed by death, *Regner* was recalled from *Norway*, and replaced on the throne (A). As soon as this prince had settled the domestic œconomy of his kingdom, which he found intirely ruined and confounded by the late civil discords, he marched into *Norway* against *Froe*, king of *Sweden*, who had invaded that kingdom, imagining that he could easily reduce it before the situation of the *Danes* would admit of their sending forces to its relief. *Froe* had, indeed, defeated *Siward* king of *Norway*, and made prisoners of his wife and daughters, before the arrival of *Regner*. He had exposed them, and all the virgins who had fallen into his hands, to the most cruel indignities and insults, which made them receive *Regner* as their deliverer. The indignation of this prince was so highly inflamed by their piteous relations, that he marched instantly against the barbarous conqueror, and gave him battle; but with a very dubious event, until *Lathgartha*, a virgin of an heroic disposition, who had been ravished by the brutal *Froe*, entered the ranks, and with incredible valour, drove the *Swedes* every where before her, till she opened a way to their king, whom she pierced through the body before he was prepared to guard against her furious attack e. The war being finished by this decisive action, *Regner* was so captivated with the bravery of the virago, that he sought her of her relations in marriage, and obtained her with little difficulty.

*Regner.*

*Bravery of Lathgartha, a young lady of Norway.*

*Regner marries her.*

c Scriptor. citat. ibid.

d SAXO, l. ix. MEURS. l. ii. p. 38.

e SAXO, p. 171-2.

(A) Authors differ considerably in the orthography of this prince's name, some calling him *Regner*, others *Regin-fred*, and not a few *Ragnifrid*. We have adhered to the orthography of *Grammaticus*, *Meursius*, and *Pontanus*.



DURING the king's residence in *Norway*, the provinces of *Schonen* and *Jutland* revolted, and some commotions were excited in *Zealand*; his presence soon reduced affairs to their former situation, but not till he had given battle, and defeated the rebels, all of whom he generously pardoned, excepting a few of the ringleaders, who were reserved for an exemplary punishment. Another revolt soon however broke out, and was suppressed with the same expedition and vigour; to this succeeded a third, and to that a fourth, which obliged him to treat these obstinate delinquents with more severity, and to put it out of their power to disturb the course of government by their rebellious and restless disposition.

He repudiates  
Lathgartha.

Harold pro-  
claimed king  
by the Cim-  
bri, and de-  
feated by  
Regner.

The fidelity  
and courage of  
Lathgartha.

REGNER's marriage with the valorous *Lathgartha* was unfortunate; for she was supposed to aspire at the crown independent of her husband, against whose life she was unjustly thought to harbour designs; upon the discovery of which he repudiated her, and demanded in marriage the daughter of *Haroth* king of *Sweden*. Before he could obtain this lady, it was necessary he should fight the two greatest bullies in *Denmark*. This he performed with success, having killed them, and, in consequence, gained the prize, which had been contended for by all the surrounding young princes, inflamed either with love or ambition. By this lady he had seven sons, *Rathbert*, *Dun*, *Vorth*, *Siward*, *Biorno*, *Agner*, and *Ivar*. In the mean time the *Cimbri* threw off the *Danish* yoke, and chose a king, whom they called *Harold Klang*; upon which *Regner* raised an army in *Denmark*, and reinforced himself by a strong body of auxiliaries from *Norway*, which was afterwards strengthened by a fleet of one hundred and twenty ships of war, which *Lathgartha* had equipped for his service, and commanded in person. *Regner* was astonished at this instance of her affection; but she frankly told him, that no inconstancy on his side could wean her from her duty, or oblige her to revolt from the allegiance she owed, both as his subject and his wife. "If, says she, the charms of my person be faded in your eyes, it is requisite that I should endeavour to supply that loss by other qualities, more conducive to your glory and the good of these kingdoms." Such was the generous revenge which this noble lady took on the infidelity of her spouse. He marched with his army directly against the rebels, and begun an action, which continued with great warmth and spirit without appearance of advantage to either side, till *Siward*, the son of *Regner*, was killed, which occasioned great confusion in the wing of the *Danish* army he commanded. *Regner* hearing of his son's misfortune, flew like lightning along the lines, exhorting his men not to add to his calamity by their misconduct, and rallying them with amazing spirit and resolution, while *Lathgartha* led on the wing the king had left, and pushed the enemy with such irresistible valour, that they were broke and totally defeated.

He subdues  
Saxony.

Regner de-  
feats the em-  
peror Lotha-  
rius.

A combat  
fought be-  
tween Reg-  
ner's three  
sons, and the  
princes of  
Sweden.

HAVING settled the affairs of this country, rewarded, and refreshed his soldiers, he led them without delay into *Saxony*, which he resolved to punish for its frequent revolt to the emperor. Arriving here with a fleet of two hundred sail, he landed his men with such expedition, that the *Saxons* were subdued almost as soon as they had intelligence of his arrival. The emperor *Lotharius*, then encamped with a large army on the *Elbe*, gave battle to *Regner*, and was defeated; but the *Danish* monarch was prevented from pursuing his victory, by disturbances that were raised in *Sweden* after the death of their king *Haroth*, whose children the nobles had driven out of the kingdom, raising one of their own number to the throne. *Regner* sent his sons with an army to reinstate the royal family, which they soon effected by a signal defeat, given the usurper. *Sorlus*, so the usurper was called, finding himself unable to combat the forces of the king of *Denmark*, sent a herald to desire that the issue might be decided by selecting a certain number of combatants out of each army; a proposal that was accepted. *Sorlus* chose one *Scardo*, the most famous swordsman in *Sweden*, and his seven sons for his seconds; and on the side of the *Danes*, the three princes *Biorno*, *Fridleff*, and *Rathbert*, offered themselves. The combat began in sight of both armies, and *Scardo* being killed, *Sorlus* and his children, unable to stand against the fury of the *Danish* princes, were soon forced to follow his fate. This conquest being obtained, the *Danish* army attacked the *Swedes*, and obtained an easy and decisive victory.

It would appear, that *Regner* went in person to *Sweden*; for we are told, that here he carried on an intrigue with a person of fashion, by whom he had a son called *Ubbo*, who, born under an unhappy planet, says *Meursius*, afterwards contrived to dethrone the parent that begot him.

THE death of *Thora*, his beloved wife, so grievously afflicted *Regner*, that he found it necessary to divert his mind by engaging in some foreign war. Accordingly he published an edict, ordering all his subjects who were harrassed either with idle children or servants, to send them to him for employment. As soon as he had raised a sufficient force, he put the affairs of his kingdom in the best order, and committed them to the care of a council, composed of twelve of the most prudent and weighty men in *Denmark*. After which he

<sup>a</sup> Saxo, *ibid.* MEURS. p. 40.

<sup>b</sup> *Ibid.* etiam PONTAN. l. iv.



a embarked his troops, and made so successful a descent on *Britain*, that in a short time he reduced the island, not even the *Orkneys* escaping his arms. In his return to *Denmark*, he appeased some commotions, set on foot in *Norway* by the pride and ambition of several of the nobility, who aspired at the crown. He was not long in *Denmark* before he married a third wife, by name *Suanloge*, and had by her three sons, *Reynold*, *Widferc*, and *Erick*.

THE next exploits of this conqueror were performed in the *Hellepont*, against *Dio* king of that country, anciently called *Myfia*, who refused to pay certain duties which had always been claimed by the ancestors of *Regner*. This war ended as successfully as the former; upon which he turned his arms against the *Russians*, who had lent considerable assistance to *Dio*, by which he was enabled to prolong the war. We are told by the *Danish* historians, b that this rude people confided more in the power of incantations, charms, and their skill in magic, than in arms; that they raised such storms of hail and snow, as reduced the *Danes* to the last extremity, and had almost conquered him by famine, who had always proved invincible in arms. *Regner*, after losing near half his army, was forced to retreat into *Courland*, where he was kindly welcomed and furnished with every necessary which the country afforded. Incensed at his late disgrace, he again entered *Russia*, with a resolution to bring the savage monarch to action. The king of *Russia*, for so he is called, foreseeing *Regner's* return, had procured a strong body of auxiliaries from the king of *Finland*, whose troops were exceeding expert in throwing the lance. Relying upon these succours, he ventured to attack the *Danes*, unable, on account of the mountains of ice and snow, to extend c their wings, or draw out in order of battle. *Regner*, for this reason, kept in his camp, and watched the opportunity of finding the enemy unguarded. Next night presented the happy occasion he wished for; upon which he led his army with the utmost expedition and silence in the middle of the night, and broke into their camp, while they were felicitating themselves with the notion of starving the *Danes* into submission. In this disorder he obtained an easy victory; and after taking sufficient revenge, withdrew his army out of this inhospitable country.

THE long absence of *Regner* furnished his bastard son *Ubbo* with an opportunity of displaying his ambition, and unnatural desire of deposing his own father, and seizing upon a crown to which he had no kind of right. In this wild project he was assisted by his grand- d father *Esbern*, a man of great power in *Swedish Gotbland*, where he raised a numerous army in support of *Ubbo*. But *Esbern* was defeated by *Biorno*, who was left præfect of *Gotbland* by his father; and *Ubbo* meeting with a check from *Ivar*, the other son of *Regner*, went into voluntary banishment. Soon after, by the assistance of his grandfather, he equipped a large fleet, with intention to surprize his father at sea in his return from *Russia*. He met with him accordingly, but was forced to yield to the superior valour and justice of the parent. In this action *Esbern* was slain among the first, and his head fixed on the prow of *Regner's* galley, which so terrified *Ubbo*, that he made all the sail he could towards *Zealand*, where, once more, making trial of his fortune, he was defeated, made prisoner, and slain by his keepers, for having attempted to make his escape.

*Ubbo, his  
bastard son,  
revolts, and  
is conquered.*

e *REGNER*, who was born to shine as the first of heroes in the *Danish* annals, had no sooner suppressed this domestic foe, than he was attacked by a more formidable foreign enemy; and this was no other than *Daxo*, the son of *Dio*, king of the *Hellepont*, whom he had lately overcome in several battles. The peace which *Dio* had concluded, was by no means sincere, and patched up only with intention of seizing the first opportunity of revenge. He submitted from necessity to the terms of the conqueror, and permitted his dominions to be governed by *Widferc*, *Regner's* son, who was left in quality of lieutenant, *Daxo* retaining nothing more than the name and pageantry of majesty. *Daxo* embraced the opportunity of a fair that was held in the city, to perpetrate his base design of massacring *Widferc*. Accordingly he invited that prince to a feast, and had concealed a number of armed assassins; f but this scheme being frustrated by some business, which had prevented the lieutenant's attendance, he went early in the morning to his house, attended with the assassins, dressed like peasants, and finding admittance, was forcing his way to *Widferc's* chamber, when the prince, alarmed with the noise, leaped out of bed, and placed himself, sword in hand, in the entrance. Here he bravely defended himself till he received a wound, was overpowered with numbers, and taken prisoner. His valour had such an effect upon the treacherous *Daxo*, that he offered to share the kingdom with him, and to give him his sister in marriage, provided he would promise never to revenge this attack. But the generous *Widferc* preferring death to owing an obligation to his perfidious foe, resolutely replied, "That g " he desired no greater favour of his hands, than his imbruing them in blood that would not fail of drawing upon the insidious *Daxo* the vengeance of *Regner*." Incensed at this haughty repulse, the cruel *Daxo* ordered him, with all his attendants, to be bound and thrown into a large fire lighted for the occasion, there feasting his eyes with the unhappy catastrophe of the valorous and noble-spirited *Widferc*. Advice of this barbarous action

*Regner con-  
quers Daxo,  
the son of  
Dio.*

*Daxo murders  
the brave  
Widferc, son  
to Regner.*



Regner re-  
wages his  
death; but  
generously  
grants his life  
to Daxo.

Regner in-  
vades Scot-  
land, and de-  
feats the king.

Subdues Eng-  
land.

Rebellion  
breaks out in  
Denmark.

Christianity  
introduced into  
Denmark.

Regner de-  
feated and  
cruelly put to  
death by Hella  
king of Eng-  
land, or as  
others say, of  
Ireland.

His character.

coming to the ears of *Regner*, it gave such a shock to his constitution, as had near unset-  
tled his understanding. He ran about the palace like a maniac, tore his hair, rent his  
cloaths, and committed all the other actions of phrenzy and despair. This paroxysm of  
madness was succeeded by a fit of despondency and sullenness, which it was feared would  
intirely destroy his reason; but the good sense of the queen *Suanloge* got the better of his  
grief, and roused him to a sense of his own condition, the situation of the kingdom, and  
the folly of lamenting, like a woman, what ought to be avenged with all the fury of an in-  
jured king and father. Convinced, with the many forcible arguments this lady advanced,  
he levied an army, marched into *Daxo's* country, defeated his army, took him prisoner,  
and, like a truly generous prince, again set him at liberty: "Enjoy that life, said he,  
" which would only be an unworthy atonement to the manes of my brave son; and let  
" thy own conscience be thy punisher." However, to add to his mortification, he ordered  
that he should pay an annual tribute, and come in person, once a year, attended by twelve  
noblemen, all barefooted, in token of his subjection. After this, leaving his son *Eric* his  
lieutenant over the conquered countries, he returned to *Norway*, where some new com-  
motions began to disturb the public tranquility. These he soon suppressed, and settling  
the affairs of that kingdom, left his son *Biorno* to preside over them.

BEFORE his return to *Denmark*, his queen *Suanloge* died, a circumstance which threw him  
into a fit of deep melancholy, that could only be subdued by the din of arms; and now  
the occasion offered: for *England* and *Scotland* both refused to pay the usual homage. This  
obliged *Regner* to raise a prodigious armament by sea and land, which he transported into  
*Scotland*, and there fought a dreadful battle, which lasted three days, and ended in the de-  
feat of the *Scots*, and death of their king. The victory, however, was not cheaply bought;  
for *Regner* lost his sons *Dan* and *Rathbert*, with a prodigious number of officers and soldiers  
in the engagement. Passing from hence into *England*, he fought there with equal success,  
and subjected the whole kingdom to his obedience, after defeating *Hella*, the son of *Haum*,  
who was assisted by a powerful reinforcement from *France*. Nor did *Ireland* escape the ter-  
ror of his name, and the weight of his arm; for transporting his army to that kingdom, he  
slew *Molbric*, the *Irish* general, in battle, routed his army, and made himself master of  
*Dublin*, the capital, which he gave to be plundered by his soldiers. Before he returned to  
*Denmark*, his subjects there had broke out into open rebellion, and recalled *Harold*, who  
had before been set up as king in *Jutland*. This prince reflecting upon the power and  
valour of *Regner*, resolved to make use of every precaution to withstand him, and secure  
the possession of his new-acquired authority. Accordingly he sought the alliance of the em-  
peror, which he obtained conditionally, that he would embrace the Christian religion, and  
propagate it with all his power through his dominions. *Harold*, the better to secure the  
emperor's friendship; without any religion, immediately became a convert to Christianity;  
without faith, abjured infidelity, destroyed all the pagan idols, and erected a church in  
*Sleswick*, where the doctrine of *Jesus* was publicly preached. *Regner* arriving in *Denmark*,  
as these new schemes of religion and politics were carrying on, attacked *Harold* without de-  
lay, overthrew him, and forced him a second time to seek shelter in *Germany*. Then he  
destroyed the Christian temple erected in *Sleswick*, and restored the worship of the pagan  
gods; a circumstance which derogates by no means from his reputation, as he had yet re-  
ceived no conviction of the truth of the gospel, and had he embraced it, must have proved  
a convert from political motives: a reflection, which we thought necessary, in answer to  
the ridiculous defamation of Christian writers. This last act, say they, was evidently pu-  
nished by the Almighty; for *Hella*, king of *England*, revolting a second time, had seduced  
*Ireland* to second his views of independency. This once more drew the aged *Regner* into  
the field, where his usual good fortune, but not his valour, deserting him, he was defeated  
and made prisoner. His cruel enemies, without regarding the character of the hero, threw  
him bound, into a dungeon filled with snakes, vipers, and poisonous animals, thus inglo-  
riously putting an end to a life grown old in glory and victory. A proverbial saying of this  
great king's in prison, determined *Hella* to set him at liberty; but too late, he had breath-  
ed his last before the order came to the jailor (A). Other writers have given a different ac-  
count of the death of the great *Regner*; but we are of opinion, that the authority of *Danish*  
writers ought, in facts respecting their own country, to weigh against the testimony of  
foreigners: we have therefore related it as we find it asserted by *Grammaticus*, *Pontanus*,  
and *Meursius*, who correspond directly in all the circumstances of his reign. His whole  
life was an uninterrupted course of glorious victories, wise measures, and noble generous  
actions. His repudiating his wife *Lathgartha*, a woman of so sublime and elevated a soul,  
may be imputed to him as a weakness, if we suppose it proceeded from the inconstancy of

(A) *Sunningius* says, that *Regner* was defeated by *Hella*, in *Ireland*, expressly affirming, contrary to the testimony  
of all other writers, that the conqueror of the brave *Danish* monarch was king of that country. P. 63.



a his nature. But this does not appear; on the contrary, *Meursius* and *Grammaticus* affirm, that this lady's chastity was publicly taxed; and it was unworthy of *Regner* to cohabit with a wife who had even been suspected of incontinence. Thus we see the errors of those writers, who place the conversion of the *Danish* kings in the reign of this monarch<sup>a</sup>. It is true *Harold* was a Christian, if we may give that appellation to a man who professed this religion only to serve temporary views; but he never was king of *Denmark*, he was only an usurper, who, by means of a faction, was raised four months to the throne, during the absence of the lawful prince, by whom he was driven into his primitive obscurity<sup>b</sup>.

b It is now difficult to fix with certainty the successor of *Regner*, and continue the series of *Danish* kings. The disputes and differences on this head, among writers, are numberless; and it would be a vain endeavour to reconcile them: we shall therefore adhere to those who have kept the nearest to a natural chronology, though all, indeed, have greatly failed in this particular (A).

# I V A R.

According to the best authorities, *Ivar* was raised to the throne of his deceased father, and began his reign with revenging the unworthy death of that famous warrior. He was proclaimed immediately after *Regner's* death which happened, according to *Meursius*, in the year of *Christ* 836; and if we credit *Pontanus* and *Sueningius*, five years after. He raised an army, equipped a fleet, and, without hesitation, invaded *England*; but finding *Hella* too strong for him, he sent to his brothers for succours. Their arrival with a powerful reinforcement, soon turned the scale in favour of *Ivar*, who defeated *Hella*, and took ample vengeance on him for the cruel death of his father. Some writers affirm, that he took him prisoner, and ordered him to be hanged on a gibbet before the camp; but *Grammaticus*, with more probability relates, that *Hella* fell in battle (B).

c THE better to secure the country, and gain the affections of the people, he remained two years in *England*; during which time the *Danes* revolting, raised his brothers *Siward* and *Eric* to the throne. This news alarmed *Ivar*, and obliged him to have recourse to the assistance of the *English*, of whom he embarked a large body, and sailed with them directly to *Holstein*. At length he met with the *Danish* army, engaged and defeated it near *Sleswick*, after a very bloody and obstinate contest, in which the rebels lost twelve thousand men. He now resolved to keep the *Danes* in awe by his presence, and therefore sent his brother *Agner* to govern in *England*. Here *Agner* resided but a short time before the *English*, uneasy under a foreign yoke, raised an army, and were on the point of reducing him to extremity, when *Siward*, his brother, arrived with a body of forces to his relief; by which he was enabled to reduce them to their former obedience; and to prevent another insurrection, he cruelly massacred the pious king *Edmund*, with all the nobility of the court<sup>c</sup>.

d WHILE these horrid transactions were carrying on in *England*, a rebellion was raised in *Sweden* by means of one *Osten*, a man of a turbulent aspiring disposition. Thither *Agner* flew with an army of *English*, and engaging the enemy with too great impetuosity, was slain in the heat of the engagement; but we are not told which of the parties obtained the victory. *Ivar* outlived his brother but a short time; for he was carried off by a fever in the fifth year of his reign; but not until he had acquired and merited the reputation of a great and warlike prince.

# S I W A R D S N A K E - E Y E.

f To *Ivar* succeeded *Siward*, surnamed *Snake eye*, his brother. In his youth this prince had distinguished himself by many extraordinary feats of valour in the field; but now having acquired the crown, he turned his inclinations to the arts of peace, endeavoured to restore industry, and promote the public tranquillity, that had so long been disturbed by a series of foreign and domestic wars. God, says *Meursius*, seconded his pious intention, and enabled him to complete a reign as pregnant with real felicity and true glory, as any which the annals of *Denmark* can produce. He died and left an infant son, chosen by the states to succeed him in the throne<sup>d</sup>.

<sup>a</sup> SUANING. Chron. Dan. p. 63.  
<sup>c</sup> MEURS. l. iii. sub. init.

<sup>b</sup> PROPIS vid. GRAM. MEURS. PONTAN. ibid. & SUANING, p. 64.  
<sup>d</sup> SAXO & MEURS, ubi. citat.

(A) *Sueningius* and *Pontanus* intirely omit *Ivar* in their list of kings, though it is certain that *Regner* had a son of that name, of whom we have made frequent mention; and as these writers have chiefly made use of the authority of *Saxo Grammaticus*, we are at a loss to conjecture upon what testimony they excluded this prince. As they have given no reason for these proceedings, we think ourselves excusable in adhering to

the authority of that elegant historian.

(B) *Meursius* affirms, that *Hella* conquering *Ivar's* father, by the assistance of the *Roman* forces, whose standard was an eagle, he ordered an impression of this to be seared on *Hella's* back, his body to be flead, and sprinkled with salt, until he died in the most agonizing torture. P. 44.



## E R I C.

Eric 59<sup>th</sup>  
king.

THE name of this young prince was *Eric*, surnamed *Bern*, or, as the *Scotch* to this day pronounce it, *Bearn* or *Cbild*. In his minority he was deposed by *Eric*, brother to the *Harold* we have so frequently mentioned in the reign of *Regner*, who took the reins of government into his own hands, assumed the supreme authority, and by means of a faction, obtained the title of king: a revolution that happened, according to *Meursius*, in the year 847, though, more probably, just ten years later.

## E R I C the U S U R P E R.

Eric the  
Usurper,  
60<sup>th</sup> king.  
A. D. 857.

MINDFUL that his brother was deposed soon after he embraced the Christian religion, he took the strongest aversion to the doctrine of *Jesus*, put all the ministers of the gospel in *Denmark* to death, and every where restored the pagan religion; from which we may infer, that Christianity had now begun to take root in this kingdom. As *Saxony* and *England* had now begun to shew their uneasiness under the *Danish* yoke, and to raise armies for the recovery of their liberty, *Eric* struck up a league and strict alliance with the kings of *Sweden* and *Norway*, obtained large supplies of land and sea forces from them, raised himself a powerful army, and with an hundred thousand fighting men, and a proportionable fleet, entered upon the reduction of *England* and *Saxony*, dividing his forces, that he might attack both together, and prevent their mutually assisting each other. Spreading terror wherever he went, the fame of his power was sufficient to reduce the revolvers to obedience, and submit to the terms he thought fit to impose, before he had set foot in either country.

A. D. 858.

The usurper  
embraces and  
propagates  
Christianity.

IT was after his return from this expedition that we may date the æra of Christianity in *Denmark*; for *Eric* was again brought back to embrace the truth of the gospel, in which both he and his brother *Harold* had been educated. *Ansgarius* bishop of *Bremen*, was the happy instrument of this conversion; in consequence of which *Eric* abolished the idols he had but lately restored, and published an edict of toleration, permitting all his subjects to follow the doctrine of *Christ* with impunity. Such was the force of truth, or such, perhaps, the inconstancy of human nature, always eager after novelty, that Christianity spread with amazing rapidity, and was greatly aided in its progress by the zeal and piety of the king, who, notwithstanding his devotion, never once thought of restoring the crown to the right owner: but the invisible hand of Providence brought about justice in a way which the usurper little expected, amidst the tranquillity in which he had hitherto possessed the throne. *Guthorm*, his brother's son, became his rival, and connected his own cause with that of young *Eric*, the son of *Siward*, and the lawful king of *Denmark*. Violent were the dissensions raised among all degrees of men by this opposition. Such of the nobility as had taken part with *Harold* against *Regner*, or held places under the usurper, remained his fast friends; the rest of the nation in general, those who remembered the glorious *Regner*, and retained any sense of justice, gratitude, and compassion, took the side of *Guthorm*, and declared in favour of the young prince. A bloody battle was fought, in which almost all the nobility of *Denmark* were slain, and the numerous progeny of *Regner* entirely extinguished, except the son of *Siward*, the last hope of this illustrious family. The usurper too was slain, and by this means made way for the young *Eric* once more to mount the throne of his ancestors. At first he strenuously opposed the growth of the Christian faith: nay, took the most vigorous measures to suppress and root it out of his dominions. He put several of the most devout and zealous Christians to death, who had refused to abjure their religion; others he forced or bribed into compliance with his will. He levelled all the churches even with the ground, and sent an army to ravage *Saxony*, chiefly because the people of that country had received the light of the gospel. Not long after, however, he not only withdrew his resentment, which had grievously oppressed the Christians, but published an intire liberty of conscience, and embraced himself the true faith, by means of the eloquent and prudent *Ansgarius*, to whom this as well as the former conversion is wholly to be ascribed. He erected, at his own expence, a magnificent church at *Ripen*, ordered the Pagan temples to be razed, and now became as bigotted a Christian, as a little before he had been a Heathen; thus acting in extremes, and probably in neither from conviction, but from superstition and prejudice. At the persuasion of *Ansgarius*, he appointed persons properly qualified to teach the gospel in every corner of the kingdom, allowed them handsome salaries, and took *Ansgarius* for his director, not only in spirituals but in temporals likewise; an office for which the good bishop was but indifferently qualified. Having thus afforded a remarkable instance of the weakness of the human understanding, which at different

Young Eric is  
restored.

A. D. 861.

His character.



a times, and without any particular conviction, can maintain opinions diametrically opposite; he died the profelyte and chief support of that religion, which, but a few years before, he had persecuted with such cruelty and bitterness<sup>f</sup>.

C A N U T E the L I T T L E.

ERIC left an only son called *Canute*, and afterwards surnamed *the Little*, or, according to some writers, *the Hairy*. As his infancy persuaded the states that a long minority might prove dangerous to the kingdom, they resolved to elect one of their own body, who should govern with the title and authority of a king during his life, the crown then to revert to *Canute* or his children. Accordingly *Ennigunp*, a nobleman of great wisdom and valour, b was chosen by public consent; but he was scarce seated on the throne, before *Olaus* king of *Sweden* entered the kingdom, seized upon the crown, maintained it till his death, and then transmitted it to his son *Siward*, who was slain some years afterwards by an insurrection of the *Danes*, in favour of *Canute*, now arrived at years of maturity.

Canute the Little, 61<sup>st</sup> king.

In the very beginning of *Canute's* reign, a large colony of *Danes* went forth to look for new habitations (though for what reason we are not told) and settled themselves in *Prussia*, the eastern parts of *Courland*, and in *Carelia*. Now it was that *Norway* entirely shook off the yoke of *Denmark*, under the auspices of *Harold*, surnamed *Yellow-hair* (A), which is the only circumstance of any note we find mentioned under this reign. This prince differed greatly from his father with respect to his religious disposition; for c *Eric* was either a zealous Pagan or bigotted Christian; whereas *Canute* was perfectly indifferent to both, and regarded the priests of all religions little better than pious impostors, whom it was necessary to protect on account of the veneration in which they were held by the people; a way of thinking that brought great scandal upon his memory<sup>e</sup>.

A second migration of the inhabitants of Denmark.

F R O T H O VI.

FROTHO VI. the son of *Canute*, succeeded him; but the year of his succession to the throne is disputed. He was the greatest warrior that wielded the *Danish* scepter since *Regner*. He reduced *England*, which had rebelled during the indolent reign of his predecessor, and first planted the Christian religion there, if we may credit the *Danish* historians. The d better to propagate the faith in *Denmark*, he was preparing an embassy to pope *Sergius III.* to acknowledge his supremacy in spirituals, and to request that he would send some persons perfectly qualified to teach the gospel in *Denmark*, when death put an end to all his projects, and deprived his people of an excellent prince. He was married to *Emma*, daughter to the king of *England*, by whom he had a son named *Gormo*, who succeeded to his crown<sup>h</sup>.

Frotho VI. 62<sup>d</sup> king.

G O R M O A N G L E II.

GORMO was surnamed *Angle*, or the *Englishman*, because he was born in *England*; where he likewise received the first rudiments of his education. Upon advice of his father's death, he immediately embarked for *Denmark*, and there received the crown, e by the unanimous consent of the people. In his absence, the *English* again took the opportunity of recovering their liberty; nor did he make any attempts to deprive them of it, whether from indolence, or from a rectitude of opinion, a strict regard to justice, and affection for the country of his birth and education, is uncertain. *Grammaticus* indeed says, that his nature was mild, modest, and moderate; that he was contented with the government of one kingdom, and thought it impossible for a prince to do that justice to the subjects of two different and distant kingdoms, which his duty required; an opinion that reflects great honour on his memory. After a peaceful reign of four years he died, and left the crown to *Harold V.*<sup>i</sup>.

Gormo Angle II. 63<sup>d</sup> king.

f H A R O L D V.

THE peaceable reputation which *Gormo* acquired, and the tranquillity which his subjects enjoyed, was not lost or disturbed by *Harold*, who was a prince of much the same disposition. He acted upon his father's principles, preferred ease and tranquillity to every other advantage, preserved the kingdom in just the situation he found it, and handed down the crown without additional lustre or stain to his son<sup>k</sup>.

Harold V. 64<sup>th</sup> king.

G O R M O III.

GORMO III. surnamed *the Old*, from the extraordinary age to which he lived, was a weak and timid prince, though father to two very warlike princes by his wife, daughter Gormo III. 65<sup>th</sup> king.

<sup>f</sup> Aut. mox citat. SUANING. p. 65.

<sup>e</sup> MEUR. p. 46. SAXO, l. ix. p. 178.

<sup>h</sup> Ibid.

<sup>i</sup> Ibid.

<sup>k</sup> PONTAN l. iv.

(A) Pontanus calls this prince *Harold*, *Haarfaar* or *Fair-Hair*.



to the king of *England*. He was a bitter enemy to the Christians, whom he persecuted in every quarter, demolishing their churches, and banishing their clergy. Among other sacred buildings, he totally destroyed and razed the famous cathedral in *Sleswick*, and ordered the Pagan idols to be erected wherever they had formerly stood.

The exploits of  
Gormo's sons.

GORMO's sons were both men of great ability in war, twins by birth, and rivals in glory. Their first exploits were directed against the *Vandals*, whom they subdued: next, they carried their arms against the *English*, who had for some time enjoyed their liberty, and conquered them; but without dethroning their uncle, who at that time wielded the sceptre of this country: however, they obliged him to sign an instrument, whereby he conveyed the crown to them at his decease. From *England* they passed into *Ireland*, and laid siege to *Dublin*, where *Canute* received the wound of which he died a few days after; upon which *Harold* pushed the siege, took the city, settled the affairs of the country, and returned into *Denmark*.

WHILE his sons were gathering laurels abroad, *Gormo* took arms against the *Saxons*, with a view to oblige them to renounce the Christian religion. Having reinforced his army, by a large body of auxiliary *Vandals*, he destroyed the country before him with fire and sword, sparing neither sex nor age that did not abjure the faith. The emperor *Henry the Fowler* soon came to the relief of the *Saxons*, defeated *Gormo*, and drove him out of *Saxony*. Pursuing his victory, he entered *Holstein*, passed into *Sleswick*, took the city of that name, then a town flourishing in trade, and gave it to his soldiers to be plundered. At a small distance from thence he built another town, transmitting thereby to posterity, that here he fixed the boundaries of his empire. He then granted peace to *Gormo*, on condition that he would cease to persecute his Christian subjects, and permit liberty of conscience to all. *Gormo* was not acquainted with his son *Canute's* death for some time after his return from *Saxony*. When it came to his knowledge, it affected him so strongly, that he sickened with grief, and died<sup>1</sup>.

#### H A R O L D VI.

Harold VI.  
surnamed  
Blaatand,  
66th king.

HAROLD his son was immediately elected king; but he refused to accept the crown, until he had first performed his father's last obsequies with all the magnificence becoming his high rank and quality. He was no sooner crowned than he had to dispute the throne of *England* with *Haquin*, king of *Norway*. His claim to this was indeed indisputable, both on account of his affinity, and by the will of *Ethelred*, who had bequeathed him his dominions, in exclusion of his own son; though, from motives of equity, *Harold* avoided disputing the crown with this last prince, and permitted him to wear it unmolested to his death. As *Adelstan* died without issue, he now thought he might fairly assert his claim, and accordingly made preparations for that purpose. *Haquin* in the mean time invaded *England*; besides which, *Harold* had other reasons for engaging in a war with him. But this alone was sufficient; a conduct that was owing to respect for his uncle and cousin, late kings of *England*, might not now be construed into indolence or cowardice, he therefore passed with a fleet into *England*; and sent another to support the claim of *Harold*, a prince of the *Norwegian* blood, who had craved his assistance. The king of *Norway*, hearing his dominions were invaded by a pretender to the throne, returned thither before *Harold* of *Denmark's* arrival in *England*. On the coast of *Norway* he engaged the *Danish* fleet commanded by *Hovind* and *Caroslo*: but finding himself inferior in ships, he landed his men, and drew the enemy into a land-engagement, in which he defeated them; but did not live to enjoy his victory; for he was killed in the pursuit: by which means *Harold*, the pretender to this crown, succeeded him, and paid the promised tribute and homage to *Harold* of *Denmark*, in return for the generous aid he had lent him. Thus *Norway*, once more, became a province to *Denmark*<sup>m</sup>.

He succeeds to  
the crown of  
England.

AFTER *Harold* had settled the affairs of *England*, he sailed against the *Vandals*, who committed horrid depredations on the coasts of the *Baltic*: nor had scarce rid his hands of this war, when his aid and protection were solicited by *Stubiern* king of *Sweden*, who was driven out of his own dominions by *Eric*. To enforce his request, *Stubiern* had brought along with him *Gyntba* his sister, a lady of admirable beauty and accomplishments. The stratagem had the proposed effect: *Harold* became enamoured of her, married her, and promised the brother all the assistance in his power to reinstate him. Raising an army, he led it into *Holstein*; and marching from thence into *Sleswick*, he took by storm the new-built city of *Henry* the emperor, put the commanding officer to death, and made prisoners of the garrison, leaving a sufficient number of his own men in their stead. He restored to this city the ancient name of *Sleswick*, and annexed it again to the dominions

<sup>1</sup> Saxo, l. ix.      <sup>m</sup> Id. l. x. p. 182.



- a of Denmark. While he resided here, the *Vandals* resumed their piracies; and *Harold* again attacked them with such vigour, that he reduced and plundered all their strong holds, and, among the rest, the rich and important city of *Wollin*, built in an island of the same name, which is formed by two branches of the river *Oder*. This city he presented to *Stubiern*, who became extremely dear to him, on account of the brave exploits he had seen him perform in the course of this war. He now therefore resolved to turn his arms against *Eric*, and to reinstate his brother-in-law, before he undertook any other affairs. Recruiting his army with the utmost expedition, he led his forces through *Halland* against *Eric*. In the mean time advice was received, that *Otho* I. had entered *Jutland* with a powerful army, and penetrated to the very heart of the country, to revenge the indignity offered the empire by the attack on *Sleswick*. *Otho*, indeed, gave other reasons for his conduct. He pretended to be the protector of Christianity, which *Harold* persecuted; to be the ally of the *Vandals*, whom *Harold* conquered; and the lawful possessor of *Sleswick*, which the *Dane* took and plundered. The emperor found *Jutland* an easy prey, all the inhabitants fit to bear arms being enlisted by *Harold* to serve in the *Swedish* war. Some assert, that he proceeded to *Dantzick*, and thence travelling along the coast, flung a spear into the sea, marking that strait as the boundary of his empire. *Crantzius* affirms, that he passed into the island of *Funen*, and there built a city called after his own name: but this we find denied by all the *Danish* writers; for the city which resembles his name was built, say they, by *Othin*, many years before the birth of *Otho*. What the event of this war was, we know not. Some *German* writers assert, that *Harold*, collecting all his force, pitched his camp on the narrow neck of land at *Sleswick*, to intercept *Otho*, which he did, and was defeated. On the contrary, *Grammaticus* writes, that *Otho*, hearing of *Harold's* march against him, retreated with the utmost precipitation, leaving behind many necessaries of his camp, which became so many trophies to the *Danish* monarch<sup>a</sup>. All agree, that the princes having adjusted the preliminaries of a personal conference, met; and *Harold*, overcome by the arguments of *Otho*, and the clergy about him, embraced the Christian religion, solemnly and publicly abjuring Paganism. On this occasion he received baptism, *Otho*, the emperor, being sponsor; and the same ceremony was performed on his queen, and all his children. During this congress *Stubiern* was defeated by *Eric*, who, in consequence of his victory, seized upon *Halland* and *Bleking*, two provinces of *Schonen*, belonging to *Harold*. This occasioned the latter to provide against all future irruptions, by erecting that strong wall across the isthmus of *Sleswick*, which he called *Danemarck*, or the work of the *Danes*. Some writers ascribe this wall to the emperor *Otho*, though for what reason, we are at a loss to conjecture: the very name sufficiently indicates the authors.

*Otho's expedition into Jutland.*

- AMIDST these transactions, *Harold* king of *Norway* died, and his son *Haquin* succeeding, refused the homage and tribute which his father constantly paid to *Denmark*. This he believed was a seasonable opportunity for claiming his independency, when *Harold* was engaged in quarrels with two such powerful monarchs, as the emperor *Otho*, and *Eric* king of *Sweden*. It fell out however, otherwise than he imagined; for *Harold* immediately demanded the usual homage, and levied an army to enforce his demand. *Haquin* refusing to comply, he sent a fleet and army thither, under the conduct of some of his generals, while himself marched against *Eric*, whom he defeated; and obliged him to sue for peace upon such conditions as were proposed by the conqueror. In the mean while his army was defeated in *Norway* by *Haquin*, and this was only the prelude to his future misfortunes; for his own son *Swen*, spurred on by ambition, and the intreaties of the *Sambi* and *Cimbri*, two powerful provinces, who were ready to revolt, aspired at his father's crown (A). *Swen* was accordingly crowned king at *Weiburg*, and a great force raised to support his claim; and indeed, such was his influence, that the seeds of disaffection began to spring up in every part of *Denmark*. *Harold*, however, determined not to be wanting in his duty, raised an army, and gave battle to his son, but was defeated on account of the treachery of his officers, many of whom went over with whole troops to worship the rising sun. He next equipped a

*Defeats Eric king of Sweden.*

*His son rebels, and disputes the crown with him.*

<sup>a</sup> SAXO, *ibid.* MEURS. l. iii. p. 48.

(A) *Grammaticus* relates, that *Harold*, after defeating *Eric*, was busied in erecting a magnificent tomb to the memory of his beloved queen *Gyntha*, and that he employed all the inhabitants of the provinces in bringing materials to the workmen. This servile occupation those proud and warlike people could not support without indignation, and this it was that alienated their minds from *Harold*. *Harold* seeing a stone of prodigious weight raised by the workmen, asked his jester, whether he had ever seen so prodigious a weight raised by human strength? "Yes," replied the jester, I have seen your son *Swen* run away with a whole kingdom;" intimating the design of setting him upon the throne, which was the first notice *Harold* had of the rebellion (1).

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(1) Saxo, l. x.



His unfortunate end and character.

fleet; nor was his fortune more favourable, for he was a second time defeated, and obliged to take shelter in *Zealand*, where he found means to refit his ships, with which he determined once more to hazard an engagement. The event was no less unsuccessful than the former: upon which he fled into *Normandy*, and obtained large supplies of men and ships from the duke. With this reinforcement he returned to *Zealand*, and once more gave battle to his son. Both were sensible that they now fought for the last stake, and the battle continued for two days with the utmost obstinacy. Great numbers were killed and wounded on both sides; but neither could resolve upon yielding the victory, and of consequence the crown. A treaty therefore was set on foot by some of the more moderate and prudent men in either army; to which the father and son assenting, a truce was settled, and next day appointed for a congress to adjust the particulars of the ensuing treaty. In the mean time *Harold* was killed by the hands of a common soldier, while he was walking in a grove near his camp, to relax his mind after the fatigue of the day, by which the crown descended to *Swen*, without dispute or litigation. Thus died *Harold*, a prince of very shining qualities, and equally versed in the arts of war and peace. His piety was no less remarkable than his other virtues. Under him the Christian religion had made great progress, and three bishoprics were endowed in his dominions<sup>a</sup>. He built many churches, founded monasteries, convents, and other religious houses: but what renders his memory respectable is, that he governed with equity, was a just king, a kind master, a tender husband, and an affectionate father, though he met with ungrateful returns from his son and subjects. His body was buried with great funeral pomp, his son paying those honours to his memory, which his ambition prevented his performing while he lived; and now only it was, that his subjects became sensible of his merit, and their own folly, when it was too late to remedy their fault.

#### S E C T. IV.

*In which is contained all the material Occurrences until the Year 1147.*

#### S W E N.

A. D. 981.  
Sven, surnamed Split-beard.

Sven, tho' educated a Christian, persecutes Christianity.

He is taken prisoner by the Vandals.

He is defeated and banished by Eric king of Sweden.

**A**S *Sven* was the first *Danish* monarch who had been bred from his youth, and publickly baptized in his infancy according to the Christian faith, we may date the perfect establishment of the gospel in *Denmark* in his reign. He was called *Sven-Otho*, in compliment to his godfather the emperor, and surnamed *Split-beard*, from some peculiarity observed about his beard. He was scarcely established in the throne, when it was perceivable that the minds of the nobility began to relapse into the idolatry of Paganism, and recur to their old superstition. *Sven*, willing to shew his gratitude to those men who had forfeited their fidelity, and hazarded their lives to procure him a crown, ordered the heathen idols again to be erected in compliment to them. He even went further, and persecuted the clergy, tho' he never publickly abjured the doctrine of *Christ*, or sequestered those lands which his father had annexed to the church. Next he took up arms against the inhabitants of *Wollin* on the *Oder*, for having assisted his father in the late rebellion; but here he was thrice defeated by those brave and loyal islanders, and in the last engagement taken prisoner, and set at liberty on paying a ransom of twice his own weight, when full armed, in pure gold. This ransom was settled at three payments; but the king's person was confined till the last payment was made, which was raised by the generosity of the *Danish* ladies, who sold their jewels for this purpose, the treasury being quite exhausted, and the country oppressed by heavy taxes for the payment of the two former divisions of the ransom. Upon his return he made some laws favourable to the women; and among others ordained, that they should inherit a third of the estates real and personal. Moreover, he redeemed with all possible expedition, all the jewels they had sold for his liberty, and returned them to the proper owners.

His misfortunes did not, however, reclaim him, says *Grammaticus*; he still pursued his idolatrous courses, and persecuted the faith, which drew down upon him the vengeance of the Almighty with more weight. *Eric* of *Sweden*, contracting an alliance with the king of *Poland* and the emperor *Otho*, and besides, holding *Sven* in the utmost contempt, after the frequent defeats he had received from a handful of *Vandal* islanders, raised a great army and invaded *Schonen*. *Sven* marched against him; but was defeated in the first engagement, and driven out of his kingdom. Thence he wandered an exile into *Norway*, went to the court of *Olaus*, who had succeeded his brother *Haquin*, reminded him of the obligations his father *Harold* owed to the king of *Denmark* for placing him on his throne; but

<sup>a</sup> SAXO, l. x. MEURS. l. iii. PONTAN. l. 5.



- <sup>a</sup> was answered, that no ingratitude could equal his, who had robbed his father of his crown and his life. Finding no hopes of success by further applications to this monarch, he went to *England*, and there met with a reception equally cold and mortifying. Not thinking himself secure here, he retreated into *Scotland*, and was kindly received by the king, and maintained handsomely at the public expence, for the space of fourteen years <sup>b</sup>. *Eric* now dying, and misfortune opening the eyes, and softening the heart of *Swen*, he began to perceive the folly he had committed in persecuting the faith in which he had been instructed. He attributed his past calamities to the hand of God, who had thus justly punished his impiety, and returned with redoubled fervour and zeal to the profession of Christianity. His restoration soon followed, through the mediation of the king of *Scotland*,  
<sup>b</sup> who exerted himself warmly in behalf of the unfortunate prince. On his return he recalled all the clergy he had banished, set at liberty, and compensated in the best manner he was able, the sufferings of those he had confined; and lastly convoked a diet of the states, to whom he related the circumstances of his banishment, by which he became the sport of his enemies, and the object of compassion of his friends. He had lost his crown and reputation, dearer than life itself, by the hands of a man who had been defeated, and driven out of *Schonen*, by his mother; whence it was visible that the hand of God had interposed, and made use of *Eric* as the instrument of his vengeance, in order to render his punishment and defeat the more disgraceful. As he could not now avoid acknowledging the justice and wisdom of that invisible Power whom they had impiously abjured, he requested his people, as  
<sup>c</sup> they valued their present and future happiness, to be warned by his example, to receive the light of the gospel, and leave that false and profane religion, which God might permit for a time, but would not fail to punish and destroy in the end. His proposal did not meet with the reception he expected, and he therefore resolved upon other means of accomplishing his wish, and re-establishing Christianity. This was soon effected by the arrival of *Poppo*, a *German* divine of great piety and eloquence, who, by dint of example and persuasion, brought about what the king's authority could not. Several miracles are related of this prelate; and indeed he was possessed of the happy talent of impressing the people with whatever notions he thought fit to inspire, in which perhaps consisted his supernatural powers. All the clergy were recalled, lands and houses appropriated to their maintenance and residence, and a see given to *Poppo*, appointed to preside over the rest of the *Danish* clergy; but at the same time a suffragan of *Adelage*, bishop of *Bremen* <sup>c</sup>.

Received by the king of Scotland, and restored to the throne.

A. D. 994.

The Christian religion restored in Denmark.

- WHILE *Sweden* was thus employed in promoting piety and the Christian religion, *Olaus* king of *Norway* was taking measures for disturbing the public tranquillity. Apprehensive that *Swen*, after settling the internal œconomy of his kingdom, might resume his claim to a supremacy, over *Norway*, he determined to anticipate his measures by levying a powerful army, and entering into strict league with *Sweden*. *Swen*, receiving advice of these intrigues, found means to countermine the machinations of *Olaus*; by marrying the queen-mother of *Sweden*, by which he secured the friendship of king *Eric*; insomuch that they executed a treaty for the defence and propagation of Christianity, and the mutual security of their  
<sup>e</sup> kingdoms. *Olaus* was now enraged with disappointment, and, determined at all events upon revenge, he declared war. The fleets of *Denmark* and *Norway* met: they fought with inveteracy, and the latter was totally defeated and dispersed. *Olaus* escaped out of the battle with a few ships; but was so closely pursued, that, to avoid the disgrace of being taken, and in the power of his enemy, he leaped into the sea, and was drowned. In consequence of this victory, *Norway* was again annexed to the crown of *Denmark*, and *Swen* immediately published an edict there in favour of the Christian religion <sup>d</sup>. Having settled the affairs of *Norway*, he prepared to invade *England*, which had for some years thrown off its subjection to the crown of *Denmark* (A). *Ethelred* II. held at this time the supreme authority in that kingdom, the particular condition of which  
<sup>f</sup> shall be related in its proper place. Here the *Danish* and *English* historians differ considerably in many important circumstances, and we shall have occasion to mention their several relations in our History of *England*, the proper place for such a disquisition. Sufficient it is for our present occasion, that a peace between *Ethelred* and *Swen* was concluded, after the latter had over-run great part of the kingdom, and obliged the former to acknowledge his (B) sovereignty <sup>e</sup>. In this island he breathed his last, much regretted for the

Invades England.

<sup>b</sup> Vid Aut. Citat. ibid.

<sup>c</sup> SAXO GRAM 1. x.

<sup>d</sup> Ibid etiam PONTAN. 1. 5.

<sup>e</sup> MEURS. 1. iii. p. 52.

(A) We must observe, that although *Danish* writers assert in general terms, that *England* was subjected to the kings of *Denmark*, near three hundred years before *Canute the Great*, it is probable they never conquered above one or two divisions of the *Saxon* heptarchy. In these early times they were just such a people as the *Saxons* had been about five hundred years before; their invasions were sudden, their ravages barbarous, and

their retreats quick. They probably extorted a promise of homage from the conquered; but never resided long enough in the country to enforce it by authority and power before *Canute's* reign, who first took the title of king of *Denmark*, *England*, *Norway*, &c. &c.

(B) *Saxo Grammaticus* relates, that the following proclamation was made by *Swen*; viz. that he had taken up arms with no intention of ruining the people of *England*.



Swen's death  
and character.

the exemplary piety, strict justice, and remarkable proofs of military genius and valour which he had displayed towards the close of life. There could not, indeed, be a stronger satire on the manners of his youth, than that total change of conduct he put on in his old age. The same man, who with the most criminal ambition, had sought a father's life, for the sake of a crown, was now contented with the bare homage of a prince, always esteemed a vassal by the kings of *Denmark*; permitting him to enjoy all the power, authority, and honours belonging to a king <sup>a</sup>.

It is not very certain who was the immediate successor of *Swen*, though almost all historians allow that he had two sons, *Harold* and *Canute*. *Saxo Grammaticus* and *Pontanus*, take no farther notice of the former, than by mentioning him as the son of *Swen*; affirming that the latter, though youngest, was raised to the throne in preference to his brother. <sup>b</sup>

#### H A R O L D.

Harold,  
70th king.

ON the contrary, *Meursius* and *Lyschander* number *Harold* among the kings, asserting, that he succeeded *Swen* by right of primogeniture; this being an invariable maxim with the states, where some very extraordinary circumstances and reasons for laying aside the elder brother did not occur. Upon their authority we shall venture to insert *Harold* in the list of kings, however unworthy of that dignity he afterwards proved. His effeminacy, lewdness, profligacy, and intire contempt of decency, virtue, and morality, rendered him so odious to a people always brave, and now perfectly civilized by the beautiful system of religion and morals introduced among them, that he enjoyed but a short time the honour he <sup>c</sup> so little merited. He was deposed with every possible mark of disgrace and infamy, and his brother raised to the throne; of which he likewise had like to have been deprived, on account of his constant engagements in foreign wars, the *Danes* neither bearing with temper a perfect indolence, nor too great activity in their princes <sup>e</sup>.

He is deposed.

#### C A N U T E.

Canute the  
Great,  
71st king.  
A.D. 1015.

*CANUTE*, deservedly surnamed the great, began his reign with the invasion of *England* and *Norway*, both these kingdoms having thrown off the subjection they had promised to his father *Swen*. The talents of *Canute* for the cabinet and the field were greatly superior to his father's, and indeed equal to those of any prince who had wore the *Danish* diadem. The *English* recalled *Ethelred* their king, who had abdicated the throne; and as their affections were ever in extremes, *Canute* perceived that this event would be attended with an attempt to render him independent of the crown of *Denmark*, and took his measures accordingly. But that he might not be oppressed with such a multitude of foreign wars, as he found he must necessarily be engaged in, he temporized with the *Vandals*, and other northern nations, who claimed the same independency with *England* and *Norway*, in order to direct his whole force against the two last kingdoms. *England* was his main object; and to prevent its receiving succours from *Norway*, he artfully drew *Claud* the king's brother into his views, by persuading him to lay claim to the crown. After this he sailed for *England*; and in his way met, say the *Danish* historians, with the *English* fleet, commanded by king *Edward* in person, whom he defeated after a sharp engagement (C). At first, say they, victory, which was disputed with great obstinacy, seemed to incline to the *English*, when *Thymon*, a nobleman of *Zealand*, arriving with a reinforcement, soon obliged her to declare in favour of *Canute* <sup>d</sup>. Numberless difficulties, indeed, occur in this period of our history, and the strongest contrariety of sentiments in the *English* and *Danish* historians; but we shall leave them to be discussed in our History of *England*, that being the theatre of the war, and the proper place for entering upon such disquisitions, which very little affect the History of *Denmark*. <sup>e</sup>

Contradiction  
of the English  
and Danish  
historians.

*CANUTE* had other motives than the power of *Ethelred* for returning to *Denmark*. His absence had furnished *Olaus* of *Norway* with an opportunity of invading his kingdom; but his return, and the vigour with which he attacked the *Norwegians*, obliged that monarch to embark not only with great loss, but also to seek shelter in *Russia*, whither he was pursued by *Canute's* son, who ravaged a great part of that country, and totally subdued *Esthonia*, <sup>f</sup>

<sup>a</sup> SAXO GRAM. l. x. p. 191. PONTAN. p. 145. MEURS. Hist. p. 53. <sup>e</sup> CRANTZIUS apud MEURS. l. iii. p. 53. PONT. l. v. p. 147. <sup>b</sup> SAXO GRAM. l. x. <sup>c</sup> MEURS. l. iii. p. 52. PONTAN. l. v.

land, but of reducing them to that obedience they had so often promised after repeated defeats. He was willing, he declared, to allow *Ethelred* the name and power of king of *England*, provided only that he acknowledged the sovereignty of *Denmark*; a proposal which was accepted by *Ethelred*, as he had not forces or a fleet sufficient to dispute it.

(C) These are the express words of *Meursius* and *Pon-*

*tanus*, which are diametrically opposite to the relations of all *English* historians. According to these last, *Ethelred* reigned in *England* at this time, *Canute* landed without opposition; and, relying upon the dilatory disposition of the *English* monarch, imagined he should carry all with little trouble; but misfortunes had rendered *Ethelred* more prudent, and his vigorous measures obliged *Canute* to reimbarc for *Denmark* (1).

(1) *Guthrie*, p. 267.



a a province of *Livonia*, at that time subject to the *Muscovites*, obliging the inhabitants to pay tribute to the crown of *Denmark* <sup>b</sup>.

In the mean time *Canute*, after holding a personal conference with the king of *Sweden*, to adjust some disputes which threatened to disturb the public tranquillity, and settling the affairs of *Denmark*, was preparing to embark again for *England*, where he imagined his presence would be advantageous to his affairs upon the death of *Ethelred*. But the old king of *Sweden* dying before the fleet intended for *England* was ready to put to sea, his intention was deferred, upon receiving advice that *Omund*, the young king of *Sweden*, was taking measures to reinstate *Olaus* of *Norway*, in his throne and dominions. *Omund*, in fact, not only granted *Olaus* a passage to *Norway* through his dominions, but assisted him with a powerful body of troops, by which the exiled prince was soon in a condition to appear at the head of a formidable army, and to fortify all the posts against *Canute*. Not contented with this, it was agreed between him and the king of *Sweden*, that the former should invade *Zealand*, and the other *Danish* islands in the *Baltic*, while the latter should make a descent on *Jutland*: they had moreover endeavoured to stir up an insurrection in *England*, where the malcontents were to declare themselves at the very time when he should be most engaged in the defence of his own dominions. By this extended plan, and such a variety of attacks in different places, they hoped to confound his councils, to weaken and divide his forces in such a manner as would render victory certain, and clip the wings of this soaring and ambitious king. But his policy, his penetration, courage, and steadiness, frustrated all their designs, and turned their intrigues against themselves. He procured some of the most faithful noblemen of *Zealand* to carry on a secret correspondence with *Olaus*, and to promise that they would take up arms, with all their vassals, as soon as his fleet appeared. Several other designs they formed; and appeared so earnest and sincere, that *Olaus*, having no suspicion of treachery, had nearly been surrounded by *Canute's* fleet, while he was waiting the effects of the promised insurrection. Thus were all the measures of *Olaus* overturned, without the loss of a man, and himself forced to retreat with such precipitation, as equalled the disgrace of a defeat. As soon as *Canute* had refreshed his troops, he passed with such celerity to *Schonen*, that he surprised, defeated, and slew in battle the king of *Sweden* <sup>c</sup>.

*Canute enters upon a war with Sweden and Norway.*

HAVING now rid his dominions of foreign enemies, his next measure was to raise such civil commotions in *Norway*, as would render it impossible for *Olaus* to disturb the peace of *Denmark*. With this view he artfully distributed large sums of money among the leading men of that kingdom, encouraged *Harold* the king's brother, to renew his claim to the crown, and, in a word, took such effectual and politic steps, as not only answered his purpose, but ended in the death of *Olaus*, who, as some affirm, had been murdered, by a conspiracy formed by his brother *Harold*; and, according to the relation of others, was deposed and put to death by his own nobility, influenced by the gold and intrigues of the court of *Denmark* <sup>d</sup>.

*The success of Canute's policy.*

*CANUTE* was now the most formidable potentate perhaps in *Europe*. *Denmark*, *Sweden*, *Norway*, and *England*, were tributary to him: his alliance was courted by the greatest monarchs; and even the emperor *Conrade* sought his daughter in marriage, and voluntarily renounced all claim to *Holstein*. When *Conrade* was afterwards deposed, he reaped the fruits of *Canute's* friendship; for, by means of his interest and power, he was again restored to the imperial dignity. After this he embarked for *England*, in which country he spent the remainder of his life. Finding the extent of his dominions, and the government of so many distant kingdoms, too great a weight for any single person, he resolved to divide the authority; and accordingly gave the crown of *Denmark* to his second son *Hardi-Canute*; to *Harold*, the eldest, according to the *Danish* historians, he gave the crown of *England*; and to *Swen*, the youngest, he assigned *Norway* (A). As we shall have occasion to enlarge upon the military actions of this great prince in our History of *England*, to avoid repetition, we shall only subjoin in this place, that he died a natural death in *England*, after he had reigned with great applause for the space of twenty-five years over that kingdom, and is deservedly enrolled with the greatest princes who ever wore the diadem. His early age was rendered famous by conquests, glorious victories, and the most refined policy: the last years of his life were amiable by temperance, a strict regard to justice, affability, clemency, and every other virtue that could render him beloved and respected by his subjects. But this is not the place to expatiate on his character, of which we only trace the out-lines (B).

*His character and death.*

H A R D I-

<sup>b</sup> *Auct. citat. ibid.*

<sup>c</sup> *SAXO*, l. x. *MEURS.* l. iii. p. 55.

<sup>d</sup> *Vid. Aut. citat. ibid.*

(A) Our *English* historians in general labour under a mistake concerning the issue of this monarch. They call *Swen* king of *Norway* the eldest son of *Canute*, and affirm that he was born before his father became king

of *England*, which is an assertion directly opposite to the relations of *Danish* historians (1).

(B) The *Danish* writers relate an anecdote of this prince, which we do not find mentioned by any *English*

(1) *Vid. Meurs. Hist. l. iii. p. 54.*

historian.



## H A R D I - C A N U T E.

Hardi-Canute,  
72d king.

THIS prince, the second son of *Canute*, obtained the appellation of *Hardi-Canute*, or *Hardi-Knute*, from the difficulties he combated, and the valorous actions he performed in *Russia*, when his father had sent him thither in pursuit of *Olaus* king of *Norway*. He was preparing to invade *England*, then governed by his brother *Harold*, when some insurrections among the *Norwegians*, who were desirous of recalling the *Olaus* family, rendered his presence in that country necessary. His transactions in *Norway* are variously related. Some affirm that he sent an army thither, which was defeated by *Magnus*, the son of *Olaus*, the elected king of *Norway*. Others are of opinion, that in order to prosecute his voyage to *England*, *Hardi-Canute* entered into a treaty with *Magnus*, and yielded to him the crown, of which his brother *Swen* was unworthy; but still obliged him to acknowledge himself a vassal of the crown of *Denmark*. Be this as it will, certain it is that *Hardi-Canute* equipped a great fleet, and sailed to *Bruges* in the *Low Countries*, at that time the residence of his mother *Emma*, by whom he was made acquainted with the death of *Harold*. Here it was that he was met by the *English* ambassadors, sent to invite him to accept of the crown. As from henceforward he may be looked upon as an *English* king, we shall leave the particulars of his reign to be related in the history of that country. Sufficient for our purpose it is, that he reigned king of *Denmark* from the year 1035, one year before his father's death, to the year 1041; and died with the reputation of a prince whose character was compounded of the most detestable vices and the noblest virtues. His valour and generosity were in the number of the latter; his cruelty, ferocity, intemperance, and debauchery, composed the former<sup>1</sup>.

## M A G N U S.

Magnus,  
73d king.

PONTANUS relates, that, after the death of *Hardi-Canute*, *Magnus*, the son of *Olaus*, king of *Norway*, succeeded to the throne of *Denmark*, in consequence of a compact between him and *Hardi-Canute*, that the survivor should inherit both kingdoms; but we find no mention of this treaty in any other historian, nor was it in the power of *Hardi-Canute* to bequeath his crown, without the consent of his people. On the contrary, *Meursius* affirms, that *Magnus* invaded *Denmark* with a powerful fleet and army, immediately on the death of *Hardi-Canute*. It was the dread of his power that induced the states to elect him, in order to avoid the necessity of being compelled into that measure. Immediately he received the allegiance and homage of the nobility, and was publicly proclaimed king of *Denmark* and *Norway*; for by this time the *English* had renounced the *Danish* blood, and raised *Edward*, surnamed the *Confessor*, to the throne. His election was uncontested; but *Swen*, the nephew of *Canute the Great*, by his sister, soon after the accession of *Magnus*, put in his claim to the throne, imagining he should be strongly supported by *England*, in consequence of a promise he had received from *Edward*, and some other steps he had taken in that country. This *Swen* is spoken of as if he had been king of *England* after *Hardi-Canute's* death; for *Grammaticus* and *Meursius* both say, that he left the affairs of the kingdom in the hands of *Harold*, *Godwin's* son, who betrayed him, and was the great instrument of expelling the *Danes* out of that island. Relying upon this support it was that he disputed the crown of *Denmark* with *Magnus*, intending to use force, should his application to the states prove ineffectual. Both his designs were now frustrated, and the *Danes* driven out of *England*, which they could never afterwards recover.

Swen, nephew  
to Canute,  
claims the  
crown of  
Denmark.

Swen defeated.

NOTWITHSTANDING these unfortunate occurrences, *Swen* determined not to relinquish his claim: he had the address to gain over a great number of the *Danish* nobility to his interest, and by their means equipped a fleet in *Jutland*, with which he gave battle to *Magnus*, and was routed, being forced to take shelter in the island of *Funen*. Here he refitted, and ventured upon another engagement, which terminated as unsuccessfully as the former. His whole fleet was taken or dispersed, himself escaping with a single ship to *Zealand*, whither the conqueror pursued him, and obliged him to retire to some of the remoter provinces of *Sweden*<sup>m</sup>.

Magnus over-  
threw the  
Vandals in a  
bloody battle.

THIS war being ended, *Magnus* resumed his operations against the *Vandals*, with whom it seems he was at war before *Swen* occasioned the late commotions. He had slain their

<sup>1</sup> CRANTZ: apud MEURS. l. iii. SAXO, l. x. <sup>m</sup> PONTAN. l. v. p. 178.

historian. Having in his cups killed one of his soldiers, he immediately assembled the people, and insisted upon his being tried by a jury, who brought him in guilty, but reserved the sentence and punishment to his own pleasure. He had before rated the price of murder at a certain pecuniary mulct, a third of which went to the

king, a third to the relations of the deceased, and a third (say the *Danish* writers) to the army. He now decreed, that himself should pay nine times the value of the usual fine; and to remove difficulties about his own third, he ordered it should be given to the clergy (1).

(1) Meurs. l. iii.



a prince *Ratiborius*, who left behind him eight sons, all sworn enemies to *Magnus*, and men of great valour, who resolved on revenging their father's death. Accordingly they overrun with a multitude of troops the coasts of *Jutland*, laying waste all the country through which they passed, with all the cruelty of incensed barbarians. Fired with resentment, and the deplorable condition to which his unhappy subjects were reduced, *Magnus* raised an army, seized the strait or narrow pass at *Sleswick* to intercept the enemy, and there gave them battle, with such advantage as fully avenged his subjects, and punished those barbarians for their savage cruelty. Some historians relate, that forty thousand of the *Vandals* were left dead on the field, and that those that remained compelled to lay down their arms, and surrender at discretion; but *Meursius* reduces the number of slain to fifteen thousand,

b affirming, however, that the prisoners greatly exceeded this number.

This victory, and his clemency to the prisoners, acquired him the surname of *Good*; *He is surnamed the Good.* and so endeared him to all his people, that on his return they met him in crowds, loading him with blessings, abjuring *Swen*, and offering their lives and fortunes for the extirpation of that pretender to his crown, and the defence of his majesty's person and dignity. It was not long after the defeat of the *Vandals* that *Magnus* died by a fall from his horse, which

took fright at a hare's crossing the road before him, and threw his rider upon stakes fixed in the ground, or some trunks of trees that had just been cut down. Other writers allege, *His death and character.* that he was drowned in the *Baltic*, in passing from one ship to another in a small boat. Certain it is, that his death was greatly and deservedly lamented by his people, who enjoyed

c under him all the felicities which it was in the power of a wise and brave monarch to communicate to affectionate and faithful subjects, in so short a reign as eight years, or, as some writers imagine, of no more than three years.

### S W E N III.

AFTER the death of *Magnus*, *Swen*, who had ever since his defeat been an exile in *Sweden*, was called without opposition to the throne, to which he was the nearest heir by blood. From his mother, who was sister to *Canute the Great*, he took the surname of

*Estrith*; but notwithstanding his alliance to this great prince, necessity, rather than affection, made the *Danes* elevate him to the dignity of their king, the whole blood royal being extinct in *Harde-Canute*. A great part of the nation, and indeed the bulk of the nobility and people, who had sided with *Magnus* against him, would have been glad to

d see any other person upon the throne, as they dreaded the resentment of a prince whose pretensions they had so strenuously opposed. Another circumstance besides the necessity from kindred, contributed greatly to *Swen*'s promotion. The late defeat of the *Vandals* had greatly weakened that people; but then it increased the animosity to the *Danes*, in the same proportion it diminished their strength. They impatiently watched the opportunity for revenge; and a better could never offer, than when *Denmark* was embroiled in a civil war, which would inevitably happen, had any opposition been made to *Swen*'s elevation. This the prudent men foresaw, and chose therefore to run the hazard of his resentment,

e for having taken part with *Magnus* against him, than to expose the kingdom to certain destruction, from the incursions of so barbarous, cruel, and incensed a foe, as the *Vandals*.

*SWEN* began his reign by making some regulations in the church, and settling the jurisdiction of the several bishops, concerning which some disputes had arisen among the clergy. While he was busied in this manner, the *Norwegians* recalled *Harold*, the brother of their king *Olaus*, and placed him on the throne, after he had lived a great number of years an exile. *Harold* knowing that *Swen* was elected king of *Denmark*, and finding that

f his power was insufficient to dispute with that monarch, scrupled not to hold his kingdom as a fief of *Denmark*, until a fit occasion should offer for his claiming its independency, and throwing off so shameful a vassalage. He seized the opportunity of *Swen*'s being engaged in a war with the *Vandals*, and levied powerful forces, with which he had the presumption to invade part of the *Danish* dominions. Intelligence of his proceedings soon recalled *Swen*, who gave him battle, and with prodigious loss. A great part of his fleet was taken without a single man on board, the seamen plunging themselves into the sea to avoid the disgrace of falling into the hands of an enemy they had been taught to hold in contempt, in consequence of the repeated victories gained over them. *Meursius* relates, that *Swen* having first gained a complete victory, but generously setting the captives at liberty, *Harold* immediately renewed the fight, while the *Danish* monarch was wrapped in security, and easily defeated him. *Swen* being thus conquered, took refuge with the remainder of his fleet in the small islands, from whence he went over to *Schonen* and *Zealand* to recruit

Reasons why Swen was elected king.

A. D. 1056, or 1049.

Harold of Norway makes war upon Swen.

<sup>a</sup> MEURS. l. iii. p. 58. p. 204.

<sup>c</sup> Aut supra citat. ibid.

<sup>p</sup> PONTAN. l. v. p. 34. SAXO GRAM. l. xi.



Swen defeat-  
ed.

his forces, and endeavour to retrieve the loss sustained from his too great humanity. As soon as he had completed his levies, and repaired his fleet, he again fought the enemy in the *Baltic*. To prevent his ships deserting him, he had them chained together, and tho' greatly inferior in force, bravely maintained the engagement till night, and would probably have obtained a victory, had not *Harold* received a reinforcement, which greatly dispirited the *Danes*, or rather a number of *Germans* who served in the fleet, and now separated themselves in the night, to prevent the consequences of a defeat, and their falling into the enemy's hands. *Swen*, whose courage was invincible, renewed the battle next morning, notwithstanding a third part of his fleet had withdrawn, and hoping to make up by resolution what he wanted in strength, fought with the utmost fury, and most obstinate valour, until he was at length overpowered by numbers, and forced to yield to his ill fortune.

Harold  
killed and de-  
feated in Eng-  
land.

*HAROLD*, not satisfied with two victories obtained over the *Danes*, landed his forces, and laid waste all the coasts of the islands and *Danish* continent, burning, destroying, and ravaging many villages and cities, and among the rest *Sleswick*. *Swen* was forced to content himself with harrassing *Harold* in his march, not being able to raise a force sufficient to give him battle; but when he had least reason to expect it, Providence wrought a happy change in his situation. The civil divisions in *England* had raised *Harold's* ambition to extend his conquests and influence, which he thought he might probably do by taking part with *Godwin's* children against their sovereign. The low condition to which he had reduced *Swen*, gave him no disturbance about the consequences of his absence from *Norway*; he therefore resolved upon an expedition to *England*, where he was killed; by which means *Swen* recovered the peaceable possession of all his dominions. *Harold's* sons *Olaus* and *Magnus* shared their father's dominions, and entered into a treaty and alliance with *Swen*, which was confirmed by the marriage of *Olaus* with the daughter of *Swen*.

The Danes  
depart from  
England.

THE death of *Harold II.* king of *England*, slain in a battle fought with *William* of *Normandy*, called the *Conqueror*, furnished *Swen* with an opportunity of putting in his claim to the crown of *England*, as the only remaining descendant of *Canute the Great*. He had kindly received the two sons and daughter of *Harold*, who took refuge with him upon their father's defeat; and the latter he married to the prince of *Russia*. He accordingly equipped a fleet of two hundred sail, and put on board a large body of land-forces, under the command of his sons *Harold* and *Canute*. On their arrival in the mouth of the *Humber*, they were suddenly joined by a great body of malcontents, who were resolved at any rate to throw off the unsupportable tyrannical yoke of *William*. After a series of transactions, which will be recited in the *English* history, they retired, at the persuasion of *Osbern*, brother to *Swen*, who had been corrupted by the gold of *Normandy*. The king his brother was so incensed at this meanly venal action, that on the return of the fleet, he immediately ordered *Osbern* into perpetual banishment.

The Vandals  
over-run  
Holstein.

A FEW years before *Swen's* death, the *Vandals* again revolted, from their dislike to the Christian religion, which they had been forced to embrace, after the great defeat they last received from *Harold*. After overturning and ruining all the Christian churches among them, setting up their pagan idols, and putting to death a bishop and several Christian prelates, they entered *Holstein* with fire and sword, and made the country an entire desert. They moreover pillaged the city of *Sleswick*, levelled the churches with the ground, and in derision broke the crucifixes which mistaken piety had erected in different quarters of the town. But the greatest insult upon *Swen* was, the manner in which they treated his sister *Syrith*, whom they stripped naked, and in that condition sent to *Denmark*. With such celerity did they execute all these barbarities, that they had over-run the provinces of *Sleswick* and *Holstein*, before *Swen* had intelligence of the irruption. He immediately raised an army to revenge these injuries, but soon dropped his resolution, and wasted his time in unseasonable acts of devotion at *Roschild*. Superstition had now weakened all his faculties; priests became his privy-counsellors, and all the duties of a king, and of a man were absorbed in a narrow zeal and criminal bigotry to the pageantry of religion. His subjects were oppressed with taxes to support the luxury and pomp of the clergy, to purchase plate, and other church ornaments, and to endow religious foundations. Hence it is that the clergy alone have extolled the character of this prince, as the most munificent, pious, and merciful prince that ever filled the throne of *Denmark*; notwithstanding his incontinence was so great, that of fifteen sons he left behind him, not one was legitimate; and he had polluted the house of God by the cruel murder of several of his nobility: an offence which he sufficiently expiated by his munificence and generosity to those who assumed the power of granting absolution for the most heinous crimes.

Swen's death  
and character.

<sup>a</sup> MEURS. lib. iii. c. i. ibid.

<sup>b</sup> Idem ibid.

<sup>c</sup> SAXO GRAM. l. xi.

<sup>d</sup> Idem ibid. PONTAN. & MEURS.



- a. THIS prince died of an acute fever in *Jutland*, while his son *Canute* was quelling a rebellion which appeared in *Esthonia*, that province of *Livonia* which the *Danes* preserved from the time that *Hardiknute* conquered it. When *Swen* perceived that his dissolution was approaching, he assembled all the nobility about him, and obliged them to promise that they would chuse his eldest son for their king, and after him the next surviving brother; in consequence of which obligation, five of his children successively arrived at that dignity; an instance that cannot perhaps be equalled in the history of the world. As to the character of this prince, his unfortunate battles with *Harold* of *Norway* prove him a great warrior; for military talents are not always to be estimated by the event. His excessive indulgence to the clergy at the expence of his people, who were almost ruined by his pious donations; b. prove him either to be naturally weak, or at least emasculated by superstition. The number of his illegitimate children demonstrate him to have been libidinous; and his massacring a number of his nobility as they were offering their devotions in church, is a testimony of his cruelty and impiety, however he might throw a veil of grimace over the latter; but his conduct in the *Norwegian* war are sufficient proofs that his natural disposition was brave; liberal, and generous to a degree of weakness.

His five sons  
succeeded him  
in the throne  
successively.

H A R O L D the S I M P L E.

- HAROLD*, the oldest son of *Swen*, was elected in the room of his father, after warm disputes about the succession. The noble qualities of *Canute*, a younger son, had raised a strong party in his favour; but the promise made to the late king, and *Harold's* gold, at length prevailed: upon which *Canute* went over to *Schonen*, there to carry on the war against the *Vandals*, that had been left unfinished by his father. This was a kind of honourable voluntary banishment, into which he entered to avoid exciting his brother's jealousy, or disturbing the tranquility of the kingdom. So prudent and moderate a conduct in a young prince of known ambition wrought such an effect on *Harold*, surnamed *the Simple*, that he gave him the kindest invitations to return, and offered to receive him as his colleague in the throne; but *Canute* adhered to his first resolution, either foreseeing that a divided authority would be attended with inconvenience, or disdaining to share the supreme power, with a brother whose capacity he despised.<sup>a</sup>
- d. SOME writers place an inter-regnum of four years about this time; but whether after the death of *Swen*, or of *Harold*, we cannot affirm; nor do the best historians make any mention at all of such a chasm in the regal government; for *Harold* was elected by the first diet that assembled after the death of his father; and *Canute*, who then resided in *Jutland*, was immediately recalled on the death of his brother<sup>b</sup>.

Harold the  
Simple, 75th  
king.

- BEFORE *Harold* mounted the throne, he made the largest promises to the people of framing new laws, such as would redress all the grievances consequent on those at that time in force, and of governing them with the most scrupulous regard to justice, and the public good; but the first part of his engagement he never fulfilled, except in one instance. This was a law by which criminals, where positive evidence was wanting, should be allowed to clear themselves by an oath, and, without passing the ordeal, or trial by fire, as was usual in *Denmark*, and all the other kingdoms in *Europe*. The law was received with universal approbation: after which *Harold*, as if he had sufficiently established his reputation, resigned himself to the most shameful indolence and sloth, neglected to enforce the laws already made, and suffered the whole kingdom to be polluted by the most scandalous corruption, licentiousness, and venality; in which situation *Canute* found it at the death of his brother, who survived his elevation but two years, according to *Grammaticus* and *Meursius*<sup>c</sup>, though the latter acquaints us, that some writers have prolonged his reign to upwards of six years (A).

A law made  
by Harold.

C A N U T E the P I O U S.

- f. *CANUTE* was recalled by the states on the death of his brother, and appointed his successor. *Grammaticus* says, that this prince accepted of the crown merely with a view to extend the Christian religion, and not from motives of ambition. The war he had carried on in his brother's life time against the *Vandals*, was for the sake of religion; and he now renewed it, when his power enabled him to punish the impiety of those infidels with more success and severity. Nor did he ever relax in this design until he had accomplished it, by obliging several idolatrous nations lying on the frontiers of *Livonia* and *Muscovy*, to receive

Canute the  
Pious, 76th  
king.

His conquests.

<sup>a</sup> SAXO GRAM. l. xi.

<sup>b</sup> SUANING. Chron. Dan. p. 72.

<sup>c</sup> MEURS. l. iii. p. 62.

(A) Here fresh chronological difficulties occur, some writers affirming, that *Harold the Simple* began his reign in the year 1085, on which year *Swen* died, according to them; and among these is the judicious *Pontanus*. *Suaningius*, on the contrary, whose industry and erudi-

tion cannot be called in question, places *Harold* 1079 and 1081, if we suppose him to have reigned but two years; or if we rather suppose him to have reigned six, between 1075 and 1080-1.



His virtues.

the truths of the gospel. Having happily finished this war, he married *Ethla*, daughter to the earl of *Flanders*, and then applied himself to curb the licentiousness, immorality, and corruption which had crept into public offices, and among all degrees of men, during the inactive reign of *Harold*. But sensible that example would operate more powerfully on the minds of the people than the most rigid laws, he began a reformation, by the strictest observance of every moral and religious virtue, by enforcing the laws already made, and by shewing his own compliance to them, in the same manner he required of the meanest subject. The effect answered his most sanguine expectations. Every man was ambitious of emulating his sovereign; merit and virtue were the only recommendations to court-favour; and this rendered them universally sought after. In a word, *Canute's* reign may be called the reign of religion, virtue, and true worth in *Denmark*, in which temperance, chastity, liberality, justice, and all the heroic and social virtues were cultivated from the king to the peasant: an astonishing instance to what a pitch of piety and virtue a nation may be brought by the example and practice of a discerning monarch<sup>a</sup>.

AFTER civil affairs had undergone a thorough alteration, *Canute* next applied himself to ecclesiastical matters, in which he made several useful regulations. The first was to detach the body of the clergy intirely from the civil government, and confine their authority wholly to the affairs of the church; such as inspecting into the lives, manners, and doctrine of the inferior clergy; prescribing the forms of public worship, &c. The power of the bishops, however, was greatly augmented, for they were raised to the dignity of dukes and princes, and took place of the senators and nobility of the highest quality. Such was his regard for the bishops, that he even invested them with the civil sword, and permitted them to go to war with all the power of independent monarchs; an institution which plainly shews, that all the good sense of *Canute* was not proof against the craft of superstition and priesthood; as nothing could be more absurd than this authority committed into the hands of eight prelates (for that was the number of bishops in *Denmark*) while all the rest of the clergy were wholly cut off from civil connections, and deprived of that weight which alone could give influence to their doctrine, or declare them of the same function with those dignified prelates<sup>c</sup>.

Canute's regard for learning.

BUT it was not the least glory of *Canute*, that he paid the utmost respect to men of learning, and promoted the study of arts and sciences by his own private benevolence, as well as by public rewards, and certain literary foundations, which he annexed to the ecclesiastical government. It is certain, however, that a prince may carry his regard to religion and learning, to a pitch dangerous to himself, and oppressive to the people. *Canute's* bounty to the clergy and learned men had no bounds; besides the numberless institutions he made in their favour, he granted them the tythes, which occasioned an universal disaffection, and at length brought on his ruin. Large sums of money were expended in erecting churches and pious foundations, which were raised from the sweat of the labourer, and the oppression of the useful husbandman and mechanic<sup>d</sup>.

He meditates the reduction of England.

IN this situation were the affairs of *Denmark*, when *Canute*, laying aside civil and ecclesiastical affairs, resolved once more to embark in war, and attempt the recovery of *England*. He communicated his intentions first to his brother *Olaus*, who greatly approved of it from private views, and afterwards to the senate, who did not discourage the project. Upon this *Canute* equipped a fleet, and raised an army with all possible expedition. The earl of *Flanders*, and a great number of *English* exiles residing at that nobleman's court, rejoiced at the occasion that was likely to restore them to their own country, whence they were driven by *William's* severity and partiality to the *Normans*. While the fleet and army were waiting at the appointed rendezvous, until *Canute* had finished some public business, and appointed regents to govern the kingdom in his absence, he discovered that his brother *Olaus* had been secretly endeavouring to deprive him of the crown: upon which he immediately set out with a few troops for *Sleswick*, of which his brother was governor, to secure his person, and bring him to public justice. *Olaus* had, however, so gained upon the affections of the soldiers, that they refused to obey the king's orders to seize him: upon which *Eric*, brother both to *Olaus* and the king, broke into his apartment, and brought him bound in chains to his majesty. *Canute*, not caring to pollute his hands with a brother's blood, sent him to his father-in-law the earl of *Flanders*, with directions that he should be treated in a manner suited to his rank, but so narrowly watched as to prevent his return to *Denmark*. In the mean time, the tools of *Olaus* had so wrought upon the minds of the soldiers by their artful insinuations, that they disbanded themselves before the king's return, which obliged him to postpone his expedition to *England*, and convoke another diet, before he could raise an army<sup>e</sup>.

His brother conspires against him.

The army deserts.

The king calls a diet.

THIS diet he opened with a speech, reminding the people of the glory acquired by his

<sup>a</sup> PONTAN. l. v. p. 198. GRAM. l. xi. p. 215. MEURS. l. iv.  
<sup>c</sup> MEURS. l. iv. <sup>d</sup> Aut. citat. ibid.

<sup>e</sup> GRAM. l. xi. PONTAN. ubi supra.



- a ancestors, by the faithful attachment of their subjects; of their conquests in the different parts of *Europe*, and particularly in *England*, which country they held for two hundred years in subjection, and now lost from the indolence and pusillanimity which laid hold of the once intrepid *Danes*. He represented to them the shame of deserting their monarch, who was in full pursuit of glory, conquest, and dominion; and of so scandalously abandoning a cause, which required no more than their presence to terminate happily. He laid before them the advantages which would result to *Denmark*, a poor, rocky, cold, and unfruitful country, from the conquest of an island abounding with all the conveniences and luxuries of life: in a word, he omitted no arguments that could seduce or impel them to their duty; but in vain. The emissaries of *Olaus* were indefatigable, and the minds of the people wholly alienated from their sovereign from the time he had granted the tenths to the clergy. They insisted upon the revocation of this decree, and *Canute* was unhappily obstinate to confirm it. The people rose in arms in different quarters, and he was forced to seek shelter in the island of *Funen*, where he soon after perished through the treachery of a nobleman, in whose fidelity he placed his greatest confidence. He died by the hands of a people he loved; and but for a few errors in his conduct, and the ambition of his brother *Olaus*, would have governed happily. His valour, justice, generosity, and piety, were universally acknowledged; but a certain easiness of temper, and tincture of enthusiastic devotion, betrayed him into weaknesses that were the original causes of his unfortunate end. In a word, the reader cannot but perceive a striking analogy between his character and melancholy catastrophe, and that of our *Charles I.* Both were princes, who, but for the peculiar circumstances of the times, would have reigned equally beloved by their subjects, and esteemed by foreigners; both fell the sacrifices of amiable foibles, dangerous indeed in monarchs, but greatly admired in private life <sup>a</sup>.

He is betrayed and put to death.

*O L A U S, surnamed the Hungry, or Famished.*

- CANUTE's* death was no sooner known, than the friends of *Olaus* set every spring at work to procure his liberty, and raise him to the throne. They doubted not but they should enjoy his chief confidence and favour, as they were the instruments of his promotion. Accordingly a sum of money was raised for his ransom, and his brother *Nicholas* sent to the earl of *Flanders* to conduct *Olaus* to *Denmark* (G). On his arrival his brother *Eric*, who had seized him in *Sleswick*, retired with his family into *Sweden*, not doubting but the young king would deeply resent an action which had occasioned his long imprisonment.

*Olaus surnamed the Hungry or Famished. 77th king.*

- THE first act of *Olaus's* government was the shewing his gratitude to his brother *Nicholas*, then confined in *Flanders*, and sending thither a large sum of money for his redemption. He next proceeded to several popular regulations, in order to secure the affections of the people, as he knew that a great part of the nation dreaded his resentment, on account of their espousing the cause of *Canute*: but he was interrupted in the midst of this laudable conduct by a terrible misfortune, which he could neither foresee nor prevent. A dreadful famine, in consequence of a bad harvest, prevailed so much, that the richest people in *Denmark* were forced to supply the want of bread with roots, and other vegetables; while the poor, who were unable to procure even these, perished in the streets and highways. Nor was this all: the heat of the preceding summer, and the deluges of rain which had fallen in the autumn, occasioned such a corruption in the air, and alteration in the human frame, as was attended with the most deplorable pestilence that had ever been known in any northern country. Both these terrible calamities, of famine and pestilence, seemed to contend which should most afflict the miserable *Danes*. Thousands of souls were swept off by each, and public fastings and prayers appointed in all the churches, to beseech God to remove so insupportable a scourge, which they now looked upon as the just punishment of their late rebellion against the best of monarchs. *Sweyn*, bishop of *Roschild*, undertook a pilgrimage to the Holy Land, thereby to appease the Almighty, and atone for the crimes of the people. At length it pleased God to put a stop to the plague, and to send a plentiful harvest, which removed the wants of the people; but not during the life-time of *Olaus*, who, oppressed with grief at the miseries of the nation, died suddenly, and, as some affirm, upon the following occasion. It had long been customary for the nobility to dine with the king on *Christmas-day*, and they were accordingly invited by *Olaus*. When dinner was served up, the king called for bread; but was told, there was not a bit in the kingdom:

Great scarcity in Denmark.

The cause of the death of *Olaus*.

<sup>a</sup> SAXO GRAM. l. xii. PONTAN. l. v.

(G) In the conduct of *Nicholas*, we find a remarkable instance of brotherly affection; for the earl of *Flanders* refusing to set *Olaus* at liberty, *Nicholas* offered himself a prisoner in his room, was accepted, and voluntarily put on the chains which his brother had just laid aside (1).

(1) Saxo Gram. l. xii. Pontan. l. v. p. 200. Meurf. l. iv.



a  
a reply that struck him with such horror, that he put up a prayer to God, beseeching him to accept of his life as an atonement for his crimes, and the sins of the nation. His prayer was heard; for he instantly expired, and the famine ceased. We must however observe, that this anecdote is not very consistent with the account given by the best writers, and even by *Grammaticus* himself, though he relates this story; for they all assert, that the famine was removed by the ensuing plentiful autumn. Some writers alledge, that *Olaus* reigned only seven years; but *Ælnothus*, a cotemporary historian, affirms, that he wore the crown for eight years and nine months<sup>1</sup>.

## E R I C III.

Eric III. 781b  
king.

*OLAUS* dying suddenly, the states immediately assembled to elect a successor, and it b  
was unanimously agreed, that a deputation should be sent to *Eric*, then an exile in *Sweden*, to invite him to the throne. Under this excellent prince, who was possessed of many heroic and amiable virtues, *Denmark* began to retrieve her ancient character and power. In the beginning of his reign he entered upon a war with the *Vandals*, who had protected two notorious pirates, banished out of *Schonen* for their crimes; and, under their conduct, committed the most impudent depredations and robberies on the high seas, as well as on the coasts of *Denmark*. Fitting out a fleet, he invested their capital in the isle of *Rugen*; and, after a brisk siege, took it by assault. Then, to deprive those pirates of this strong hold, he ordered the fortifications to be razed, and the town so thoroughly dismantled, that c  
for a great number of years it did not recover its ancient strength and splendor. He next pursued the pirates into all the different ports of the *Baltic*, and punished severely those who fell into his hands, in order to terrify others by these examples. *Eric's* nature was mild, and prone to mercy; but he saw the security of *Denmark* depended on the extirpation of this nest of thieves. After having wholly subdued the *Vandals*, as he imagined, he returned to his capital, where he was received with the acclamations of a joyful people, who had penetration enough soon to discover the true character of their sovereign. His residence here was but short, when the *Vandals* made shift, notwithstanding their late reduction, to enter *Denmark*, spreading terror and desolation wherever they went, in revenge for the destruction of their city; but making so short a stay as rendered it impossible for *Eric* to attack and d  
punish them, before they quitted his dominions. Enraged with this insult, he raised a body of troops, and, entering their country, so severely chastised them, that during his life they never again attempted giving the least molestation<sup>k</sup>.

He severely  
chastises the  
pirates.

Obtains leave  
from the pope  
to canonize  
Canute.

ON his return he sent a deputation to *Rome*, setting forth the virtues and piety of his brother *Canute*, who perished a martyr to religion by the hands of an enraged mob, and requesting that his name might be enrolled in the calendar of saints, which petition was honourably received and granted by his holiness, who had too much policy and breeding to refuse a request from so potent a monarch, which at the same time implied a compliment to his own authority. Not long after the pope, *Paschal* II. found an opportunity of displaying his power more amply to the *Danes*; for a dispute, concerning some temporalities, arising between *Eric* and the bishop of *Bremen*, that prelate went in person to *Rome*, e  
and, laying the case before his holiness, obtained a verdict, though *Eric* refused for some time to stand by this award; but was afterwards forced to yield to the clamours of his own clergy, and the thundering menaces of the conclave. It is even affirmed, that he was forced to go in person to *Rome* to supplicate the pope's pardon, and make up the breach between him and the holy see, by the most respectful submission and deepest contrition: the account, however, of this event, is very obscurely related by all the *Danish* historians<sup>1</sup>.

AFTER *Eric's* return from *Rome* it was, that a musician boasting to him of his skill on the harp, asserted, that his power over the faculties extended so far, that he could at any time deprive his hearers of their understanding, and render them frantic by force of harmony. *Eric*, who greatly doubted the truth of the musician's asseveration, ordered him f  
to give a specimen of his skill, and was himself the first instance of the truth of what he asserted; for his passions were so wound up, that in an extasy of madness he flew like a maniac round the apartment, and in his transport killed four soldiers of the guard, which the musician observing, immediately changed his cadence to a soothing strain, and soon assuaged the violent transports he had excited. Grieved at what he had done, *Eric* rewarded the musician, and after making all possible recompence to the relations of the deceased, vowed a pilgrimage to the Holy Land, in order to do penance, and expiate thereby the horrid crime he had committed. For some time he concealed his intention from the states; but all things being ready for his journey, he made public declaration of his vow. They unanimously remonstrated against his design, which must inevitably involve the kingdom in numberless calamities. They embraced his feet, and bathed them with their tears, be-

An extraor-  
dinary story of  
the power of  
music.

<sup>1</sup> Apud MEURS. l. iv. GRAM. ibid.

<sup>k</sup> PONTAN. l. v.

<sup>1</sup> MEURS. l. iv. p. 68.



- a seeking that he would not expose to danger a life upon which depended the felicity of a whole kingdom; but *Eric* was inflexible. He accordingly pursued his journey, and passing through *Greece*, was honourably and magnificently entertained by the emperor *Alexius*. From *Constantinople* he took ship for *Cyprus*, and there ended his days a short time after his arrival. His death so afflicted *Bathilda* his queen, and faithful companion of his pilgrimage, that she survived him but a few hours, and was buried with him in the same tomb. This event fell out, according to *Grammaticus* and *Suaningius*, in the year 1101 after the birth of *Christ*, although an author quoted by *Meursius*, places it four years earlier; and thus *Denmark* was deprived of an excellent king, through a false and mistaken devotion. *Eric* was surnamed *the Good*, from an excessive benevolence in his disposition, which rendered him the sure friend and patron of the distressed and unfortunate. His affability was so great, that he conversed with his meanest subjects, received their complaints, and relieved them, either by his authority, or out of his own private purse: yet had he the address of blending the dignity of a king with the humility of a subject; for he was equally beloved by his nobility and commons, and respected by all the neighbouring powers. We are told that his eloquence was so great, that he was never under the necessity of exerting his authority in the senate: the irresistible persuasion that hung upon his tongue carried all before it; and if he was ever opposed, it was only that his people might have the satisfaction of yielding to the sweetness of his oratory. However absurd his piety may appear in these more enlightened days, his implicit faith in the pope's infallibility was the fault of the times: in other respects he practised the rigid precepts of morality, which are ever inseparable from true religion; and the last act of his reign shewed his strict regard to his vows, though it may be condemned by such as are of opinion, that a proper regard to the public good might have sufficiently absolved him from an obligation rashly entered upon<sup>a</sup>.

*Eric's pilgrimage to the Holy Land.*

*Dies at Cyprus.*

*His character.*

- When *Eric* departed for the Holy Land, he left his son *Harold* regent of the kingdom: but the states being made acquainted with his death, recalled *Nicholas*, paid his ransom to the earl of *Flanders*, and placed him upon the throne, out of respect to the promise they had made to his father on his death-bed. They were urged the more to this by the severity of *Harold's* manners, which they foresaw would render them unhappy, if they raised him to the throne. Before the arrival of *Nicholas*, *Swen*, relying upon his interest with the diet of *Wiburg*, put in his claim to the crown as the elder brother, and was hastening thither when he was seized by a fever, of which he died in a few days. *Ubbo*, the next in age, wanted not a party of the nobility to espouse his cause; but he declined the crown out of respect to his younger brother, whose capacity, he modestly declared, was more adequate to the weight of governing; a rare instance of self-denial and brotherly love.

## N I C H O L A S.

- Thus the sceptre was put into the hands of *Nicholas*, who at first wielded it with great applause; but falling off in his character, and degenerating from the virtues of his ancestors, and from his own, he fell into the utmost contempt (H), and involved himself and his people in a variety of misfortunes. The breach of the public tranquillity had its first rise from *Henry*, son to *Godeschal*, prince of the *Vandals*. This prince, after the destruction of his country in the last reign, lived privately for some years in *Denmark*; but, on *Eric's* setting out for the Holy Land, found means to recover his hereditary dominions. He was nephew to *Nicholas*, and had frequently besought him to restore his mother's portion; but had always met with a harsh refusal. This irritated the young prince, and determined him to have recourse to arms. Entering into an alliance with the *Nordalbingi*, a people of *Lower Saxony*, or properly the *Holsteiners*, he soon subdued all that country lying between the *Elbe* and *Sleswick*. Thence he made such terrible incursions into the duchy of *Sleswick*, that *Nicholas*, who at that time resided in the capital, was forced to double his guards, and provide for the security of the city. For this purpose he sent to the several parts of his dominions for troops, and unfortunately committed that trust to *Elive*, a nobleman, who held a clandestine correspondence with *Henry*, and stipulated with him to betray his royal master. With this view he used all possible delay in marching the troops; and, to cover his treachery, was continually sending expresses to *Nicholas*, representing the occasion of his dilatoriness, and raising some new difficulty. At length the infantry arrived, and with them *Nicholas*, at *Elive's* persuasion, determined to give battle to *Henry*. The event fell out as the traitor foresaw: *Henry's* horse broke and put in confusion the Danish

*Nicholas, 78th king. A. D. 1107.*

*Some of the Danish provinces laid waste by the Vandals.*

<sup>a</sup> Aut. citat. ibid.

(H) Here would seem to be an inter-regnum of six years, as *Eric* died in the year 1101, and *Nicholas* was not placed in the throne until the year 1108. It is probable, that *Harold*, during this period, held the office of regent; and so indeed we find it asserted by *Suaningius*, though this fact is omitted by all the other historians. *Vid. p. 74.*



infantry; and now, when it was too late, the perfidy of *Elive* was discovered. *Nicholas* was a defeated, and forced to retreat with precipitation into *Denmark*; where he no sooner arrived than he divested the treacherous *Elive* of all his employments, and confiscated his estate, believing that, and its necessary consequence, poverty, to be a more severe punishment than death itself <sup>a</sup>.

Canute, the son of *Eric*, obtains the government of *Sleswick*, and obliges the *Vandals* to sue for peace.

In the mean while *Henry*, grown bold by his victory, made more dreadful incursions into the *Danish* territories, and, laying waste all the sea-coasts, made an attempt on *Sleswick*; but was repulsed with loss. *Canute*, the son of *Eric*, the late king, and nephew to *Nicholas*, perceiving the misery to which this fine duchy of *Sleswick* was reduced by the cruelty of the *Vandals*, requested the government of a country which had been refused, on account of the danger, by many of the nobility. With a great deal of intreaty and interest, he at length obtained it, and immediately set out to perform the duties of his employment. His first measure was to offer proposals of peace to *Henry*, which he assured him he would willingly enter into, without any other conditions than his indemnifying the duchy of *Sleswick* for her losses, and the king of *Denmark* for the expences he had been at in the war. These were terms which he was sensible the haughty spirit of *Henry*, now rendered more insolent and untractable by prosperity, would reject, and therefore provided accordingly, by raising a body of troops with the utmost expedition and secrecy. With these he marched in the middle of the night, with all possible silence, directly to a castle on the frontiers of *Sleswick*, where *Henry* kept his head-quarters, and was fortunate enough to surround the place before the *Vandal* prince received any intimation of his march. In this situation, *Henry*, perceiving that resistance would be fruitless, mounted his horse, and by a secret path made his escape, leaving the castle to be plundered by the *Danish* soldiers, who did not fail to retaliate the many injuries they had received from him <sup>b</sup>.

Canute defeats *Henry* prince of the *Vandals*.

*HENRY*'s escape occasioned a prolongation of the war: he levied a strong body of troops, with which he had frequent skirmishes with *Canute*, without ever venturing upon a general engagement. At length the *Dane*, tired out with the tediousness of a war which kept him in perpetual apprehension, determined to finish it by one decisive stroke. He augmented his army, entered the enemy's country, laid it waste, and then defeated *Henry*, who had hazarded a battle. The consequence was, that *Henry* sued for peace in the most supplicating and abject terms, promising to submit to any terms which the conqueror would think fit to impose. His submission was immediately accepted by the magnanimous *Canute*, who, says *Grammaticus*, after *Virgil*, was satisfied with humbling a haughty foe, and delighted with extending his clemency to the conquered. He immediately took horse, attended only by an escort of twenty persons, and entering *Henry*'s dominions with more valour than discretion, sent a messenger to his castle to acquaint him with his arrival. The *Danish* messenger entered the castle just as *Henry* was sitting down to dinner; upon which he instantly seized his arms, and ordered all his people to stand on their defence; but being told that *Canute* was come to conclude a peace, he went out to receive him. These brave princes embraced each other with tears, signed a peace, and entered into the strictest friendship, which continued inviolable for the remainder of their lives. Such was the esteem which *Henry* conceived for *Canute*, that on his death-bed he appointed him the guardian of his infant-children, and put the government of his kingdom wholly into his hands; nay, he had taken such precautions and measures with the emperor, that, after his death, *Canute* found himself raised by his means to be duke of *Mecklenburgh*. Thus the valour and generosity of *Canute* not only secured the duchy of *Sleswick* to the crown of *Denmark*, but strengthened the interest of that kingdom, by attaching to it a brave people, ever before in a state of hostility with the *Danes*, and procured to himself the dignity of a duke and prince of the empire, without art, intrigue, or ambition. Soon after the emperor invested him with the title of king of the *Vandals*, for which purpose he visited the imperial court <sup>c</sup>.

Canute's wise policy, by which he is made king of the *Vandals*.

This prince reigned some years with the utmost reputation, esteemed, beloved, and respected by all good men; but his reign was at length disturbed by contentions, which arose between his sons. Ambition had fired the breasts of these young men, and had like to have proved fatal to the duchy of *Sleswick*; but as these transactions have no immediate relation with the History of *Denmark*, it will be sufficient to add, that the prudence of *Canute* triumphed over the headstrong ambition of his children, whom he reconciled with a parental authority, as well as by the esteem and awe with which his character impressed their minds <sup>d</sup>.

In the mean time, the king of *Sweden* dying, the *Ostrogots* chose another king in his room; but the *Swedes*, believing that the right of election belonged only to themselves, put to death the *Ostrogot* king, and chose *Magnus*, the son of *Nicholas* king of *Denmark*. This prince marrying a daughter of the king of *Poland*, was by that means involved in a war with *Vratislaus*, prince of *Sclavonia*, into which he likewise drew <sup>e</sup>.

<sup>a</sup> MEURS. l. iv.

<sup>b</sup> SAXO GRAM. l. xiii.

<sup>c</sup> PONTAN. l. v.

MEURS. l. iv.

<sup>d</sup> GRAM. ibid.



- a his father *Nicholas*, not as an auxiliary, but a principal in the quarrel. *Denmark, Poland, Sweden, and* *Denmark, Sweden, and Poland unite against the Slavonians,* being combined against *Vratislaus*, he found himself under the necessity of making proposals of peace extremely advantageous to the allies; but *Nicholas* would admit of no overtures until he had subdued the greater part of *Slavonia*: after which he insisted upon the conquered prince's making his submission in person; and was weak and perfidious enough to break the parole of honour he had given for the security of *Vratislaus*, and retain him prisoner, until the remonstrances of *Canute*, king of the *Vandals*, obtained his liberty. *Nicholas* afterwards thanked the generous *Canute* for this interposition, which, he said, had saved his and the national reputation, which must have received an indelible stain from so notorious a breach of public faith. He then vented his indignation against the
- b advisers of such unworthy and dishonourable measures; yet, after all, his generosity proved the ruin of the noble-minded *Canute*. His enemies increased in proportion to his virtue, and they were overwhelmed with shame and confusion at his superiority of character: far, however, from endeavouring to imitate his example, they laboured to remove this mirror of true honour, that only served to reflect with redoubled force their own disgrace. They found means of insinuating into the head of the credulous *Nicholas*; that ambition was the basis and spring of all *Canute's* actions; that, far from being satisfied with the crown he wore, and with the duchies of *Sleswick* and *Holstein*, he aspired at a still higher dignity; and that his popularity was paving an easy way for his ascending the throne of *Denmark*. As his own children were in the number of accusers, the weak *Nicholas* the
- c more readily credited these slanders, equally false and insidious, and only now watched a fair opportunity of robbing *Denmark* of its greatest ornament and support.
- In the mean time, *Nicholas* prepared to celebrate the nuptials of his son with a princess of *Poland*; for which purpose the nobility and vassals of *Denmark* appeared with all possible magnificence at *Ripen*, and among the rest *Canute*, who eclipsed them all in splendor and pomp, as much as he did in merit. This circumstance added fuel to the fire that was soon to consume him. The king of *Denmark* was now convinced of the truth of all those treacherous insinuations that were daily whispered in his ear; while *Canute*, guarded only by his innocence, and unacquainted with the machinations carried on against him, gained the esteem and affection of all worthy men. The plot was ready to break out against
- d him, when a sudden revolt in *Pomerania* called him to his own country, and for a time postponed his fate. Here he quickly subdued the rebels, and afterwards returned to *Denmark* to receive his sovereign's applause; but how was he thunderstruck at the cold reception, nay, the stern aspect of the silly *Nicholas*, on his approaching that throne, to which he added so much lustre. Instantly he beseeched his majesty, to acquaint him with the cause of a conduct so different from what he flattered himself with; he offered to submit his actions to the most minute scrutiny; he breathed nothing but loyalty and duty, and expressed himself with so noble but respectful firmness of mind, that queen *Margaret*, a woman of great prudence and virtue, espoused his cause, and, during her life, frustrated all the attempts of his enemies. This excellent princess, however, falling into a dangerous ma-
- e lady, he soon lost that stay of his hope and patroness of merit. On her death-bed she sent for *Canute*, and told him, "that his greatest enemies were those whom nature and duty ought the most firmly to bind to his interest. She recommended to him to establish harmony and tranquillity at home; to gain the love and confidence of his own children, which would be a certain barrier against all the insinuations of other enemies. They had, she said, the king's ear, who allowed great weight to the allegations of those who were supposed best acquainted with the private designs of their own father. She was now departing out of life, and would die contented in the thoughts, that this intelligence, the goodness of the Almighty, the justice of *Canute's* cause, and his own integrity, prudence, and virtue would surmount all difficulties, preserve *Denmark* from the calamity of
- f "a civil war, and enable him to triumph over all his adversaries." With which words this pious and noble-minded princess resigned her last breath. *Canute* was moved no less with the death of so generous a friend than with the particulars of her dying words. He was shocked at the unnatural conduct of his own children, and greatly perplexed in what manner to execute the wholesome advice of his queen. Before he had settled any plan of operation, his enemies, taking advantage of her majesty's death, prevailed upon the king to have him solemnly cited before a general diet of the states, where he was accused of heinous crimes, and particularly of a design upon the crown of *Denmark*; but such was the eloquence of *Canute*, inspired by conscious innocence, that even now he baffled all his foes, and fully convinced *Nicholas* of his honour and loyalty<sup>b</sup>.

*His virtues raise him a cloud of enemies.*

*A conspiracy against his life.*

*The queen's speech to Canute.*

*His enemies renew their attacks.*

g

<sup>a</sup> SAXO, l. xiii. PONTAN. *ibid.* MEURS. l. iv.

<sup>b</sup> Aut. *ibid.*



An oath of secrecy taken by the conspirators.

The treachery of Magnus.

Canute falls a sacrifice to the ambition and perfidy of Magnus and the conspirators.

The whole kingdom in a tumult.

NOTWITHSTANDING this victory, it was not long before malice found means to renew <sup>a</sup> the attack with redoubled vigour, after having drawn the young queen into their party, who soon wrought a change upon the mind of *Nicholas*, and persuaded him that he could not expect *Magnus*, his son, should ever succeed to his crown, while *Canute* enjoyed such a share of popularity as even affected himself, and made him totter in the throne. An accident added strength to her suggestions; for *Nicholas* going to *Sleswick*, the government of *Canute*, both kings had occasion to appear with their royal badges at some public assembly, when *Nicholas* entering first, seated himself on his throne at one end of the hall, and was soon followed by *Canute*, who did the same in the opposite end without remembering to pay the expected compliments at his first entrance. As soon as he recollected himself, he leaped down in the utmost confusion to apologize for the omission; but *Nicholas* construed it into pride, and the queen, with her party, wrested it into the most invidious sense. In consequence the king assembled, with the utmost privacy, the leading men of the faction, and, after having bound them to secrecy by an oath, declared his wish, that so dangerous a person as *Canute* might be taken off, in such a manner as would not excite the clamours of the people, whose idol he was (A). The manner of the oath was unusual, in order to render it more solemn; for it was taken neither in a kneeling, sitting, or standing posture, but with their faces prostrated on the ground. After this the manner of executing their design was committed to *Magnus*, who possessed the art of dissimulation in the greatest perfection. This person invited, according to the annual custom, all the nobility of the kingdom to an entertainment on the *Christmas-Eve*. *Canute* was not forgot, <sup>b</sup> and he, desirous of wiping off the late omission, did not fail to obey the summons, that he might shew his respect for his sovereign. He was treated by *Magnus* with the most extraordinary instances of esteem. The perfidious friend told him, that the generosity of his conduct, and steady adherence to virtue, had blotted out all suspicions in the king's mind, and united the whole kingdom in one chorus of applause, and admiration of his great qualities. He said, that intending a pilgrimage to the Holy Land, he would request it of *Canute*, as a proof of his friendship, that he would charge himself with the guardianship of his children, and superintendency of his affairs during his absence, as there was not a person of whose capacity and integrity he entertained so high notions. In a word, he said every thing which could flatter, cajole, and confirm *Canute* in his opinion, that he was perfectly reconciled, because he spoke truth, though it was for the basest and <sup>c</sup> most perfidious purposes. After he had sufficiently lulled *Canute's* suspicions, he formed his plan, and hearing that he proposed visiting a sister in the country, whither he would carry but few attendants, fixed upon this as the proper occasion for his destruction. The day arrived, and *Canute*, who had no suspicion of treachery, though his wife had sent a messenger from *Sleswick* to acquaint him of the conspiracy, set out with no more than four attendants (B). He was attacked in a little wood by *Magnus*, supported by a large body of conspirators, and slain before he scarce had any suspicion of the treachery of this artful friend, and with such circumstances of deep dissimulation and savage cruelty as render this story one of the most pathetic in history, though our plan will not permit us to dwell upon particulars. Thus fell the generous, the great *Canute*, the ornament of *Denmark*, and <sup>d</sup> the greatest hero of his age. His virtues, which had raised him from a private station to a throne, were now the cause of his death, by the hands of wicked conspirators, who could not see, without envy, themselves eclipsed in the eyes of the people by such superlative merit <sup>e</sup>.

THE news of his death soon reached *Roschild*, the then residence of the court, and the king himself could not help shedding tears at the loss of this great man, though he was privy to the plot. The people were inconsolable, they poured out imprecations against the murderers, and nothing prevented an universal insurrection besides the consideration, that now all their endeavours would only augment the public calamity, without being able to recal him to life. His friends solicited the king for leave to bury him with the pomp <sup>f</sup> becoming his quality and merit, in *Roschild*; but this he prudently declined, from an ap-

<sup>c</sup> SAXO GRAM. l. xiii. MEURS. l. iv. PONTAN. l. v.

(I) *Grammaticus* says, that it was not the king, who could not be brought to consent to the death of *Canute*, but his son *Magnus*, won over by the art and intreaties of his stepmother the young queen, that presided at this clandestine meeting (1). Other historians mention the king as if personally there (2).

(K) His wife *Ingeburga* receiving some intelligence

of the plot, sent a trusty messenger with the utmost expedition to inform him of his danger; but *Canute*, like a truly generous mind, slighted the intelligence as the effects of her love and fear, saying, that it was impossible *Magnus* could be such a villain, and so mean a hypocrite (3).

(1) *Gram.* l. xii.

(2) *Meurs. Hist. Dan.* l. iv.

(3) *Meurs. l.* iv.

prehesion



<sup>a</sup> prehension of the consequences that might flow from so affecting a sight as his mangled corpse being exposed to the people. He was therefore privately interred at *Ringstad*, without any other monument than what he had established in the hearts of the affectionate Danes, who to this day adore his memory <sup>d</sup>.

<sup>b</sup> *MAGNUS*, after this infamous exploit, returned to *Roschild*; but could with difficulty escape the vengeance of an enraged populace. His party however was so strong, that he soon quelled all opposition, and began publicly to boast of what he had performed. He now looked upon himself as the immediate and sure successor to the throne, assuming, in all respects, the importance of the heir-apparent; but he could little foresee how just and inscrutable are the ways of Providence; which, sooner or later, never fails to punish the wicked and unjust. *Ingeburga*, the wife of *Canute*, was delivered of a son about eight days after his murder: the infant became dear to the public, from the love they bore to his father. *Harold* and *Eric*, his uncles, were appointed his guardians, and joined with the brave sons of *Scialmond*, his cousins, to vindicate the cause of oppressed innocence, determining, at least, that he should succeed to the crown of the *Vandals*, the dukedom of *Holstein*, and the government of *Sleswick* (A). They held an assembly of their friends at *Ringstad*, where they pathetically lamented the fate of the deceased, enumerated his qualities, and, in the manner of *Marc Anthony*, exposed his rent and bloody cloaths to the view of the populace, craving their aid and assistance to avenge his memory, and support his infant son. All were fired with the affecting sight; they cried out for arms, and desired to be instantly led against the barbarous and perfidious murderer, chusing *Eric* for their general <sup>c</sup>.

<sup>c</sup> THE king soon had intelligence of this transaction, and immediately consulted *After the* primate, in whose fidelity and prudence he greatly confided, what steps should be taken in so dangerous a conjuncture. After many proposals it was determined, that *Magnus* should be concealed, and that the king should immediately proceed to *Ringstad*, and there convoke the people. His edict was published, and when the day arrived, *Eric* made a speech, adapted to inflame the minds of the populace; which had a violent effect, until the primate appeared, and by his winning manner and persuasive eloquence appeased the tumult, and determined the people to receive their sovereign with becoming respect. While the primate was gone to introduce the king, *Eric*, seizing the opportunity, made a short speech, which soon roused them to their former sentiments, and confirmed them in their resolutions of revenge. On the king's arrival he was received with a sullen murmuring, which ran through the whole assembly; upon which *Eric* again rose, and told him, that the friends of *Canute*, and the nation in general, demanded that justice should be executed on the murderers of that great man. He was supported by the whole assembly; and the king found it necessary to his own safety that he should promise that *Magnus* should immediately be sent into perpetual exile, which was all he could obtain in his behalf from the people, who thought they had shewn great lenity in sparing so unworthy a life <sup>d</sup>.

<sup>e</sup> IN compliance with his oath, *Nicholas* sent *Magnus* to *Ostrogoth*, where, by his influence, he was created king; an instance of paternal affection against which the people shewed no resentment: but, unhappily, he was persuaded soon after, by those who had been engaged with *Magnus* in the conspiracy, to recal him to *Denmark*, as his heir apparent. This raised a ferment in the kingdom, and obliged *Eric* and *Harold* immediately to convene the people at *Ringstad*. Here they set forth the king's perfidy and breach of vows, which, they affirmed, rendered him unworthy of the crown he wore; and obtained a resolution of the assembly, that both he and *Magnus* should be persecuted as enemies to the nation: the assembly farther insisted upon *Eric's* accepting the crown, which out of policy he refused, until he should merit it by his services, and some signal acts of valour. An army, however, was instantly raised, with which *Eric* marched directly to *Jutland*, where *Nicholas* at that time was, and would immediately have made him prisoner, had not the policy of <sup>f</sup> *Truro*, bishop of *Ripen*, diverted his intention. This prelate made use of such specious arguments in defence of the king's conduct, which he urged arose from necessity, rather than affection for *Magnus*; he related so many plausible schemes, which he determined to execute as soon as opportunity offered, that *Eric's* impetuosity was checked; and he encamped in the place he then was, with a view to receive proposals from *Nicholas*. His troops were suffered to forage, and wander round the country, as he had no suspicion of treachery in the prelate, who bore the reputation of great piety. This was the opportunity which *Eric* wanted, and he improved it to such advantage, that attacking *Eric* unprepared, *Eric* defeated.

<sup>d</sup> MOLESWORTH, c. vi.<sup>e</sup> SAXO GRAM. l. xiii.<sup>f</sup> Ibid. etiam PONTAN. l. v.

(A) The reader has seen that *Canute* had other sons; but history takes no notice of them in the present case, probably because *Eric*, *Harold*, and the people thought them among the number of the conspirators, and therefore unworthy to succeed to their father's crown.



The ingrati-  
tude of Mag-  
nus to the em-  
peror.

he totally dispersed his army, after having made great slaughter in his camp. *Eric's* rage, at this fresh instance of his perfidy, was inconceivable; and, indeed, the disaffection of the nation rose now to such a height, as not to be satisfied with less than the lives and crown of *Nicholas* and *Magnus*. Another assembly was held, and *Eric* now accepted the sceptre which he before refused: an army was raised with all expedition, and ambassadors were sent to crave the assistance of the emperor *Lotharius*, in revenging the cause of *Canute*, for whom he had always professed the strongest friendship. *Lotharius* promised every thing to the ambassadors: he had, in fact, no other view than the extension of the empire, which he thought might easily be effected by seizing upon the *Danish* provinces, bordering on his dominions, during the heats of a civil war. For this purpose he levied an army; and marching into *Holstein*, he found *Nicholas* encamped with a strong body of forces behind the wall of *Danewark*. Here, instead of giving him battle, he entered upon a treaty, created *Magnus* a prince of the empire, and then drew off his army. *Eric*, who had come to *Sleswick* with a fleet to support the emperor, was astonished at his treachery; and, upbraiding him with perfidy and cowardice, told him, that *Magnus*, he doubted not, would return his favours with the same ingratitude he had done those of *Canute*: a prognostic that was soon verified by the event; for *Magnus*, equally deaf to the dictates of honour and conscience, fell upon the rear of the Imperialists, cut them off, and obliged *Adolphus*, who led that part of the army, to save his life by swimming &c.

In the mean while, *Eric*, having no hopes of assistance from the emperor, returned to *Zealand*, and there received ambassadors from the king of *Norway*, who demanded the infant son of *Canute* in marriage for his daughter. Pleased with the hopes of so powerful an ally, as this connexion would produce, he assured the ambassadors, that he was ready to enter upon a treaty with their king, and would with pleasure embrace every opportunity of cultivating his friendship by the strongest ties; to testify which, he immediately offered the king his niece in marriage, and gave pledges for the faith of his nephew.

Eric defeats  
Magnus.

Nicholas de-  
feats the land-  
army of Eric.

Harold deserts  
to the king.

BOTH parties now prepared for war; and *Nicholas* drew to his side all the bishops of *Jutland*, and several of the principal nobility of the kingdom, besides the conspirators, who were all strongly attached to his interest. In *Eric's* army were his brother *Harold*, with his two sons, who could not help espousing his honest cause, though they were displeased at his elevation in preference to *Harold* the elder brother, the bishop of *Roschild*, and *Christiern*, a nobleman of great influence and personal valour, to whom he gave the command of the forces intended to oppose the king in *Jutland*, while himself with the fleet should attack *Magnus*. He soon came up with his antagonist, and, after a brisk action, totally destroyed and took his fleet, *Magnus* making his escape in a boat. But this good fortune was counterbalanced by a victory which the king gained over *Christiern* by land, who was made prisoner, and carried to *Sleswick*. Before *Eric* received advice of his general's defeat, he was so elated with his own good fortune, that he entered the gut of *Alberg*, with intention of landing his forces, joining *Christiern*, and gaining an easy victory over the king. This rendered him less rigid in point of discipline, so that he permitted the soldiers to relax themselves after their confinement on board by strolling round the country; an imprudence which the king did not fail of turning to advantage. He attacked *Eric* in this situation, and defeated a great part of his army. Nor was this all his loss; for *Harold*, his brother, envious of his dignity, and perceiving the king's cause bore a better aspect, deserted him, and carried over a strong reinforcement to the king's army. Happily however for *Eric*, the winter came on, and prevented the king pursuing his advantage, or even keeping the field <sup>h</sup>.

Eric defeated  
by the king.

Eric flies into  
Norway.

BEFORE the next campaign *Sweden* revolted, and created *Licerco*, a nobleman of high rank, sovereign. He immediately assumed his independency by a very extraordinary act, which was no other than debauching *Uvilda*, wife to king *Nicholas*, whom, for the more security, he had sent into *Sweden*. Early in the spring *Nicholas* took the field, joined battle with *Eric*, greatly inferior to him in strength, and obtained so complete a victory, that *Eric* was forced to fly into *Norway*, accompanied only by his wife, his natural son *Swen*, and a few attendants. Here he was at first kindly received, until *Nicholas* bribed the *Norwegian* king to put him to death, or deliver him into his hands; but *Eric* escaped this danger by means of the queen his niece, who privately sent him notice of what was transacting. Upon this he instantly wrote to his friends in *Langland*, to send a ship to *Norway* to carry him off. The ship arriving, he artfully contrived to escape from the castle, where he was confined under pretence of being secure against the machinations of *Nicholas*, by inebriating the guard. As the ship's crew were determined to hazard all for their king, he soon found himself as safe as so slender a force could make him, and wafted into the midst of his friends in *Langland*. As they coasted along the shore, they



a found several of *Magnus's* ships intirely deserted by the crews, who were making merry on shore; and to prevent their being again serviceable, they bored them through the bottoms, and sunk or destroyed them, with all possible silence and expedition. The report soon spread that *Eric* was escaped; but *Magnus* was in no condition to pursue him, his fleet being wholly destroyed <sup>a</sup>.

*ERIC*, having now got among his friends, resolved to make one more attempt to revenge *Canute's* cause, punish the perfidious *Magnus*, and establish himself on the throne, to which he was elected by the people. His first step was to hang up *Ubbo*, whom *Nicholas* had made governor of *Langland*; an ignominious death he justly merited, as one of the principal conspirators against the life of *Canute*. After this he made a descent with a small fleet on *Schonen*, which he soon reduced, by means of the friends he had among the inhabitants, who only wanted an opportunity of declaring themselves dissatisfied with their present government. Early in the spring king *Nicholas* entered upon measures to stop the progress of his rival. He raised an army, equipped a fleet, assembled the bishops and his most warlike vassals, and sent a number of scouts abroad to examine into the situation, number, and condition of *Eric's* force. It was not long before advice was received, that *Eric* was boldly marching to attack the king, though supported but with a handful of men. The scouts, who had probably been corrupted by *Eric*, further declared, that he appeared like something supernatural, riding upon a white horse that raised him into the clouds, and cut the air with incredible velocity. *Nicholas* perceived, that either fear or treachery had occasioned this phænomenon; but his soldiers judged otherwise, and fled with great precipitation to the ships, from which they could hardly be prevailed upon to return. In this confusion *Eric* attacked the king, and after making great slaughter of his troops, intirely defeated him, having slain *Magnus* in the field, who in this last act played the hero, chusing rather to die honourably than escape by an ignominious flight <sup>b</sup>.

*Eric makes one more effort to recover the throne.*

*Eric defeats the king.*

THIS news reaching *Norway*, the king *Magnus* was so incensed at his wife for the information she had given *Eric*, by which he escaped, that he sent her back to *Denmark*. As to king *Nicholas*, he escaped with *Harold* into *Jutland*, where he assembled a council of the nobles, and declared *Harold* the successor of his son *Magnus*, not from any personal regard he had for him, but to render it his interest to oppose his brother *Eric* with all possible virulence and animosity. His next step was to go in person to *Sleswick*, in order to reconcile the inhabitants to him, who were greatly incensed at the murder of *Canute* their governor. His friends had done all in their power to dissuade him from this measure; but he was obstinately bent on it. There had always been an annual festival held at *Sleswick*, all the members of which were obliged, previous to their admission, to vow revenge against whoever should injure any individual of the society. *Canute*, while he lived, had been constantly president of this social club, and by his affability, kindness, and generosity, had intirely won their affections. On the king's arrival they instantly flew to arms; and in the space of a few minutes the city-gates were shut, the walls surrounded with armed men, every thing in commotion, and all means of escape cut off from *Nicholas* who now, when it was too late, perceived his error, but determined to support the consequences with the intrepidity of an hero. His friends advised him to take sanctuary in *St. Peter's* church; but this he refused, that he might not pollute the holy altar with his blood, and by that means aggravate the crime of his infatuated people. However, he endeavoured to seize upon the citadel; but was slain in the tumult that arose between his guards and the citizens, after he had reigned for the space of thirty-five years, according to *Saxo Grammaticus* and *Meursius*; though *Pontanus* and *Suaningius* place his death in the year 1135 <sup>c</sup>; and all writers agree, that he ascended the throne in 1107. When his friends represented to him the danger of his going personally to a city so strongly attached to *Canute*, he told them, that majesty had nothing to fear from shoemakers and taylor; yet did he fall by the hands of those very citizens he affected to despise, leaving this useful lesson to his successors, that moderation, affability, and clemency, are the surest guardians of the crown; and popular hatred the most dangerous enemy in a free constitution (A).

*Nicholas declares Harold his successor.*

*Nicholas put to death by the Sleswickers.*

<sup>a</sup> MEURS. l. iv. GRAM. l. 13.

<sup>b</sup> Aut. citat. ibid.

<sup>c</sup> PONTAN. l. v. SUAN. p. 76.

(A) With *Nicholas* ended the reign of *Sven's* fifth son, agreeable to the promise he had on his death-bed exacted from his nobles; a circumstance rather glorious to his memory than fortunate in the issue, as each reign

was afflicted successively with some uncommon misfortunes, which the reader must have observed in the perusal of the preceding pages.



Eric IV.  
791<sup>b</sup> king.

Harold great-  
ly perplexed.

He flies into  
Norway.

Harold re-  
turns with an  
army, and  
Eric has his  
six sons put to  
death.

Eric subdues  
Rugen.

Harold affas-  
sinated.

An insurrection  
in Norway.

As soon as the burghers had executed their design upon the king, they marched in a troop to the prison, in which *Christiern* had been confined since his defeat, and set him at liberty. Their next step was to proclaim *Eric* king, agreeable to a former election in a full assembly of the nobility and commons of *Zealand* and *Schonen*. *Eric* having as yet no intelligence of what had been transacted in *Sleswick*, was making preparations for finishing the war. Accordingly he passed over with his fleet to *Jutland*, and here was first made acquainted with the death of *Nicholas*. Though he greatly rejoiced at this event, yet believing that neither his own authority, or the public tranquillity, could be sufficiently established while his brother *Harold* lived, and claimed the ensigns of sovereignty, he resolved to march against him. *Harold*, on the other hand, hearing of the king's death, and *Eric*'s approach, was greatly perplexed how to act. His force was very unequal to his brother's; and hazarding a battle would therefore be exposing him to the most imminent danger; yet he had no other alternative than flying into banishment. His two eldest sons continued faithful to *Eric*, and were now in his camp: *Harold* however persuading himself, that probably they were not destitute of filial affection, though honour obliged them to remain firm to their engagements, resolved to consult them secretly in what manner he should act in so dangerous a conjuncture. A trusty friend had access to them, and they, without hesitation, requested that he would escape with all expedition to the king of *Norway*, assuring him, that risking a battle would be attended with certain ruin. Thus they acquitted themselves like faithful adherents to *Eric*, and like dutiful children to *Harold*; but the former, having some intimation of this secret correspondence, had them seized; and, after a short imprisonment, ordered them at the instigation of *Christiern*, to be drowned in the river *Sley*, into which they were plunged headlong <sup>a</sup>.

As soon as *Eric* had settled the state of affairs in *Jutland* and *Sleswick*, he returned to *Zealand*, where he found *Harold* supported by a strong body of *Norwegian* auxiliaries and proclaimed king of *Denmark* at a diet held in that island. On this intelligence *Eric* speedily returned to *Jutland*, and ordered five of the six remaining sons of *Harold* to be put to death, without remorse or pity, for their innocence and affinity to himself. As for the youngest son *Olaus*, he made his escape in a peasant's dress to *Sweden* <sup>b</sup>.

In the mean while the *Vandals*, encouraged by the intestine divisions in *Denmark*, made a sudden irruption into *Holstein*, and laid waste with terrible desolation every place through which they passed. To repress their insolence, *Eric* got together a fleet of eleven hundred sail, embarking in each vessel four horsemen, with their proper accoutrements, besides foot; with which armament he passed over into their country, and soon reduced it. From thence he went to the isle of *Rugen* to punish the inhabitants, who had not only assisted the *Vandals*, but renounced Christianity, exercised the most abominable and prophane pagan superstition, and, what more immediately concerned the state of *Denmark*, the most desperate piracy on the high seas. Having subdued them, he compelled the whole island to banish idolatry, to establish funds for the residence of a bishop to instruct them in the duties of the Christian religion, and to swear allegiance to the crown of *Denmark*. However, they did not long continue their submission; for *Eric* was scarce returned to *Denmark* before they restored their idols, and banished the Christian prelate. He was preparing to punish them with more severity, when the return of *Harold*, as we have mentioned above, diverted his intention. History relates, that he soon removed this rival brother by assassination; but we no where find the particular circumstances mentioned <sup>c</sup>.

DURING *Eric*'s residence in *Denmark*, some disturbances arose in *Norway*, that terminated in the ruin of king *Magnus*. *Harold*, who claimed the crown in consequence of his affinity to the late royal family, had so engaged the hearts of the *Irish*, among whom he lived for a great number of years, that they sent him to *Norway*, attended with a considerable body of troops. An insurrection of the people immediately appeared in his favour; and they insisted, that *Magnus* should receive him as his colleague. This he refused, gave battle to the rebels and auxiliary *Irish*, and defeated *Harold*, who took shelter in *Denmark*, where he was kindly received by *Eric*. The truth was, revenge and policy, not humanity to the distressed, were the motives of *Eric*'s conduct. He considered this as a favourable

<sup>a</sup> MEURS. l. iv.

<sup>b</sup> GRAM. l. xiv.

<sup>c</sup> PONTAN. l. v.



a occasion of punishing *Magnus* for his treacherous attempts upon his life, in contempt of all the laws of hospitality. *Harold* solicited his aid, and *Eric* made no scruple of promising it as soon as he had put an end to the affair in which the revolt of *Rugen* now involved him. Against these islanders he set out a second time, and so totally subjected them, that he apprehended no other rebellion for some years; after which he applied himself to the performance of his obligations to *Harold*; he augmented his land and sea-forces, and passed over to *Norway* with a very formidable army, attended by *Harold*. Here he took some sea-port towns: but *Magnus* declining battle, he returned to winter in *Denmark*, resolving to resume his operations early in the spring a.

b NEXT year he returned with a superior force, and coming to a decisive action with *Magnus*, defeated his army, and took him prisoner. His victory he disgraced by his cruelty; for, to prevent all attempts to reinstate the unfortunate king, he put out both his eyes, deprived him of his virility, and after this barbarous castration, enclosed him for life in a monastery, raising *Harold* to the throne. *Eric's cruelty to Magnus, king of Norway.*

HAVING finished the war in *Norway*, he returned to settle the domestic œconomy of *Denmark*, which had fallen in great confusion during the long series of civil and foreign wars, in which the nation was for several years engaged. While his mind was thus usefully employed, an unfortunate dispute arose among the bishops, about the archbishopric of *Lunden*, then vacant. *Eschil*, bishop of *Roschild*, supported by the people, and *Rico*, bishop of *Sleswick*, for whom the king entertained a personal friendship, on account of his attachment, during the civil war, were the candidates. *Eschil* raised an army, and obliged the king and *Rico* to retire to *Jutland*. Here they levied forces, returned to *Zealand*, gave battle to the haughty prelate, and took him prisoner, keeping him in close confinement, until he was released at an exorbitant ransom, and the strong intercession of the most powerful of the nobility. *The bishop of Roschild raises an army against Eric, and is made prisoner.*

THIS dispute being for a time laid aside, the king resumed his attention to redress the grievances of his subjects, in which he met with numberless difficulties; for, in easing the burthen of taxes laid on the commons, he offended the nobility, and, in granting new honours and privileges to the latter, he only rivetted the chains of the former. This soon raised a ferment in the nation, which could be composed only by his death; an event that was treacherously brought about, while he was publicly administering justice in full court, near *Ripen*, where he was stabbed by one *Plogus*, surnamed *Black*, a nobleman of great distinction in *Jutland*. Thus died *Eric*, after a reign of scarce four years, resigning with his last breath a crown which he obtained by many valorous exploits, and dignified by such acts of popularity and justice, as long endeared his memory to the commons of *Denmark*. He obtained, says *Pontanus*, the surname of *Emund*, from his courage and the dangers he had surmounted; and of *Harefoot*, from his agility and swiftness, according to *Meursius* and other writers b. *Eric murdered by Plogus.*

THE royal family being almost extinct in the male line, great disputes arose in the diet about the succession. Some proposed *Swen*, the natural son of the late king; others again supported the claim of *Canute*, son to *Magnus*, and grandson to *Eric*; while a third party, headed by *Christiern*, of whom we have made mention in the late civil war, espoused the cause of *Valdemar*, the son of *Canute* king of the *Vandals*, by his wife *Ingeburga*. There were many reasonable objections started against all the three candidates: the first was a bastard son to a prince, who was himself the fruit of an illegitimate embrace: the second was a minor, and the son of a prince detested by the people, on account of the murder of their favourite *Canute*, and banished the kingdom by a solemn decree of the diet: and lastly, the third was so young, that dreadful consequences were apprehended from so long a minority as must ensue from his election. However, the influence and address of *Christiern* surmounted this last difficulty, as the people were greatly disposed to favour the offspring of a person they had perfectly adored. He sent privately for *Ingeburga*, and introduced her and her infant son to the people, with a pathetic speech, reminding them of the noble virtues of his father. The effect was sudden, and the diet, with one voice, proclaimed him king; but *Ingeburga*, aware of the dangers to which the child must be exposed by this exaltation, would by no persuasions consent to his election, until a regent should be appointed. She farther insisted, that the regent should actually enjoy the badges and authority of majesty during his natural life; that his ambition might be gratified, and all cause for conspiring against the life of her son, removed. This was a wise precaution suggested by maternal tenderness, that probably secured the crown afterwards to *Valdemar*. So strenuously did she maintain this point, that *Eric*, surnamed the *Lamb*, from the mild-

a SAXO GRAM. *ibid.*

b *Ibid.* etiam PONTAN. & MEURS. *loc. citat.*



ness of his disposition, was chosen regent, or rather colleague to *Valdemar*, and sole king during the young prince's minority. He was the son of *Hacquin*, who had married the late king's daughter, and related to *Eric the Good*, by the marriage of his son *Harold* (A).

It was his temper which gave rise to his elevation; for his known moderation, and extreme love of peace and tranquility, caused no jealousy, lest ambition might tempt him to disturb the public quiet<sup>c</sup>.

*ERIC V. surnamed the LAMB.*

*Eric surnamed the Lamb, 80th king. A. D. 1139.*

*Ecclesiastical disputes renewed.*

*ERIC V.* had scarce ascended the throne, when the divisions among the clergy broke out afresh with redoubled vigour. *Eschil*, bishop of *Roschild*, as soon as death had removed *Eric*, who was the greatest obstacle to his aspiring views, went over to *Schonen*, and by the consent, and even at the persuasion of the inhabitants, assumed the title and authority of primate, without obtaining, or indeed asking the permission of the new king. The people were enamoured of the late archbishop; and as *Eschil* was his relation, they strenuously insisted that the dignity should be kept in the family. This induced *Eric*, surnamed the *Lamb*, to maintain the pretensions of *Rico*, bishop of *Sleswick*, patronized by the late king, and likewise to curb the ambition and insolence of *Eschil*. Observing, however, the obstinacy with which the whole province of *Schonen* espoused his cause, and that degrading him would necessarily be attended with a civil war, he dropped the design rather than disturb the tranquility of the kingdom. The dispute about this archbishopric of *Lunden* was the first occasion the kings of *Denmark* had to repent their having invested their turbulent prelates with temporal authority, and elevated them to such a pitch of grandeur, as rendered them haughty, insolent, and even dangerous to their sovereigns. In some measure to gratify *Rico* for his disappointment, *Eric* made him chancellor of *Denmark*, and gave him the bishopric of *Roschild*, vacant by the removal of *Eschil*<sup>d</sup>.

*Attempts on the king's life.*

*Eschil raises forces for the king.*

AMIDST these transactions, *Olaus*, the son of *Harold*, who escaped the massacre in which his brothers perished, by order of the late king, now returned to *Sweden*, and publicly demanded his father's estate that had been confiscated. This the king refused, pleading a law passed in the reign of *Frotho the Great*, by which the estates of all persons who had taken up arms against their king and country were forfeited to the crown. *Olaus* finding that he could not avail himself of intreaty, law, or force, had recourse to plots and conspiracies. He endeavoured one night to assassinate the king in his bed-chamber; but was prevented by the guards, from whom he escaped with difficulty, and fled a second time into *Sweden*. Returning thence into *Schonen*, he levied forces, assumed the regal dignity, and prepared to invade the whole kingdom. *Eschil*, notwithstanding his quarrel with the king, raised forces to oppose him, and performed the part of a loyal subject, but unsuccessfully; for being defeated in the field, he retreated to *Lunden*, and was there besieged by *Olaus*. After defending the city, which was secured by no walls, with great bravery, he was at length, from the scarcity of provisions, forced to surrender it upon honourable terms. Some writers say that he was taken prisoner, and dismissed, after swearing allegiance to *Olaus*, which oath he broke as soon as *Eric's* army came near enough to protect him. He offered his services to this prince, and took it upon him to crush the rebellion, provided his majesty would furnish him with a suitable army, which was readily granted. As soon as the prelate found himself at the head of a formidable body of men, he went in search of the enemy, who did not decline battle. Here he was a second time vanquished, and returned to the king with apologies that were easily admitted, as his misfortunes could not be attributed to want of loyalty, but to unskilfulness in a profession no way appertaining to the character of a dignified prelate<sup>e</sup>.

*OLAUS*, elated with his two victories, began now to assume the king in reality. He plundered all the effects belonging to *Eric* and *Eschil*; deposed the latter from his archbishopric, and placed another in his room; revoked all the decrees made in this and the last reign; and lastly, sending his army into winter-quarters, making *Lunden* the repository of their arms, he went over to *Schonen* with only a few attendants, as if the war had been wholly ended, and himself in quiet possession of the throne. This imprudent security would have wrought his destruction, had not fortune interposed for his safety; for *Eric* receiving

<sup>c</sup> SAXO l. xiv.

<sup>d</sup> Idem ibid. PONTAN. l. v.

<sup>e</sup> MEURS. l. iv.

(A) *Grammaticus*, *Pontanus*, and *Meursius*, makes use of the word *consanguineus*, to express this affinity, tho' improperly, as the alliance arose by the marriage of *Eric's* son, and not by any mixture of blood with *Eric* himself (1).

(1) *Ibid. Au7. citat. ibid.*



a intelligence of his total neglect of military duty, collected a small body of forces, and passing over in the night, attacked the enemy just as their camp was ready to break up, and while every thing was in the utmost confusion and disorder. The consequence was a complete victory, having taken four of *Olaus's* generals, dispersed his whole army, pillaged his camp, reduced *Lunden*, seized his arms and magazines, and put to death the new bishop, appointed by *Olaus* in the room of *Eschil*, or, as others imagine, *Eschil* himself, for having traiterously suffered himself to be twice defeated in the field.<sup>f</sup> Eric defeats Olaus.

*OLAUS* escaped to *Sweden*, from whence he soon returned with another army, and gave battle to *Eric*, in which he was a second time defeated at *Glimstorp*. Nor did this destroy his hopes, or any way dispirit him; for we are told, that in the same campaign he fought b no less than twelve obstinate battles with *Eric*, in all of which he was unsuccessful. He had indeed an admirable talent at accommodating himself to circumstances, and retrieving the situation of affairs, after they had been given over as lost by all other men; but he never stuck at the means, whether honourable or not: his whole object was success in whatever manner it was obtained. Finding therefore that all attempts in *Schonen* would be vain, he passed over suddenly into *Zealand*, and was here defeated by *Rico*, bishop of *Roschild*. Determining however to have his revenge, he gave out that he had quitted the island, and concealed himself with a strong party of desperadoes in a wood adjacent to *Rico's* palace. This he attacked furiously in the night: but finding the doors too strong to be forced, he called out for fire to consume the building. *Rico* upon this demanded a parley, which being granted, he was going to remonstrate with *Olaus*, when he was treacherously slain by his order, before he had well passed through his own gate. Olaus a second time defeated.

AFTER this infamous action *Olaus* returned to *Schonen* before *Rico's* death could be known there; but *Eric* took his measures so well, that he had almost put an end to the war by a sudden attack on the enemy, in which *Olaus* narrowly escaped being made prisoner. This was only a short respite from the fate which impended; for he was soon after defeated and slain in a bloody battle fought just as he was upon the point of quitting *Schonen*.<sup>g</sup> Olaus slain.

THIS dangerous rival being removed, *Eric* applied his attention to composing the state of the kingdom, greatly disturbed by this tedious war. He married the sister of the e bishop of *Bremen*, remunerated the nobles with some beneficial grants of estates forfeited in the late war; for the zeal and fidelity with which they had served him, and distinguished himself by many acts of piety, justice, and popularity, until at length he fell into an inactivity and indolence, that greatly impaired his reputation. To redeem his character he fitted out a fleet against the *Vandals*, who resumed their piracies; but a lazy humour had now so strongly possessed him, that loitering on the coast of *Zealand* without keeping proper watch, he was surprised by the enemy, and very nearly taken prisoner. It is supposed that his fondness for his young queen had totally emasculated his mind, and rendered him indifferent to every consideration but domestic felicity, which he indulged to an excess of weakness. He now returned home after his shameful flight, without again attempting f to wipe off the disgrace, or repress the insolence of those barbarians. Next year he was seized with a fever, of which he died, leaving the reputation of a prince endued with excellent natural qualities, were they not corrupted, and at last obliterated by a shameful indolence, the consequence of too uxorious a disposition. On his death-bed he was weak enough to put on a monk's habit, looking upon that as a sure passport to the mansions of bliss; and in this apparel assembled his nobility round him, delivering to them his scepter. Yet though he resigned the badges of authority, he could not bear to have a successor mentioned; for when that was proposed by one of the nobility, in order to put a stop to the incursions of the *Vandals*, he turned round in wrath, and expired with sentiments of resentment.<sup>h</sup> (O).

<sup>f</sup> SAXO GRAM. l. xiv.

<sup>g</sup> MEURS. l. iv.

<sup>h</sup> HELM. Chron. Slav. l. i. c. lxxviii.

(O) It deserves notice that *Helmode* affirms this though it is probable he might have received the former prince's surname was *Spac* (intimating an authority somewhat inferior to the badges of majesty) and not *Lamb* (1); fore.

(1) Helm. Chron. Slav. l. i. c. lxxviii.

## END of the ELEVENTH VOLUME.